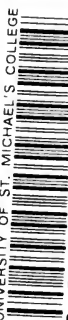


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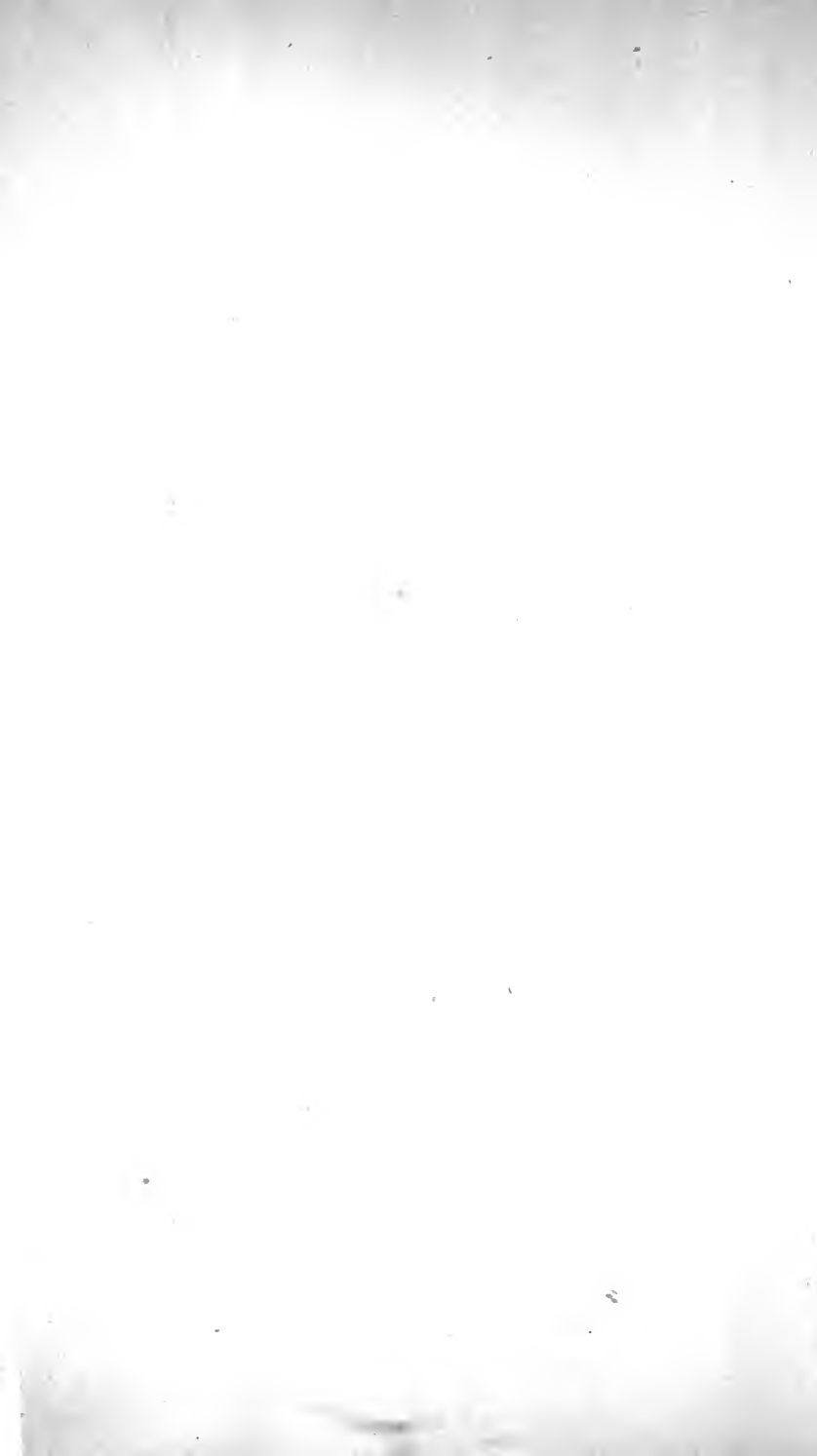




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THE CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
M. TULLIUS CICERO.





DUBLIN UNIVERSITY PRESS SERIES.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

*INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.*

BY

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VOL. V.

*SECOND EDITION.*



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## PREFACE.

WHEN in February of last year the publishers informed me that the fifth volume of our CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO was out of print, and that a second edition had been asked for, and was desirable in order to render possible a continuous sale for the work as a whole, I felt considerably perplexed. For I knew that Dr. Tyrrell was in such precarious health that he could no longer act as the guiding and commanding spirit in any continuance of the work; and I was fully conscious that my own powers were not equal to the task of producing a new edition such as would meet even remotely the exacting requirements of modern scholarship, or provide the many-sided erudition now expected of a commentator. But Dr. Tyrrell was so pressing in his desire that the new edition should be produced (and in the circumstances he could hardly be refused), and the authorities of the College so readily approved of the proposal, that, though with considerable misgiving, I undertook the task. Only three sheets of the Commentary were even glanced at by Dr. Tyrrell before his death: we did not think that he was so soon to be lost to us and to scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In those three sheets the familiar 'we' had been used, and I continued it throughout, not only for the sake of consistency, but also because I am fain to hope that there would not have been much diversity of opinion between us in most of the views advanced. But I may well be mistaken; and I must take on myself full responsibility for whatever is said. The dates of some of the letters as given in the first edition seem to be wrong; but, as in re-editions of the first three volumes, the order has been left unchanged, lest references in the succeeding volumes and in the Index should prove untrustworthy. This defect is remedied to some extent by the table given on pp. 460-465. A chapter has been added to the Introduction under the title "Antony succeeds Caesar," dealing with the history of the five and a-half months from March 15 to August 31 of the year 44 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> It was only after Dr. Tyrrell's death (Sept. 19, 1914) that Dr. Sihler's volume, *Cicero of Arpinum*, dedicated to him, reached this country.

As this volume in its revision has not had the advantage of Dr. Tyrrell's scholarship, it asks for every indulgence that the reader can bring himself to grant it. It makes no claim to anything even approaching a full treatment of the subject. Neither this nor any other volume of our work is to be regarded as other than a mere transitory contribution to the study of Cicero's Correspondence; the best that our edition can hope for is that it may prove a sort of scaffolding, by the aid of which some of the very learned and acute young scholars of to-day may erect a permanent building "four-square, a work without flaw." Even with this limited aim the present volume can claim but little. Though it has been in great part re-written, I am only too conscious of what even indulgent criticism must regard as grievous shortcomings; and I feel little doubt that there is a great quantity of literature on the subject which has wholly escaped my notice. But I have done my best to render it here and there a little less inadequate than it was in its original form. That little, I fear, would have been hardly attained (if it has been attained at all) were it not for the invaluable assistance given me by my friend, Dr. J. S. Reid, Fellow of Caius College, and Professor of Ancient History in the University of Cambridge, not only from his published works, but from a great number of learned manuscript notes which he was good enough to put at my disposal. Of this, as of nearly every other work on Cicero issued by British scholars, Professor Reid *pars magna fuit*. I desire here to render him my warmest thanks. The last two-thirds of the Commentary, and the whole of the Introduction, have been read by another friend, Dr. W. A. Golligher, Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in the University of Dublin, whose trenchant and acute criticisms have been of the greatest service, and to whom I am very grateful. I am also deeply indebted to Mr. J. T. Gibbs, Manager of the Dublin University Press, who has devoted no little time to reading through the several sheets before they went to press, and, by his accurate knowledge of English, has saved me from many errors of expression.

L. C. P.



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## CORRIGENDA.

- Page 26, lines 1, 2, for '21' read '12'.
- „ 27, line 1, for '21' read '12'.
- „ 67, „ 13, for 'March' read 'May'.
- „ 84, „ 10, for 'Tusculanum' read 'Tusculum'.
- „ 93, col. *b*, line 9, omit 'this'.
- „ 117, line 8, for 'Rome' read 'Tusculum'.
- „ 128, col. *a*, line 1, omit 'aliquid'.
- „ 130, line 6, for 'tu est' read 'tu es'.
- „ 141, col. *a*, line 8 from end, after 'tenere]' add "see Introd., p. xvi, note 2'.
- „ 172, „ *b*, „ 5 from end, before 'commulcium' add 'as O. E. Schmidt has suggested and Sjögren (Comm. Tull., p. 56) approved'.
- „ 191, line 3, for 'August 25' read 'August 24'.
- „ 211, „ 5, omit '17 (about)'.
- „ 275, „ 15, for 'mihi' (italics) read 'mihi' (roman). See Adn. Crit.
- „ 291, „ 17, for 'reddendas—quod' read 'reddendas: quod'.
- „ 291, col. *b*, lines 26–28, for 'the conjunction . . . Atticus would' read 'quod, taking it as a conjunction. But Lehmann (p. 80), in a learned discussion, shows that it is not necessary. We may take quod as a relative pronoun with idem (cf. Acad. i. 35, quod vides idem significare Pomponium). Atticus would'.
- „ 295, line 11, for 'pudentem' read 'impudentem'. See Adn. Crit.
- „ 300, col. *a*, line 6, for '728' read '727'.
- „ 314, „ „ 7, for 'Klotz' read 'Orelli'.
- „ 349, line 17, for 'Haec' read 'Hanc'; and for 'scribenda' read 'scribendam'. See Adn. Crit.
- „ 353, col. *b*, line 4, after 'praebere' add 'also in 660. 1 (*bene de nostro*)'.
- „ 356, „ *a*, lines 1–6, This interpretation is incorrect. See Introd., p. lxxxi, note 4.
- „ 365, line 10, Perhaps we should put a comma after 'velim', and govern 'memineris' (line 11) by that word, as is done by Müller and Baiter. But it is possible with other editors, e.g. Wesenberg and Klotz, to put a full stop. We can then take 'memineris' as a case of the future used for the imperative (cp. Madvig, 384 obs. : Roby, 1589).
- „ 365, line 12, for 'sum' read 'sum'.
- „ 376, „ 7, for 'vi Idus' read 'vii Idus'.
- „ 382, „ 14, for 'a Bruti' read 'a Bruti'.
- „ 383, „ 13, for 'quo' read 'quo'.
- „ 385, „ 13, 14, for 'te exspectare' read 'exspectare te'. See Adn. Crit.
- „ 387, „ 15, for 'cum eo' read 'cum eo'.
- „ 396, „ 3, for 'huius modi videtur' read 'huius modi mihi videtur'.
- „ 406, „ 4, for 'quod praesens', read 'ut praesens'. See Adn. Crit.

# INTRODUCTION.

---

## I.—CICERO'S CASE AGAINST CAESAR.<sup>1</sup>

IN September of the year B.C. 46, Cicero delivered in the Senate a very fine speech, which has come down to us, the *pro Marcello*. This Marcus Marcellus had been Consul in the year 51, and had taken a very active part against Caesar. Among his enemies exiled after Pharsalia, there was not one whom Caesar had greater reason to regard with feelings of vindictive indignation. Knowing that one of the strongest of Caesar's political principles was the enfranchisement of the Transpadane Gauls—nay, more, that he had always treated them as actually of right full Roman burgesses<sup>2</sup>—Marcellus in his consulship seized the opportunity of wounding him in his most sensitive part. A distinguished

<sup>1</sup> This section of the Introduction, which, with some additions, originally appeared as an article in the *Quarterly Review* (No. 368, October, 1896, pp. 395–422), is here republished by the kind permission of the proprietor and editor. A few notes have been added, and some corrections made.

<sup>2</sup> It was inevitable that sooner or later Roman citizenship must be extended to the Transpadanes, once it had been conceded to all Italians up to the Po by the legislation which followed the Social War: the Alps, and not the Po, are the natural boundaries of Italy. And in 89 the first step in that direction was taken by giving the Transpadanes Latin rights. The full enfranchisement of the Transpadanes became a plank in the democratic platform, and one which Caesar was especially solicitous to strengthen in every possible way since his tour of agitation in that district in 68. Caesar always treated the Transpadane soldiers in his army as full Roman citizens; and Hirtius, B. G. viii. 24. 3, speaks of the colonies in that region as *colonias civium Romanorum*. Further, Novum Comum was a colony founded by Caesar and treated by him as a citizen-colony: cp. Suet. Iul. 28, *Marcellus . . . rettulit etiam ut colonis, quos rogatione Vatinia Novum Comum deduxisset, civitas adimeretur, quod per ambitionem et ultra praescriptum data esset*; but citizenship had not been formally granted by the government at Rome, and therefore the inhabitants of Novum Comum and the Transpadane towns might, according to the strictest law, be regarded as not possessing Roman citizenship. We find that it was one of Caesar's first acts, when he got possession of Rome in 49, to pass a *Lex Iulia de Transpadanis*, formally granting them full Roman citizenship: Dio Cass. xli. 36. 3.

citizen of Novum Comum, one of the towns recently founded by Caesar as a burgess-colony, was staying in Rome. In the view of Caesar this man should have been regarded as a full burgess of Rome, and as such have enjoyed as complete an immunity from corporal punishment as the Consul himself. Marcellus had him publicly scourged. So much for Caesar and his Transpadane! After Pharsalia, Marcellus retired to Mitylene. Cicero, who was at this time leading a somewhat subdued but not unpleasant life in Rome,<sup>1</sup> on terms of the closest intimacy with leading Caesarians, such as Dolabella, Hirtius, and Pansa, to whom he was teaching declamation in return for their instruction in the art of dining,<sup>2</sup> no doubt felt that there was an invidious contrast between his own lot and that of the exiled Optimate. He felt that while a great patrician, a consular and a devotee of republicanism, was living in obscurity and loneliness in Mitylene, it looked awkward (*ἄμορφον* or *σόλοικον* he himself would have called it) that he should pass a gay existence among the leading men of Rome.<sup>3</sup> It was almost essential to his dignity, even to his comfort, that Marcellus should be restored. But a very obstinate resistance was encountered from the staunch republican himself, who much preferred the freedom of Mitylene to an enslaved life in the metropolis. But at last the consent of Marcellus to accept pardon if tendered to him was obtained. The friends of Marcellus probably had not much hope of success; but, to their infinite delight, they found Caesar ready to offer to his enemy a full pardon.<sup>4</sup> This striking act of

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Fam. ix. 26 (479).    <sup>2</sup> Fam. ix. 16. 7 (472); 18. 3 (473): cp. vol. iv. p. li.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. vol. iv, p. li. Ferrero (ii. 303) says: "Worn out by the burden of his years and misfortunes, Cicero accepted these invitations just for the pleasure of society, though from time to time he felt a sting of remorse when something happened to recall the miserable catastrophe which had cost him so many of his friends." Such passages as Fam. ix. 16. 5 (472), where he defends his conduct, show that his conscience was far from easy.

<sup>4</sup> We have a cordial letter of thanks from Marcellus to Cicero, Fam. iv. 11 (496), in reply to a letter from Cicero (unfortunately lost—but a letter to Servius Sulpicius, Fam. iv. 4 (495), supplies the deficiency), which told him of the scene in the Senate on the occasion that he delivered the *pro Marcellō*. The letters of Cicero to Marcellus (Fam. iv. 7 to 10) are all earnest appeals to him to consent to take steps to obtain his recall. Marcellus said that Cicero's advice finally decided him to permit efforts to be made to secure his pardon. But when the pardon was granted, Marcellus did not make any haste to return: cp. Fam. iv. 10 (536). He was not at Athens on his journey home until May 45: cp. Ep. 613.

magnanimity broke down Cicero's resolution to hold his peace. Carried away by his enthusiasm in his first speech since Pharsalia, he gave a loose rein to his unbounded powers of panegyric in the oration *pro Marcello*. It is on this speech that Froude has based his fiercest attack on the character and motives of Cicero. The whole indictment is a farrago of misstatement and misapprehension.

'Such,' he writes, 'was the speech delivered by Cicero in the Senate in Caesar's presence within a few weeks of his murder.'

The speech was delivered in September, 46, more than a year and a half before the deed, which was done on the Ides of March in the year 44. The sentiments of admiration for Caesar, and confidence in his patriotism, which Froude so scathingly contrasts with the language of the Second Philippic, written two years afterwards, were sincerely felt by Cicero when he delivered the speech. In his private correspondence, which he never intended to meet the eyes of anyone except his correspondent, the sentiment is in spirit the same, though of course the tone is that of a private letter, not of a public speech. Writing to his friend Servius Sulpicius immediately after the incident, he relates how Caesar, after dwelling severely on the 'bitter spirit' (*acerbitate*) shown by Marcellus, declared that he would not allow 'his opinion about an individual to bring him into opposition to the declared will of the Senate.' Was it any wonder that Cicero interpreted such a statement as an official declaration that Caesar intended to restore the republic, and had abandoned all thoughts of establishing a monarchy?

'You need not ask me,' he proceeds, 'what I thought of it. I saw in my mind's eye the Republic coming back to life. I had determined to hold my peace for ever; not, God knows, through apathy, but because I felt my former status in the House was lost beyond recall. But Caesar's magnanimity and the Senate's loyalty swept away the barriers of my reserve.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fam. iv. 4. 3, 4 (495) *ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis rei publicae . . . Statueram non mehercule inertia sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Caesaris magnitudo animi et senatus officium.*

Froude gives copious extracts from this speech, which he represents as being at best a cowardly effort to curry favour with a conqueror, and which he hints was designed to lull Caesar into a false security, and thus facilitate the assassination, which he supposes to have taken place in a few weeks, but which really was perpetrated more than a year and a half afterwards. It is fortunately quite possible, chiefly by means of Cicero's correspondence, especially since the fruitful labours of Schmidt and others have arranged it so accurately in its chronological order, to trace the steps by which the sincere admiration of Caesar's character, expressed throughout the speech for Marcellus, was converted into cordial sympathy with the conspiracy, though Cicero was denied actual participation in the deed. It may be premised that in making this attempt we shall have sometimes to advert to incidents and expressions which, to a careless reader of the correspondence, might seem trivial. If we are right in thinking that the untrammelled utterances of a great thinker and an unrivalled *littérateur* on events passing under his eyes, and in which he took an important part, at a most critical period of the world's history, will always have a deep interest for English students of the past, we feel that no apology is needed for details, and that no reader will suggest, as Horatio did to Hamlet, that 'Twere to consider too curiously to consider so.' And let it not be forgotten that in nearly every other case in literary history, to see an author's mind in his letters as in a mirror would be to meet a reflection far too flattering. In Cicero's letters no effort was made to produce an impression more favourable than the facts would warrant. Cicero's letters express nearly always his actual feelings at the moment of writing. He was conscious that his actions had been on the whole guided by right motives, and he had the greatness of mind not to be ashamed of confessing that he had at times been imprudent and even weak. Hence it is that we can regard his correspondence as historical material of a most valuable kind.

The speech of Cicero does not appear to have been regarded at the time as overstrained. Paetus, in a letter to Cicero, refers to an attempt which he had made to imitate the *pro Marcello*, and quotes

a verse from Trabea about the fate of him who tries to wield the levin-bolt of Jove. Cicero politely answers :

‘ You have surpassed me ; it is I who have, in comparison, made a fiasco (ἀπόρρυμα).’<sup>1</sup>

Even the uncompromising Marcellus himself, in thanking Cicero for his services to him, has not a word to say about any reports having reached him of Cicero having unduly praised Caesar. In the letter already quoted, in which he describes the scene in the Senate to Servius Sulpicius, Cicero attributes the stringent repression exercised at Rome ‘ not to the victor—nothing could surpass his moderation—but to the fact that there has been a victory, which, in civil warfare, cannot but be outrageous.’<sup>2</sup> Writing to Cornificius, probably about the same time,<sup>3</sup> Cicero referred to the celebrated incident of the humiliation of Laberius by Caesar, which produced the protest of Laberius, preserved by Macrobius, and containing the words :

‘ Certes, I’ve lived a day too long.’<sup>4</sup>

The passage is interesting, because it puts the part which Caesar took in a more amiable light than that in which we are accustomed to regard it. In recording the presence of Munatius Plancus Bursa at the games, and the enforced appearance of Laberius as an actor in competition with Publilius Syrus, his comment is :

‘ Peace prevails here, but one marked with incidents which would give you no pleasure if you were here, *which indeed give no pleasure to Caesar.*

<sup>1</sup> Fam. ix. 21. 1 (497).

<sup>2</sup> Fam. iv. 4. 2 (495) *nec id victoris vitio quo nihil moderatius sed ipsius victoriae quae civilibus bellis semper est insolens.*

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 670 (Fam. xii. 18) is often placed much later, in the autumn of 45. In our original arrangement of the letters we placed it there, and considerations of the numbering of the letters for the Index have compelled us to leave it at that place. But it is more probable that the games at which Laberius was compelled by Caesar to appear were the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris, which began about September 23 in 46. We do not know how many days they lasted at first. Before the death of Augustus they lasted ten days. In subsequent years, when the Calendar was reformed, they began on July 20, which day corresponded to September 23 of the unreformed Calendar. In 45 Caesar did not return to Rome until the middle of September. It is not likely that Caesar would insist on Laberius appearing on the stage at games at which he was not himself present ; and according to the story (Macrobius ii. 7. 5) he was present.

<sup>4</sup>

‘ Nimirum hoc die

Uno plus vixi quam mihi vivendum fuit.’

That is the worst of civil wars. When they are over, the victor must not consult his own wishes merely, but must humour those to whom he owes his victory. But,' Cicero continues, 'for my own part I have grown so callous that at Caesar's games I saw without a pang (*animo aequissimo*) T. Plancus, and heard the verses of Laberius and Publilius.'

This shows how soon Cicero began to lose confidence in his hope that Caesar would restore the free State.

In a letter to Caecina,<sup>1</sup> he dwells on the 'kind and clement nature' of Caesar, his sympathy with literary excellence, and his willingness to give ear to 'expressions of feeling which have justice and the fervour of sincerity to support them rather than those which are hollow or dictated by self-interest.' All his letters to exiled Pompeians during this autumn express a favourable opinion of Caesar, and it was about this time that Cicero made a *mot* which is recorded by Plutarch. Caesar had ordered the restoration of statues of Pompey which had been thrown down. 'By this act of generosity,' said Cicero, 'he is setting up the statues of Pompeius, but firmly planting his own.'<sup>2</sup> Indeed, we have to turn to the speech for Marcellus, which, according to Froude, 'most certainly did not express his real feelings, whatever may have been the purpose which they concealed,' to find anything approaching a criticism of Caesar, anything pointing to an obligation still resting on him, a solemn duty still unfulfilled. This we have in the most unambiguous language in the speech itself. The whole eighth chapter is devoted to the consideration of what Caesar has yet to do, and the speech continues with the words, 'This then is what still remains, this is the act necessary to complete the drama, this the crowning feat, *the restoration of the Republic*.'<sup>3</sup> The reader of 'Caesar, a Sketch,' will look in vain

<sup>1</sup> Fam. vi. 6. 8 (488). *In Caesare haec sunt, mitis clemensque natura*. (This recalls the words of Laberius, *Viri excellentis mente clemente edita Summissa placide blandiloquens oratio*) . . . *Accedit quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus delectatur* (cp. Fam. iv. 8. 2 (485); vi. 5. 3 fin. (533)) . . . *Praeterea cedit multorum iustis et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis voluntatibus*: cp. Fam. vi. 12. 2 (490).

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἱστῆσαι τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πῆγνυσιν ἀνδριάντας (Plut. Cic. 40). It must, however, be noticed that Plutarch here quotes this remark as an example of flattery on the part of Cicero—unjustly, as we think. He would also in all probability have regarded as flattery the fine praise of Caesar in the *pro Marcello*: cp. vol. iv, p. liii, note.

<sup>3</sup> 27. *Haec igitur tibi reliqua pars est: hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est ut*



for any allusion to these words in the pages in which Froude gives 'in compressed form, for necessary brevity, the speech delivered by Cicero in the Senate in Caesar's presence within a few weeks of his murder.'

Caesar obviously had despotic power within his grasp. His actions seemed to show that he was not about to seize it. Why should not Cicero, who saw as clearly as Mommsen that the soul of Caesar had room in it for much beside the statesman, foster the thought of which his ardent wish was father, that Caesar might rise to the act of self-renunciation which surely elevates to dignity the somewhat narrow character of Pompey, who, however, returning victor from the Mithridatic War, scorned to hurl his victorious legions on defenceless Rome? It is surprising that an historian of a people,

'Where freedom slowly broadens down  
: From precedent to precedent.'

has nothing to say about this crisis in Roman history. When we turn to Mommsen, we are prepared for the censure directed against the 'coward,' who, when the Republic, the goddess of Cicero's idolatry, was in his grasp, refused to throttle her. Nearly a year after this time Brutus cherished the same fond dream. 'So Brutus thinks Caesar is being converted to constitutionalism,' writes Cicero (Ep. 660) in August, 45. He had himself been disillusioned considerably before that time.

About two months and a half after the *pro Marcello*, Cicero delivered the *pro Ligario*, of which Plutarch gives us such a lively account.<sup>1</sup> He tells us that when Ligarius was put on his trial, and it became known that Cicero would be his advocate,

*rempublicam constituas, eaque tu in primis summa tranquillitate et otio perfruare: tum te, si voles, cum et patriae quod debes solveris et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse dicito.*

<sup>1</sup> The speech *pro Ligario* was delivered in the First Intercalary month. Caesar inserted two intercalary months and ten days between November and December, 46. Cicero seems on November 26 to have gone on a sort of deputation to Caesar on behalf of Ligarius: cp. Fam. vi. 14 (498), and vol. iv, p. lxxii. Caesar would appear at this time to have surrounded himself with something of the ceremony of monarchy: cp. Fam. iv. 7. 6 (486) *ius adeundi . . . non habemus*; vi. 13. 3 (489) *aditus ad eum difficiliores*; vi. 14. 2 (498) *cum . . . omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulissem.*

Caesar said, 'Of course it is well known that he is a villain and a traitor, but why should we not have the pleasure of a speech from Cicero?' The trial, accordingly, proceeded. Cicero at once made an impression; as he went on, by his appeals to the feelings on every side, and by his amazing charm of style,<sup>1</sup> he so strongly moved Caesar that his colour was seen to come and go. When the orator touched on Pharsalia, Caesar was quite transported, his whole frame shook ('Tis true this god did shake,' as Cassius says), and he let fall from his hands some papers which he was holding (probably proofs of Ligarius' treachery). Finally he was coerced by the orator into an acquittal.<sup>2</sup> The speech for Ligarius is not pitched in so high a key as that for Marcellus, delivered more than two months before, but it shows no suspicion of Caesar.

Tracing the growth of Cicero's feelings about Caesar, in the Second Intercalary month we find him receiving, with expressed reluctance, his son's desire to join Caesar in Spain:

'He wants to join Caesar in Spain, and he wants a liberal allowance. I told him I would give him an abundant allowance, as much as Publilius or the Flamen Lentulus allowed their sons. But as to Spain, I urged first, that people would say, *Was it not enough to abandon Pompey's cause? must they even embrace Caesar's?* Secondly, I urged that it would be galling to him to be distanced in the race for Caesar's favour by his cousin Quintus.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πάθει τε ποικίλος καὶ χάριτι θαυμαστός (Plut. Cic. 39).

<sup>2</sup> ἀπέλυσε βεβιασμένος. In the difficult passage in Att. xiii. 20. 4 (634) Schiche (*Zu Ciceros Briefen*, Berlin Programm, No. 59 (1905), p. 27) for *toto* conjectures *isto*, and supposes (if we understand him rightly) that it refers to one of the Ligarii who had criticized Cicero to Atticus on the ground that his present behaviour towards the Caesareans was not consistent with the outspokenness displayed in the speech *pro Ligario*, which he had published shortly before the letter was written (beginning of July, 45): and that Cicero in reply says that his defence of Ligarius was not made in order to evince his supremacy as an advocate, but simply not to fail a friend in need. This is possible, but it involves the assumption that a Ligarius did criticize Cicero on the ground alleged, which seems unlikely. We rather think that Cicero is defending himself against Atticus alone, and would add <*negotio*> after *in toto*. Atticus would readily understand that it was Quintus Ligarius whom he meant by *ei*. Schiche goes on to suggest that for *μὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς* we should read *μὴ γὰρ αὐθις*, 'Never again,' i.e. may I never again undertake pleadings in the courts as an advocate. This is ingenious and probable: but in the absence of knowledge as to the exact quotation Cicero was making, it cannot be regarded as certain. In defence of *iudicia tenere* Schiche adds Brut. 106 *Hic (Carbo) optimus illis temporibus est patronus habitus, eoque forum tenente plura fieri iudicia coeperunt*. We regret that this learned Programm of Schiche's did not come under our notice until the commentary had been printed off.

<sup>3</sup> Att. xii. 7. 1 (500).

As a matter of fact, the boy did not join Caesar, but went to the University of Athens, where his father allowed him about £800 a year. But the first definite sign of distrust is given in a letter to Atticus, written a little later, about a month after he had pleaded the cause of Ligarius. Caesar had left for Spain in the Second Intercalary month, having assumed for the third time the Dictatorship, and having appointed Lepidus (though the latter was Consul) Master of the Horse. He had given directions to Lepidus to procure his election as sole Consul for 45. 'As Dictator, and at the same time Consul,' says Ferrero ii. 319, 'without a colleague, he was for all practical purposes an autocratic ruler.' He postponed the election of the other magistrates. This wound to republican feelings, which rankled sorely afterwards, drew from Cicero his first definite expression of mistrust since Caesar's clemency towards Marcellus had given him hopes that he might apply to Caesar, whom he loved and admired, the affectionate *noster* which he had always reserved for the cold and unsympathetic Pompey. Cicero is not certain if the report is true. He asks Atticus to find out from his father-in-law, 'Will the master proceed to the Plain of the Fennel-bed or the Plain of Mars for the purposes of the election?'<sup>1</sup>—that is, will Caesar nominate the magistrates in Spain, or leave the election to the people in Rome? As a matter of fact, Caesar did not trouble himself about the Field of Fennel or the Field of Mars. He elected no magistrates, but left the administration in the hands of eight (or six) *praefecti*,<sup>2</sup> nominally subject to Lepidus. The real power was held by Balbus and Oppius, as we learn from a letter to Aulus Caecina, written in December, 46: 'I have come to see that all the acts of Balbus and Oppius during the absence of Caesar are usually upheld by him.'<sup>3</sup> When

<sup>1</sup> Att. xii. 8 (501), written in the Second Intercalary month, *Scribe quaeso quid referat Celer egisse Caesarem cum candidatis, utrum ipse in Fenicularium an in Martium campum cogitet*. The *Campus Fenicularius* (τὸ παραθῶνος καλούμενον πεδίον (Strabo iii. 4. 9, p. 160) was near Tarraco in Spain. Cicero appears to have thought that the elections would be held: cp. 501 fin. He is in doubt, however, whether in the unconstitutional state of things he should attend the Senate (502).

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cass. xliii. 28. 2. Possibly six did the duties of praetors and two those of quaestors: cp. xliii. 48. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Fam. vi. 8. 1 (527) *quod omnibus rebus perspexeram quae Balbus et Oppius absente Caesare egissent ea solere illi rata esse*.

Cicero wrote those words, he must have almost begun to fear that Caesar had abandoned, if he had ever entertained, the thought of restoring the Republic. In the remaining letters of 46 and the beginning of 45 up to February, when Cicero was afflicted so severely by the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, we have occasional allusions to the clemency of Caesar, alternating with gloomy comments on public affairs, as, for instance, when he comforts his friend Titius for the loss of his children by the reflection—

‘The best source of consolation is the state of public affairs . . . Those who are in your case now are far less to be pitied than such as lost their children when there was a good, or indeed any, form of free constitution.’<sup>1</sup>

Early in January, 45, he tells Cassius that his best chance of happiness will lie in keeping clear of trifling things (ἀκενόσπουδος), in avoiding vain pursuits such as the restoration of the free State.<sup>2</sup> Cassius, in reply, writes:—

‘Let me know what is going on in Spain. I declare I am nervous about this young Cn. Pompeius, and I prefer the clemency of our present master to the possible ferocity of a new one. You know what a dullard he is, and how he mistakes cruelty for firmness. He fancies we are always making fun of him. I fear his repartee will be an unpolished one—a slit weasand.’<sup>3</sup>

In the end of March, 45, shortly after the news reached Rome that Caesar had been saluted as Imperator on the capture of Ategua, we find Cicero attempting a literary *tour de force*, an experiment whether originality could be achieved in a letter of introduction. The whole composition (Ep. 571), recommending one Precilius to Caesar, is stilted—studded with not very apt

<sup>1</sup> Fam. v. 16. 3 (529), *Neque hae neque ceterae consolationes . . . tantum videntur proficere debere quantum status ipse nostrae civitatis et haec perturbatio temporum perditorum, cum beatissimi sint qui liberos non susceperunt, minus autem miseri qui his temporibus amiserunt quam si eosdem bona aut denique aliqua republica perdidissent.*

<sup>2</sup> Fam. xv. 17. 4 (541). For ἀκενόσπουδος, cp. Marcus Aurelius i. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Fam. xv. 19. 4 (542), *Scis Cn. quam sit fatuus; scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; scis quam se semper a nobis derisum putet; vereor ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι.*

quotations, four from Homer and one from Euripides. It has a strained and unnatural tone of gaiety, such as might well have been assumed by a writer with an aching heart—Tullia had been about six weeks dead. But he is still appreciative of Caesar's personal courtesy. In the middle of April,<sup>1</sup> in a letter to Servius Sulpicius, he speaks of 'that leisure which his kind permission allows us.' But he is in deep depression. He says to Luceius in May: 'Your love is acceptable and desirable: I would say pleasant, were it not that I have lost that word for ever.'<sup>2</sup>

After he has recovered from the first agony of his grief for the death of Tullia,<sup>3</sup> which occurred in February, 45, we trace in his

<sup>1</sup> Fam. iv. 6. 3 (574), *Ego autem cum multis de causis te exopto quam primum videre, tum etiam ut ante commentemur inter nos qua ratione nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus, quod est totum ad unius voluntatem accommodandum et prudentis et liberalis et, ut perspexisse video, nec a me alieni et tibi amicissimi. Quod cum ita sit, magnae tamen est deliberationis quae ratio sit ineunda nobis non agendi aliquid sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi.*

<sup>2</sup> Fam. v. 15. 1 (587), *Omnis amor tuus . . . non ille quidem mihi ignotus, sed tamen gratus et optatus: dicerem 'iucundus,' nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem.*

<sup>3</sup> Cicero composed his *Consolatio*, *Hortensius*, *Academica*, and *De Finibus* during the spring and summer of 45, for the most part at Astura, after Tullia's death. He worked day and night, as he found that by doing so he best secured distraction from his grief (546. 3; 553. 1; 591. 2). The history of the three forms in which the *Academica* was cast is a very interesting record of literary composition, and is to be derived only from the letters (see Dr. Reid's *Academica*, Introd., § 4): so we venture to give it in detail. The first indication that Cicero was engaged in the work is in 559. 2 (March 19), when he asks Atticus to find out for him certain particulars concerning the visit of Carneades to Rome in 155 B.C. By May 13, before Cicero left Astura for Tusculum, he had the work finished in two large books (συντάγματα: cp. 590 [45], 1, where see note), and had already sent them to Atticus on May 29 (610. 3). He called them 'Catulus' and 'Lucullus' from the principal speakers, just as he called the first book of the *De Finibus* 'Torquatus.' Hortensius was a third speaker (629. 1), and Cicero himself a fourth. The 'Lucullus' is still extant.

Some time during June Cicero appears to have reflected that it was undesirable to have Catulus and Lucullus as spokesmen, as they were merely amateurs and not at all learned in philosophy (626. 3; 629. 1). About June 21 Cicero went to Arpinum, and during the first couple of days there was confined to the house by heavy rain. During those days he transferred the discourse from Catulus and Lucullus to Brutus and Cato, Brutus probably taking the part of Lucullus and Cato that of Hortensius, Cicero himself adding the part of Catulus to that which he had previously taken: cp. Reid, *op. cit.* 32, 46, 48. (Cicero had already in the *Brutus* given up his principle of not introducing living persons into his dialogues.) But about the 23rd he received a letter from Atticus urging that Varro be introduced as an interlocutor. Cicero caught at the idea as a god-send (ἔρμαιον, 631. 5), as Varro appeared to be a most suitable person to expound the system of Antiochus (629. 1). Moreover, this philosophical treatise would be a most excellent one to dedicate to Varro, who appears to have exhibited jealousy of some one (perhaps of Brutus) whom Cicero had introduced into his works, while Varro had found no place in them. Varro had also promised two

letters a growing antipathy towards Caesar. A statue of Caesar, with the inscription *Deo Invicto*,<sup>1</sup> was erected now in the Temple

years before to dedicate some important treatise to Cicero, but was a 'slow-coach,' and he had not made much progress (626. 3). Taking all these matters into consideration, Cicero determined, after the suggestion of Atticus; to make the first step himself, and dedicate the 'Academica' to Varro. Atticus had, indeed, as far back as 54 urged Cicero to find a place for Varro in the *De Republica* or some other dialogue; but Cicero gave reasons why he did not do so, chiefly (1) the unsuitability of Varro for any previous treatise; (2) the principle he had adopted not to introduce any living person into his dialogues; and (3) that Varro could not be introduced into the *De Republica*, as he was not contemporary with Africanus (Att. iv. 16. 2 (144): cp. 626. 3; 631. 3, 4). On receipt, then, of the letter from Atticus on June 23, Cicero at once proceeded to remodel the treatise so as to give Varro the part which Lucullus and Brutus had held in his previous arrangements. The transference of speakers was effected by June 25, and the treatise altered from two to four books, the work enlarged, and the points put more concisely. Cicero did not hesitate to make the alteration, even though Atticus had already had the former edition copied out (627. 1). It is possible that Atticus sold both editions: hence, probably, both got into extensive circulation, and it became well known that both had been made by Cicero (Quintil. iii. 6. 64). We enjoy the good fortune of having the 'Lucullus' extant which Plutarch mentions (Lucull. 42). Besides Varro, Cicero was the other principal speaker defending the New Academy: and Atticus was introduced as a third. Cicero says he introduced Atticus 'with the greatest pleasure' (ἀσμενάϊτατα, 635. 1: cp. 628. 3). This edition, in four books, with Varro as the principal character, is known as the *Academica Posteriora*; and we have still extant portion of the first book of it. Yet immediately after this re-arrangement of speakers, on June 26 Cicero was still beset with misgiving as to the advisability of dedicating the treatise to Varro (628. 3). But he did not give up the idea, and on June 30 sent the work to Rome to be copied out on fine large paper (*macrocolla*) for Varro (632. 4; 642. 3). Varro was not a genial man, and Cicero did not welcome a visit Varro paid him on July 9 (636. 1) at Tusculum, turning up like the *lupus in fabula*, just as the company were talking of him (or does *loquebamur* mean 'you and I have been talking so much about him recently'?) The final corrections were being made in the work on July 10 (637. 2), and about July 12 Cicero's letter (641), which was to be sent with the work to Varro, was composed with scrupulous care, 'syllable by syllable,' as he says himself (642. 3). Cicero thought a great deal both of the book (627. 1; 630 [18]; 631. 3, 5) and of the letter (642. 3); but still he was for a considerable time in no little uncertainty as to how the austere and cross-grained Varro would receive the book. Atticus did not seem to be quite certain as to the ground of Cicero's hesitation, and asks him if he feared that people would regard him as a 'tuft-hunter' (φιλινδοξος, 631. 3: cp. 640. 2) if he were to dedicate a work to such a great man as Varro without having first received a dedication from him. Cicero says that was not the case (631. 3). The real reason is that stated in 642. 3 (cp. 640. 2). Varro he fears may grumble that his own part was not so ably put as Cicero's; and so Cicero laid the final responsibility of the presentation to Varro on Atticus (642. 3: cp. 640. 2; 643. 2). He could always (he said) fall back on the intermediate edition of the work which introduced Brutus and Cato (642. 3). But about July 20 the work was at last presented to Varro. We have no definite indication how he received it, but probably with satisfaction, as he dedicated later a portion of his *De Lingua Latina* to Cicero (Gell. xvi. 8. 6).

<sup>1</sup> θεῷ ἀνικτῷ (Dio Cass. xliii. 45. 3).

of Quirinus, near the house of Atticus, on the Quirinal Hill, as well as another in the Capitol among those of the kings.

'I see,' Cicero writes, on May 17, 45, 'that your house will rise in value now that you have Caesar for a neighbour. Well, I would rather see him share the honours of Quirinus than be enshrined with *Salus* in the same Hill,'—that is (Cicero means), 'I should not care to see him in *Safety*; I should rather see him in the situation of Romulus, who was torn to pieces just before he was acknowledged as a god.' (Epp. 594, 595.)

We have here a sentiment which goes far to prepare us for Cicero's exultation over the death of Caesar, and his expressed regret that he was not an active participator in the deed.<sup>1</sup> A little more than a week after, May 25, writing to Atticus concerning a projected letter of political counsel to Caesar, like the *συμβουλευτικὰ* of Aristotle and Theopompus to Alexander, he says:—

'Yes, I always was for submitting the letter to those friends of yours and his, Hirtius, Oppius, and Balbus. I am glad they did not conceal their real opinion, and gladder still that they suggest so many changes as to give me a good reason for dropping the whole thing. Although as regards the Parthian war, what view should I have taken except that which I thought he wished? What, indeed, was the tenor of the whole letter but *kotowing* (*κολακεία*)? If I advised him what I really thought he should do, should I have lacked words? The whole thing was uncalled for. When I cannot make a *coup* (*ἐπίτευγμα*), and a *coup manqué* (*ἀπότευγμα*) would be painful, what is the use of putting it to the hazard (*παρακινδυνεύειν*)? Besides, he might suppose that I had waited till the war was completely over before writing, or might even think I wanted to gild the pill of my *Cato* ' (*quasi Catonis μείλιγμα esse*, 603. 1).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Fam. xii. 4. 1 (818). *Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset.*

<sup>2</sup> The first notice we have of Cicero's intention to write this letter is on May 9 (584. 2). Cicero says he has beside him the letters addressed by Aristotle and Theopompus to Alexander, but that the circumstances in their case and in his are not similar, and accordingly he does not know what to say. "What they wrote was honourable to themselves and pleasing to Alexander. Can you think of anything of the kind in my case?" However, he took the matter in hand and had the letter completed by May 13 (591. 2). If we accept the reading of Ienson's edition in 597. 2 *Epistulam ad Caesarem (Ciceronem codd.) tibi misi*, the letter was sent on the 19th. It really looks as if we should accept this reading: for otherwise, though Cicero was writing to Atticus every day, we should have no express mention of his having sent to him the letter addressed to Caesar; and Atticus appears to have desired to see it, and Cicero also desired that he should see it, for he was convinced that he had not fundamentally abandoned therein any of his political principles (598. 2). On the 21st he is awaiting

Finally, at the end of May, Cicero dismisses the subject with these words: 'As to the letter (i.e. the political letter) to Caesar, I give you my honour I *cannot* write it. It is not the baseness of it that stops me, though it ought to be; for how very disgraceful is flattery when even to be alive is disgraceful! But that is not what stops me: I wish it was; then I should be what I ought to be. But I can think of nothing to say.'<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of July of the same year he has a sneer at Caesar's scheme for rebuilding the city,<sup>2</sup> 'as if it were too small to hold him.' At the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* in the latter half of July the statue of Caesar was carried amongst those of the gods beside that of Victory<sup>3</sup>; and at the same time it was rumoured that Cotta<sup>4</sup> was about to bring before the Senate a proposal that Caesar should have the title of *King*, as Parthia was alleged to be declared by the Sibylline books to be unconquerable save by a royal invader. This was probably a *ruse* of Caesar's, who now appears to have

information as to what Atticus is doing with the letter (599. 2), and on the 23rd is eagerly expecting the judgment of Balbus and Oppius (601. 3). By May 24 he has heard of their adverse verdict (602—a very short letter, exhibiting the deepest mortification). On the 25th Cicero is somewhat calmer, and writes the letter translated above (603. 1); but the bitterness of disappointment is still rankling. Atticus would appear to have written suggesting that he might make some alterations. On May 26 Cicero replies that he cannot think what to say. On the 28th he has definitely made up his mind (κέκρικα, 607. 3) not to send any letter at all, to cast such ideas aside, and to be at least half-free (*semiliberi saltem simus*)—a condition to which he can attain by keeping silent and living in retirement. He alludes to the letter once again on June 9 (619. 1) when he was definitely informed that Caesar had said that on his return he would remain in Rome to see that his laws were enforced—'a point,' says Cicero, 'which was contained in my letter': cp. 607. 3. Some time later he wrote another letter to Caesar—not political, but literary, on the subject of Caesar's *Anti-Cato*—which was highly praised by Caesar's friends (667. 1): see below, p. xxiv. Brutus, Gallus, and Cicero had written *Catos*, or panegyrics on Cato, while Hirtius and Caesar himself had countered with *Anti-Catos*. Caesar greatly admired Cicero's *Cato*, which he compared favourably with that of Brutus. The lines on which it was written are described by Cicero himself in a masterly summary Att. xii. 4. 2 (469), *Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest nisi haec ('the following topics') ornata sint: quod ille ea quae nunc sunt et futura viderit et ne fierent contenderit et facta ne viderit vitam reliquerit*. For Caesar's judgment on Cicero's work cp. 663. 2, *multa* (scripsit Caesar) *de meo 'Catone' quo saepissime legendo se dicit copiosiores factum, Bruti 'Catone' lecto se sibi visum disertum*. Cicero highly approved of Caesar's *Anti-Cato* (667. 1) as far as literary style went.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 604. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 643. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For similar extravagant honours bestowed on Caesar cp. Suet. Iul. 76: Dio Cass. xliiii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 646. 1.



craved the external insignia of a monarch.<sup>1</sup> Cicero's comment when the proposal was first mooted in July is biting:—

‘How delightful to get your letter, though the procession was a bitter pill to swallow! But it is high time for us to know everything, even Cotta's rumoured proposals. How well the people acted in not even applauding Victory, on account of the bad company she was in!’<sup>2</sup>

But sorely as he feels about Caesar, he dismisses with curt expressions of absolute disbelief (in which he says Brutus concurs) charges inconsistent with the character of Caesar, such as his complicity in the murder of Marcellus by Magius Chilo,<sup>3</sup> or alleged rapacity:

‘Babullius,’ he writes,<sup>4</sup> ‘has left one-twelfth of his property to Caesar, and to Lepta one-third. Lepta is afraid Caesar won't allow the will to take effect: absolutely without cause.’

On August 2, in a letter to Atticus, for the first time he actually calls Caesar King. Young Quintus, whom Cicero justly calls ‘a thorough blackguard’ (cp. 658. 1, *Hoc quidquam pote impurius*), was trying to blacken not only Cicero, but his own father, in the estimation of Caesar, while Hirtius was defending them with all his might.

‘Nothing, says Cicero, ‘is so *vraisemblable* as his statement that I am utterly opposed to Caesar, but he adds that he ought to be on his guard against me—which might alarm me were I not aware that the King knows I have no fight in me.’<sup>5</sup>

Caesar returned to Rome in September. He deposed the *Praefecti*, and resigned his consulship. He then convened the electors, and had Q. Fabius Maximus and Gaius Trebonius made consuls for the remainder of the year, and the rest of the magistrates elected at the comitia. This all seemed to Brutus so hopeful that he

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare has caught the right view when he makes Casca say in describing the scene at the Lupercalia in February, 44 (*Julius Caesar*, 1, 2. 237): ‘I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown, and, as I told you, he put it by once; but for all that, to my thinking, he would fain have had it. Then he offered it to him again; then he put it by again; but, to my thinking, he was very loth to lay his fingers off it.’

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 646. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. 624. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 656. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 657. 1. *φοβερὸν ἂν ἦν nisi viderem scire regem me animi nihil habere.*

announced to Atticus the conversion of Caesar to constitutionalism. Cicero is not so optimistic. He writes, on August 7 or 8:—

‘So Brutus announces the conversion of Caesar to the cause of the Optimates. Good news indeed! But where will he find them? Unless he hangs himself and goes to join them in another world. What is Brutus himself going to do about restoring the Republic? You say, *it is idle to expect it.*’<sup>1</sup>

So at this time, about seven months before the Ides of March, even Atticus seems to have thought a blow for the Republic was out of the question. We agree with Schmidt that the counsel of Atticus so allusively and obscurely referred to in 664. 1 (dated August 13, 45) was that Cicero should for the moment abandon the philosophical works on which he was then engaged, and apply himself to a letter to be addressed to Caesar. Cicero wrote the letter and sent it, not to Atticus (669. 1) in the first instance, but to Balbus and Oppius, with a message that, if they approved of it, they should forward it to Dolabella, who would hand it to Caesar. It was not a political letter, but a literary one, on the subject of Caesar’s *Anti-Cato*. They declared that they had never read anything better, and forwarded it to Dolabella.<sup>2</sup> In the same letter he says that Dolabella is to visit him for the purpose of instructing him in the proper attitude to be observed towards Caesar. ‘Oh,’ he exclaims, ‘what a tiresome taskmaster I shall find him!’ A week afterwards, in a letter to Fadius Gallus, he declares he will no longer endure the insolence of Caesar’s creature, the Sardinian musician Tigellius, mentioned also by Horace. There was a certain Cippius who, having a frail wife, was, in the words of Juvenal, *doctus spectare lacunar*. On one occasion, when a slave, taking advantage of his simulated slumber, was making away with some wine, Cippius started up with the words *non omnibus dormio*. This expression, which became proverbial, is parodied by Cicero in the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 660. 1. We read partly with O.E. Schmidt, *Tu ‘futilum est.’* On the marriage of Brutus and his actions during the latter half of 45 we have written at length in vol. vi, pp. civ f.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 667. 1. We fear from Cicero’s apologies to Atticus (669. 1) that it was written in a somewhat flattering tone, though Cicero declares that such was not the case.

form *non omnibus servio*. He passionately resents some insolence on the part of Tigellius:—

‘There are cases in which I will not play the slave, and this is one. When I was considered a sort of despot (*cum regnare existimabamur*), I had no greater observance than I now enjoy from all the leading Caesareans, save only this creature. It is, however, clear gain not to have to endure the society of a fellow who is more pestilent than his pestilential birth-place, one moreover, who has been knocked down as a cheap lot by the seazontic hammer of Calvus.’<sup>1</sup>

Calvus, the rival of Catullus, had written on Tigellius a poem in seazons, beginning—

‘Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit.’  
(For sale, Tigellius, the Sardinian oaf.)

This outburst shows that Cicero feels far from satisfied with the attitude which he holds towards Caesar. So does a letter (668) written to the same friend a few days after:—

‘So you are afraid that if we offend Tigellius we may have to laugh at the wrong side of our mouths. But I say, Hands off the slate; the schoolmaster has come back sooner than we expected: I am afraid he will give us Catonians the cat. Well, we will stick to the pen, come what may.’

Gallus, it will be remembered, was the author of a *Cato*. In a letter (669) written about the same time we find Cicero apologizing to Atticus for having forgotten to send him a copy of a letter which he had written to Caesar, praising his *Anti-Cato* (see above, p. xxii, note):—

‘It slipped my memory; it was not, as you hint, that I was ashamed to show it to you. I did not assume in it *the humble friend* too much, nor yet was I *hail, fellow! well met* with him. I have really a high opinion of his *Anti-Cato*, as I told you when we met. So I wrote to him without any *soft sawder*, but in a way which, I fancy, must have been very pleasing to him.’

During the autumn Cicero wrote some letters (672–674) to Land Commissioners, Valerius Orca and C. Cluvius, who were appointed by Caesar to carry out distributions of land to his veterans.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 665. 1, 2.

These letters asked the Commissioners to deal as favourably as they could with the property of the municipality of Volaterrae, with the property owned by a certain C. Curtius in the territory of Volaterrae, and with the property which the town of Atella owned in Cisalpine Gaul. At the end of this year we meet a passage in a letter which takes us by surprise. Vatinius, whose successes in Dalmatia had been recognized by a *supplicatio*, was forced by the severity of the winter season to abandon a town which he had captured. He writes to Cicero, under date of December 5 (Ep. 678), asking him to use his good offices with Caesar on his behalf. What a strict account Caesar exacted from his generals, and how high must have been the opinion of Cicero's influence with Caesar, when one of the ablest of Caesar's lieutenants applies to him for help! O. E. Schmidt (*Der Briefwechsel*, p. 360) notes that feelings of unfair treatment like this probably led some of Caesar's generals to join the conspiracy.

We now come to the celebrated entertainment given by Cicero to Caesar at Puteoli, on his return from Spain:—

‘Oh, what a formidable guest! yet I have no reason to regret his visit: we had a very pleasant party . . . In a word, we were very friendly together, but he was not the sort of guest to whom you would say: *My dear fellow, you must drop in on me again when next you are coming this way*. No; once is enough. We had no political, but much literary talk.’<sup>1</sup>

The last words are very significant. Caesar knew that he could have no political sympathy with Cicero until he fulfilled the aspiration of the *pro Marcello*, and restored the Republic—a course which was very far from his thoughts. In the end of December Cicero went to Rome, and we have no letters to Atticus until the 7th of April, about three weeks after the death of Caesar. The last letter to Atticus, just before he left, was written from Tusculum. It ends thus:—

‘But, I say, you know my birthday is on January 3. You will come and see me here. Just as I write these words, lo and behold, a pressing

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 679. 1, 2 σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν *in sermone*: φιλόλογα multa. We hear elsewhere of Caesar's entertaining Cicero at dinner: ep. 767. 4 *eum (libellum) mihi dedi (Atticus) ut darem Caesari. Eram enim cenaturus apud eum illo die.*

call to Rome from Lepidus! He wants me to be with the other Augurs at the dedication of the temple to *Felicitas*. Go I must, or else I shall catch it.' <sup>1</sup>

About November Cicero delivered a speech *pro Rege Deiotaro* before Caesar, who heard the case in his own house. The King was accused by his own grandson, Castor, of having attempted to poison Caesar two years before, when Caesar was his guest. Cicero had a poor case, and did not think much of his speech.<sup>2</sup>

The letters of the early part of next year show much depression. Cicero begs Curius in February to come to him, 'lest the very seed of wit be lost to Rome, together with her liberty' (697. 2). There is an interesting letter from Vatinius (696) in which he expostulates with Cicero pleasantly for writing in favour of a certain Sex. Servilius and of one Catilius, an atrocious criminal. Others avoid all allusion to public topics. We have no letters which express the indignation which Cicero must have felt at the extravagant honours bestowed on Caesar during the early part of 44, and at the scene of the Lupercalia. But we can gather to what force it had attained from Cicero's marked approval of the assassination of Caesar.<sup>3</sup>

We have now followed the shiftings of opinion in the mind of Cicero during more than a year and a half from the time when, in the speech for Marcellus, he declared (§ 32), 'We will stand as sentries over your safety, and will interpose our own bodies between you and any danger which may menace you,' to the day when (as would appear) he despatched to Basilus his excited

<sup>1</sup> 681. 2, 3. The last words are *eatur*: *μη σκόρδου* (sc. *φάγω*). The proverb *σκόρδα*, or *σκόρδου φαγεῖν*, for 'getting into trouble,' is recognized by the Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lys.* 689, and is quite appropriate here. It involves hardly any change, the MSS. giving *μιασκόρδου*. The common reading, *μιάσμα δρυός*, besides being palpably absurd, involves a far greater departure from the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 680. 2 (enclosing to Dolabella a copy of the speech) *Eam tibi misi: quam velim sic legas ut causam tenuem et inopem nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui levidense crasso filo, cuiusmodi ipsius solent esse munera.* We rather wish Cicero had not written the last clause.

<sup>3</sup> *Fam.* vi. 15 (699) to Basilus was probably written on the Ides of March, but it cannot be *proved* to belong to that date. We think Basilus was the first person who informed Cicero of the deed, and *Ep.* 699 is the reply. See note on the letter. Professor Merrill wishes to put the letter in 47, and, comparing *Att.* xi. 5. 3 (416), to refer it to some intercession which Basilus may have made with Caesar in that year on Cicero's behalf (*Classical Philology* viii (1913), pp. 48-56).

congratulations when he heard of the death of Caesar. The two expressions of feeling were equally sincere. Cicero would never have derogated from the sentiment of the first, if Caesar had restored the Republic. The question whether his projected measures were as good as Froude thinks them, and whether his accomplished acts were valid or invalid, need not be discussed. For ourselves we completely agree with Mr. Strachan-Davidson, who has so ably vindicated for Cicero his place among the Heroes of the Nations, that Caesar's action was quite unconstitutional; that to appeal directly to the people against the opinion of the Senate was at Rome precisely what appealing to the personal wishes of the Sovereign against the policy adopted by Parliament would be in England; and that he transgressed in just the same way as Charles I when he met the stoppage of supplies by levying ship-money without consent of Parliament. *Intercessio* and *obnuntiatio* were, no doubt, constitutional fictions; but they were fictions which were regarded as essential to the working of the cumbrous machine of government. When Caesar refused to submit to the perfectly constitutional *obnuntiatio* of Bibulus, he was guilty of treason to the constitution. But whether his measures were good or bad, legal or invalid, it was not his measures which led to his death. Cicero puts the question in a nutshell when, writing to Matius, the close friend of Caesar, he says:—

‘You are to be commended for loving the memory of a friend who is no more; but you are bound to prefer the liberty of your country to the life of your friend, *if you allow that he made himself King.*’<sup>1</sup>

If anyone had advised Cicero to qualify the glowing eulogy of the *pro Marcello*, he would probably have replied in words used by him three years and a-half before, when certain expressions of his in a letter to Caesar were criticized as too adulatory: ‘When my theme was the liberty of my country, the charge of adulation had no terrors for me: in such a cause I would gladly have thrown myself at his feet.’<sup>2</sup>

The conspiracy against the life of Caesar could not be more completely misrepresented than when it is described by Froude as

<sup>1</sup> 784. 8, *Si Caesar rex fuerit.*

<sup>2</sup> Att. viii. 9. 1 (340), *Tali in re libenter me ad pedes abiecissem.*

arising from the hatred felt by the Senate for the person of Caesar, and their indignation against his good and righteous determination to check their career of misgovernment. After the victory at Pharsalia it began to grow clearer and clearer every day that Caesar was determined *not* to restore the Republic. He had a far better opportunity than presented itself afterwards to Octavian. He had never shed the blood of Roman fellow-citizens except in open fight. Yet he did not attempt to conceal his design of making himself King. He was heard to say<sup>1</sup> that the Republic was an empty name, and that when Sulla threw down the dagger and abdicated his dictatorship he showed himself to be a fool. He had established himself by refusing to respect the forms of the constitution. When established, he took a malignant pleasure in heaping scorn on them. Thus he made Caninius Rebilus consul for half a day. When Cicero jests (694. 2) on the vigilance of the consul who never slept while he held office, and during whose tenure of it no one breakfasted, we can see that

‘The bubbles of his mirth all spring  
From the deep anguish round his heart.’

The idea of taking Caesar's life arose simultaneously in two widely different quarters—among the vanquished at Pharsalia, and among his own victorious generals (e.g. Basilus<sup>2</sup>), who, no doubt, were also to some degree indignant with him for not having given them more substantial and honourable rewards. Cicero says (Phil. ii. 26) that Cassius conceived the design of murdering him on the banks of the Cydnus.<sup>3</sup> Trebonius had already in

<sup>1</sup> Suet. Iul. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cass. xliii. 47. 5 : cp. also note to 696. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This is mentioned only by Cicero. It has been supposed that it is a confusion with the surrender of a fleet at the Hellespont by a Cassius who is mentioned by Suet. Iul. 63 ; Dio Cass. xlii. 6. 2. Appian (ii. 88, 111) says it was Gaius Cassius the tyrannicide who surrendered the fleet ; but Dio and Suetonius both say explicitly that it was Lucius Cassius : and it would appear that this Lucius Cassius was not even the brother of Gaius : he must have been some other Cassius (cp. Groebe's note to Drumann, ii<sup>2</sup>. p. 544). Gaius was near Sicily at the time when Caesar crossed the Hellespont in pursuit of Pompey (Caes. B. C. iii. 101). If Cicero was not wholly misled by a false rumour (and we think it probable that he was), it must have been in 47, when Caesar was on his way from Egypt to Asia to wage war against Pharnaces, that Gaius Cassius conceived this idea of murdering Caesar on the Cydnus. Yet Cassius seems to have been a legatus of Caesar at this time : cp. Fam. vi. 6. 10 (488).

August, 45, thoughts of a plot to assassinate Caesar.<sup>1</sup> Cassius was, no doubt, the originator of the plot, which united defeated enemies like M. Brutus and Cassius with attached generals like Trebonius and D. Brutus. Personally the latter were not more attached than the former to Caesar; both were equally animated with hatred against the man who set himself above them all. Cicero was not taken into the confidence of the conspirators, but his well-known principles no doubt contributed to bring about the event, and to justify it when over, not only by the sentiments constantly expressed in his private letters, but by an occasional thunder-word in those philosophical works on which he was then engaged. 'I am ashamed to be a slave,' he writes to Cassius, before the murder.<sup>2</sup> 'Freedom never bites so savagely as after she has been muzzled,' he writes in the 'De Officiis,' after the event.<sup>3</sup> He recognizes himself that his philosophical works are often the vehicles of political reflections. 'My books take for me the place of the Senate and the public assembly';<sup>4</sup> and in the 'Brutus' he apostrophizes his friend with the words, 'The ruin of the Republic descended on your triumphant career in the bloom of your youth, and robbed it of the glories that were its due. The State lost its Brutus, and Brutus lost his State.'<sup>5</sup>

It seems to have been regarded as essential to the success of the conspiracy that Brutus should take an active part in it. It is not easy to see how this young man—he was only seven-and-thirty when the battle of Pharsalia was fought—had acquired such a commanding position in Rome. His usurious transactions in Asia have been exposed in the Introduction to vol. III, but neither they nor his cold, unsympathetic nature rendered him less picturesque in Roman eyes. Atticus said to Cicero when he was starting for his province, 'If you bring back nothing from it except the friendship of Brutus, you will have done well'<sup>6</sup>; and Cicero wrote to Appius Claudius about the same time, 'He is

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Ant. 13: Cic. Phil. ii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Fam. xv. 18. 1 (530).

<sup>3</sup> ii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> De Div. ii. 7, *in libris enim sententiam dicebamus, contionabamur, philosophiam nobis pro rei publicae procuratione substitutam putabamus.*

<sup>5</sup> Brut. 331, *Sed in te intuens, Brute, doleo, cuius in adulescentiam per medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehementem traversa incurrit misera fortuna rei publicae. . . . Ex te duplex nos afficit sollicitudo, quod et ipse re publica careas et illa te.*

<sup>6</sup> Att. vi. 1. 7 (252).



already the most promising of our youth ; soon I hope he will be the leading man in the State.<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps the extreme respectability of Brutus, affording such a contrast to the blackguardism of the Milos, Antonys, and Dolabellas of the time, which attracted a people who still remembered what *gravitas* was. 'Who was ever more respectable (*sanctior*) or more genial (*dulcior*) than you?' exclaims Cicero in the 'Orator' 34, which he dedicated to this paragon.<sup>2</sup> Yet he was really cold and unsympathetic. When he sent Cicero a copy of the speech which he delivered in the Capitol in the crisis that occurred after the death of Caesar, Cicero's criticism is, 'It is excellent as an example of his method of oratory ; but on such a theme I should have written with more fire (*ardentius*)'<sup>3</sup> To Brutus he writes with warm eulogies on the speech ; but we meet, in a letter to Atticus, a very shrewd reflection which qualifies his praise :—

'Here is a fundamental axiom for you, on a subject of which I am a past master: *Never was there poet or orator who thought any one better than himself.*'<sup>4</sup>

In this same letter (727. 3) Cicero writes : 'You think I am wrong in saying the State depends on Brutus. It does. It will be lost or will be saved by him'; and again (§ 5) in reproaching his friend for daring to plead Epicurus as an authority for abstention from politics, he says, 'Does not the phiz (*vulticulus*) of Brutus scare you away from such an idea?' He uses a jocular word to describe the severe face which spoke the unbridled respectability, as well as the boundless influence, of the incomparable prig.

Brutus, if left to himself, would probably not have put himself at the head of the conspirators. Shakespeare justly makes him say of himself (i. 2. 28),—

'I do lack some part  
Of that quick spirit that is in Antony,'

<sup>1</sup> Fam. iii. 11. 3 (265).

<sup>2</sup> In 722. 5, he ascribes his affection for Brutus to his brilliant talents, his charming manners, and his remarkable moral excellence and firmness of purpose.

<sup>3</sup> 731. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 727. 3. Cicero had complained (557. 1) somewhat bitterly of the coldness of Brutus' commendation of his consulship in his *Cato*: 'an excellent (*optimum*) consul, indeed ; could an enemy be more niggard of his praise ?'

to whom Cicero afterwards ascribes *Caesariana celeritas*.<sup>1</sup> Caesar, on his return to Rome, had given him the very desirable province of Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>2</sup> Thapsus had been fought and won. His uncle Cato was dead, and he had experienced, in the Pompeian camp, the horrors of civil war. Probably, not even the bitter epigrams of Cicero, the taunts of Cassius, and the hints conveyed to him constantly in anonymous letters,

‘In several hands in at his windows thrown,’

would have influenced him, were it not that his marriage with his cousin Porcia, daughter of Cato and widow of Bibulus, served at this juncture to outweigh the influence of his mother Servilia, who hitherto had used all her efforts to draw him under the influence of her old lover Caesar. Brutus, as we can infer from Cicero’s letters,<sup>3</sup> was much influenced by the ladies of his household. To this may be added a motive ingeniously suggested by O. E. Schmidt, in his monograph on Brutus.<sup>4</sup> In the autumn of 45 Caesar had adopted Octavian, thus crushing all the hopes of Brutus and his friends that he would be Caesar’s successor. That such surmises were rife appears from a passage in Plutarch, (Brut. 8):—

‘When Brutus was denounced to Caesar, the latter said, “*What! do you not think Brutus can wait till this poor body of mine (σῶμα) goes the way of all flesh?*”’—thus implying that Brutus was his natural successor.’

The hesitation of Brutus to put himself at the head of the conspirators was of a piece with his subsequent action. It was mainly his fault that ‘when the despot was slain, contrary to all experience, the despotism survived.’<sup>5</sup> Cicero was not admitted to their

<sup>1</sup> Att. xvi. 10. 1 (801).

<sup>2</sup> Later on Caesar made Brutus Praetor urbanus. Dr. Arnold (*History of the Later Roman Commonwealth* (1849), ii. 97) is justly severe on M. Brutus for thus, after having been his opponent, twice taking office under Caesar, and then becoming his assassin: he says: ‘Sir Matthew Hale did well to accept the place of judge during the usurpation of Cromwell; but what should we think of him if, whilst filling that office, he had associated himself with Colonel Titus and other such wretches in the plans to remove the Protector by assassination?’

<sup>3</sup> 635. 4; 744. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Verhandlungen der 40 Philologenversammlung’ Görlitz (1889), pp. 177, 178. Cp. vol. vi, p. ci.

<sup>5</sup> 712. 2: cp. 719. 2.

councils; but we think that if he had been he would have contributed, especially by the influence he exercised on Cassius, to make the wretched business a success. Antony, at least, should have felt the daggers that despatched Caesar. 'Oh that you had asked me to the banquet! There would have been no leavings,' writes Cicero to Cassius and Trebonius, at the beginning of February, 43,<sup>1</sup> in words severely condemned by Froude, and which, we will allow, are very savage. Yet his view of the situation was, according to the ethics of his time, just. If murder is to be accepted at all as a political expedient, it ought certainly to be thoroughgoing. We must not forget that till comparatively recent times, among Southern nations, political assassination was regarded as quite defensible morally. Cicero confesses<sup>2</sup> that he urged Octavian to the attempt which he made on the life of Antony on October, 5 or 6.<sup>3</sup> The death of Antony might have spared Rome the horrors of Octavian's proscriptions. At all events, the agony of the death of the Roman Republic might have been shortened.

Brutus was all for peace—'peace, peace, when there was no peace.' In Cicero's letters he is synonymous with peace. Cicero calls his friend Matius 'a bitter foe of peace, by which I mean Brutus.'<sup>4</sup> Brutus no doubt suffered the public funeral and the demonstration which Atticus in his wisdom declared to be fatal.<sup>5</sup> Another remark of Cicero's in the same letter is so good that Gronovius and Baiter have grudged it to him. Cicero distinctly records his conviction that if the Pompeians had taken a firm stand after the assassination they would have prevailed over the Caesareans.

'It would have been better,' he writes, 'that at his death we should all have been destroyed—which would never have happened—than that we should have to look on the present state of public affairs.'

<sup>1</sup> Fam. xii. 4 (818); x. 28 (819), *Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus.*

<sup>2</sup> Phil. iii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Fam. xii. 23. 2 (792) *Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio: quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in primisque Caesaris Octaviani conatum: de quo multitudini factum ab Antonio crimen videtur ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret: prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant. Quid quaeris? Magna spes est in eo: nihil est quod non existimetur laudis et gloriae causa facturus.*

<sup>4</sup> 704. 3 *Inimicissimum oti, id est, Bruti.*

<sup>5</sup> 713. 1. *Meministine te clamare causam perisse si funere elatus esset?*

These editors make this remark almost pointless by reading *utinam* for *numquam* in the words *quod numquam accidisset*. In fact, as we read the letters of this period, we find, indeed, Cicero distracted by alternate hopes and fears, but very wise in his counsel and his forecast of events. He is 'a reed shaken with the wind,' but he is also 'a prophet, and more than a prophet.' He is a prey to conflicting emotions; but when we enter the perplexed paths of the wood that spreads betwixt republican Rome and the Empire, his dead finger points out to us the way. But in a very interesting letter to the exiled A. Caecina<sup>1</sup> he enumerates the occasions on which he may fairly claim to have made a just forecast of the future, premising the remark, 'I am only afraid you will think I have manufactured the prophecy after the event.' Early next year he says in the Senate:—

'If the resolutions of this house are to be at the beck and call of the veterans, it is better to take refuge in death, which Romans have always preferred to slavery.'<sup>2</sup>

In these words Cicero foreshadowed the history of the Empire.

With the exception of the colonies of veterans, Italy welcomed with delight the death of Caesar, but the Liberators were without plans, and did nothing. Some champions of the murdered Dictator erected an altar and a memorial column to Caesar in the Forum. It was Dolabella, a close friend of Caesar, who pulled it down and punished the promoters of the object.<sup>3</sup> It was the inaction of the Liberators which placed the destinies of Rome at the mercy of the standing army. Antony had succeeded early in June in having Brutus and Cassius nominated commissioners to buy corn in Asia and Sicily—a very clever move. Cicero describes<sup>4</sup> a sort of council of state which was held at Antium, on June 8, to discuss the situation thereby caused. At this conference there were present Brutus, his mother Servilia,

<sup>1</sup> Fam. vi. 6. 4 (488), *Dicerem quae ante futura dixissem ni vereretur ne ex eventu fingere videretur.*

<sup>2</sup> Phil. x. 19. *Postremo—erumpat enim aliquando vera et me digna vox!—si veteranorum nutu mentes huius ordinis gubernantur omniaque ad eorum voluntatem nostrae dicta facta referuntur, optanda mors est, quae civibus Romanis semper fuit servitute potior.*

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Cicero's letter to Dolabella, 722.

<sup>4</sup> 744. 1-2.

'dear Tertia' (*Tertulla*) his sister, and Porcia his wife, together with Cicero, Cassius, and Favonius, whom Mommsen calls Cato's Sancho.

'I,' writes Cicero, 'advised that Brutus should accept the Commissionership of the corn supply and go to Asia. When Cassius came in, I repeated what I had said. "*What!*" said Cassius, with a look of great determination, his soul in arms and eager for the fray, "*could I ever have accepted from Antony an insult in the guise of a favour? I will not go to Sicily.*" "*What then will you do?*" said I. "*I will go to Greece.*" "*Well, what will you do, Brutus?*" "*I will go to Rome, if you approve.*" "*Certainly not: you would not be safe there.*" "*What if I could be safe there? Would you approve of it then?*" "*Certainly; but I don't advise you to risk living in Rome.*" Then Cassius dwelt bitterly on the opportunities we had lost, and complained of D. Brutus [how he had been making raids on the mountaineers of Savoy and Piedmont with a view to a triumph, instead of opposing Antony]. I said there was no use in dwelling on the past, but agreed with him.'

Then followed what was nearly an altercation between Cicero and Servilia. Cicero winds up his account of the scene with the remark that he got no good out of it but the applause of his conscience, for having done what he did not want to do, but what he knew was his duty, in going to attend the conference. The letter puts in a strong light the complete want of concert and mutual trust in the Republican party. But not only as regards the sparing of Antony on the Ides of March was Cicero opposed to Brutus. His whole attitude towards Antony, and the violent invectives of the Philippics, were gall and wormwood to Brutus, who hated to see vehement recriminations introduced into public matters. Still less did he like to see Cicero throwing the Republic at the feet of the young man 'to whom divine and immortal honours were due for his divine and immortal services.'<sup>1</sup> As to him, Brutus was right and Cicero was wrong. But we cannot accuse Cicero of any want of public spirit in his enthusiasm for Octavian. He looked on him as the only counterpoise to Antony, that debauchee whom he boasts of having cast, 'belching and puking,' into the toils of

<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 4. The whole of the two letters of Brutus i. 16 and 17 (864 and 865) are formal protests against Cicero's policy, of which this excessive praise of Octavian forms no small part of the censure.

Octavian.<sup>1</sup> Cicero's first judgment on him expresses some uneasiness: 'Tell me about Octavius. Are there crowds to meet him, and is there anything which suggests a *coup d'état*?' His next is not unfavourable—

'We have here Octavius, who is most complimentary and quite friendly to me, whom his friends call Caesar, though his stepfather Philippus does not, and I follow his example. I maintain that he cannot be a good patriot. Too many stand round him threatening death to our friends.'<sup>2</sup>

About two months afterwards he writes:—

'I find in him much talent and spirit, and I think he will have the right feeling towards our heroes. But it is a very serious matter of consideration how far we can trust him when we think of his age, his name, whose heir he is, and what has been his upbringing.'<sup>3</sup>

And to this judgment he recurs more than once. He tells us, 'the country towns are wonderfully enthusiastic for the lad'<sup>4</sup>; and again,<sup>5</sup> that 'Oppius guarantees that he will not only renounce all enmity against the tyrannicides, but will frankly accept their friendship.' Cicero afterwards<sup>7</sup> takes this pledge on himself. Writing in October to Cornificius,<sup>8</sup> he says, in reference to a rumoured attempt made by Octavian on the life of Antony, 'He inspires high hopes: he is regarded as capable of anything that will win for him glory.'

It is not till the middle of November that we find his confidence wavering.

'If Octavian succeeds, all Caesar's acts will be more valid than ever, and that will be bad for Brutus. If Antony prevails, he will be absolutely intolerable.'<sup>9</sup>

And again in the same letter (§ 2), 'Octavian has plenty of spirit, but very little influence.' And about the same time, while agreeing

<sup>1</sup> Fam. xii. 25. 4 (825) *Quem ructantem et nauseantem conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas.*

<sup>2</sup> 707. 3. The populace were still in a very inflammable state.

<sup>3</sup> 715. 2. See note.

<sup>4</sup> 745. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Att. xvi. 11. 6 (799), *Puero municipia mire favent .. Mirifica ἀπάντησις et cohortatio.*

<sup>6</sup> Att. xvi. 15. 3. (807).

<sup>7</sup> Phil. v. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Fam. xii. 23. 2 (792).

<sup>9</sup> Att. xvi. 14. 1 (805).

with Atticus that 'the lad is checking Antony beautifully,' he strongly condemns a harangue of his to the people, and exclaims in Greek, 'I would not have such a man even for a deliverer.'<sup>1</sup>

If at last he grovels before this 'mere lad,' after he has unmistakably abandoned the cause of the Republic, it is because he still fosters 'hope's wan bloom' that he may be able to kindle a spark of patriotism in the breast of this cruel and heartless youth, and is willing to stoop for the sake of his country to an attitude of submission which he never would have assumed to save his own life. We read among the fragments of his letters to Octavian, 'Henceforth let me know what you want me to do : I shall surpass your expectations in carrying out your commands.'<sup>2</sup>

But we are anticipating. Long before he wrote these words of self-abasement and despair we find him, three weeks after the eventful Ides, indignant with Matius for exulting over the inextricable tangle into which things had come in Rome ; and mentioning with a kind of affection certain sayings of Caesar which were going the rounds in Rome : his well-known criticism on Brutus, that 'if he wants a thing, he wants it in earnest' ; and a complimentary allusion to himself, 'If a man like Cicero is kept waiting for an audience, he cannot but hate me, good-natured as he is.'<sup>3</sup> Yet Cicero did not hate Caesar, much as he detested King Caesar. In a letter written a month after this time, he says :—

'It would have been less dangerous to speak against that rascally junto (the Caesareans) in the lifetime of the tyrant than now that he is dead. For me at least his tolerance was, somehow or other, simply amazing.'<sup>4</sup>

He now sees that

'the Ides have given us nothing more than the pleasant satisfaction of our indignation at his usurpation, and the joy of having seen with our own eyes his well-deserved death.'<sup>5</sup>

He begins to adopt a very despondent tone. 'Brutus is thinking about going into exile ; but anything is better than submission' ;<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Att. xvi. 15. 3 (807), Μηδὲ σωθείην ὑπὸ γε τοιούτου.

<sup>2</sup> *Posthac quod voles a me fieri scribito ; vincam opinionem tuam* (Nonius, p. 356. 22 : see vol. vi, p. 300).

<sup>3</sup> 703. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 724. 6.

<sup>5</sup> 715. 1 ; 719. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 725. 1 ; 733. 1.

'the tree has only been lopped, not plucked up by the roots, and so it is putting forth shoots afresh.'<sup>1</sup>

'If things go on as they are going—forgive me for what I am about to say—I have no pleasure in the Ides. I enjoyed such an influential position with Caesar (damn him all the same!) that I need not have shrunk from such a master at my age, the more, seeing that even after the master's death we are still not free. I blush, believe me. But I have written the words, and I won't strike them out.'<sup>2</sup>

He laughs at Servius Sulpicius, who took on himself the task of bringing about a general good feeling by his personal exertions. He ought to have known that there is now no appeal but to the sword. Ridiculing his abortive mission, he writes that

'he and his young secretary appear to have gone on an embassy of their own, armed as lawyers against all the quips and quiddities of the law.'<sup>3</sup>

By the middle of the year he has made up his mind that there will be an appeal to arms,<sup>4</sup> and that Antony, who has surrounded himself with a body-guard in pretended fear of a plot against his life,<sup>5</sup> is meditating a massacre. His aspiration now is to die in open fight, not in the massacre which he apprehends. He thinks Antony—'Cytheris' man,' as he calls him—will give no quarter if victorious (755). Writing to Capito, a partisan of Caesar, in July, he uses a curiously neutral word about the death of Caesar: 'Pending the matter, the sudden death of Caesar occurred.'<sup>6</sup> So Matius speaks of Caesar's *obitum* or 'demise.' The excellent letter of Matius to Cicero, together with the letter of Cicero to which it is a reply,<sup>7</sup> give a valuable indication of divergent opinions on the question of the moral import of Caesar's death. They are familiar to most readers of the letters, and should be read in their entirety.

We have now followed the fluctuations of Cicero's mind from

<sup>1</sup> 734. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 734. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 739, *Servius . . . cum librariolo . . . videntur*. The plural verb is a neat hint that the young secretary has as much chance as the jurisconsult himself of bringing about the desired result. In the case of a substantive connected with another by *cum*, the plural may be used when the thing predicated applies equally to both.

<sup>4</sup> 750. 2; 752. 4.

<sup>5</sup> 752. 4, *Qui umbras timet*.

<sup>6</sup> 778. 11, *Accidit ut subito ille interiret*.

<sup>7</sup> 784, 785.



the time when he fondly hoped that he could see in Caesar a restorer of the Republic to the bitter hour when he has to own that he has no pleasure in the Ides, and that the death of Caesar was no benefit to the State and a loss to himself personally. Henceforth Caesar drops out of the correspondence, though he alludes to his death more than once as a glorious deed, and no less sounding title than *heroes* or 'demigods' will serve him for those poor semi-demigods who plunged their daggers into the body of Caesar. His place is taken by Antony. Immediately after the death of Caesar, we find the comments of Cicero on Antony uniformly unfavourable, though he declares himself,<sup>1</sup>

'I was always friendly to him until I saw that he was openly, and even with joy (*libenter*), making war on the Republic.'

We hear how he has helped himself to the treasure in the temple of Ops;<sup>2</sup> how corn is being collected in his house in Rome, for a purpose of which we cannot be sure, perhaps as supplies for the soldiers whom he intended to bring to Rome (705. 1); how he forges documents (the word *ψευδέγγραφον*, 'bogus,' now appears in his letters<sup>3</sup>) purporting to be Caesar's, and his wife Fulvia disposes of them for money. He states distinctly<sup>4</sup> that Antony received 'a large sum of money' for producing a law enfranchising the Sicilians, and that a bribe administered to Fulvia restored the tetrarch Deiotarus to his kingdom of Little Armenia. He repeats the same charge in Phil. ii. 93-95, and says that the bribe given by Deiotarus was ten millions of sesterces, or nearly £90,000.

We are familiar with the fierce invectives with which he lashed Antony—after the latter made on him in the Senate an attack which was incoherent and almost inarticulate with rage—in the Letters<sup>5</sup> as well as in the Philippics. We find, however, a very different state of feeling expressed in a letter from Antony to Cicero, written a little more than a month after the Ides of March, and in Cicero's reply.<sup>6</sup> The letter of

<sup>1</sup> Fam. xi. 5. 2 (809).

<sup>2</sup> 719. 5.

<sup>3</sup> 763. 1; ep. 723. 1.

<sup>4</sup> 715. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Fam. xii. 2. 1 (790), *Omnibus est visus vomere suo more non dicere*; Fam. x. 1. 1 (787), *Cuius tanta est non insolentia (nam id quidem volgare vitium est) sed immanitas*.

<sup>6</sup> 716, 717.

Antony begs the good offices of Cicero in helping him to bring about the restoration of Sex. Clodius, a retainer and henchman of Cicero's old enemy, who had now spent eight years in exile. He urges the excellent moral effect which such an act on the part of Cicero would have on young Clodius, now an inmate of the house of Antony, who had married the young man's mother Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius. The letter is not very well expressed (see notes), but it is friendly in tone. However, we are not here so much concerned with Antony's Latin (which Cicero criticizes in Phil. xiii. 43) as with a charge against Cicero which has been most unjustly based upon his reply. Cicero, in a well-expressed letter, professes the highest goodwill towards Antony, though we know that at the time he represents him to Atticus in his true light.

‘M. Antonius has written to me about the restoration of Sex. Clodius. You will see by his letter, of which I enclose a copy, how polite he is. But the unprincipled, scandalous, and pernicious nature of his request, *which sometimes makes one even wish Caesar back again*, you will not fail to observe. What Caesar would never have done, nor permitted, is now done on the authority of forged minutes, alleged to be his. However, I fell in with his humour perfectly in my reply, which also I enclose. Having found out that he can do what he likes, he would have done it in this case, whether I complied or not.’

Antony afterwards read this letter out in the Senate to show the hypocrisy of Cicero.<sup>1</sup> Let us face the question with sincerity. Is there or was there ever a public man whose private correspondence would never run counter to his publicly expressed opinions? Surely there is such a thing as official language, and a public man writing to a public man adopts a tone different from that which he would use in discussing the same matter in a private letter to

<sup>1</sup> Cicero rebuked him sternly for his ill-breeding and ignorance of what is gentlemanly conduct (Phil. ii. 7). This passage deserves quotation. *At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expertus et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam qui paullum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum conloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videntur! Quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda!* The great truth of the last sentence but one is often brought home to commentators on Cicero's epistles.

an intimate friend. This distinction seems obvious, but it is invariably treated as non-existent in analysing the character of Cicero; and those who urge it are treated as special pleaders of a bad cause. With the letter of Cicero to Antony should be read the dignified letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony about a month later (740), and also a very severe manifesto (782) written nearly four months after from Naples. The whole missive is admirable. We will quote only the concluding words:—

‘We desire to see you hold a high and honourable position in the State. We are far from defying you, but we hold our independence to be a more precious possession than your friendship. Consider again and again what you are really undertaking, and what you are able to carry out. Reflect not on the length of Caesar’s life, but on the shortness of his reign (*quamdiu regnarit*). God grant that your policy may be good for the State and yourself. If that is past praying for, God grant that, without imperilling the welfare and honour of the State, it may be as little harmful as possible to yourself personally.’

As regards his public position, at the beginning of his famous struggle with Antony, Cicero was now in the forefront of political life. He was, in fact, in the words of Mr. Strachan-Davidson (*op. cit.* 406), prime minister of Rome:—

‘Under the Roman constitution the duty of leading the debates and guiding the counsels of the Senate was not bound up, as it is under our own parliamentary system, with the tenure of executive office. It was open to the private senator to make any motion on the subject in hand; and this motion, if approved by a majority of voices, became a binding instruction to the executive. Thus Cicero, though without any formal office, took the responsibility of the initiative, and shaped the policy of the Republic.’

His private life was far from happy, and would have been almost intolerable but for his devotion to literature, which has left for us that admirable series of philosophical works of which he speaks with such modesty—‘they are translations: I have only to supply the words, and of them I have plenty,’<sup>1</sup>—but which are quite unrivalled as literary feats.

‘If we were required,’ writes Mr. Strachan-Davidson (p. 369), ‘to decide what ancient writings have most directly influenced the modern world, the award should probably go in favour of Plutarch’s “Lives” and of the philosophic works of Cicero.’

<sup>1</sup> 599. 3.

It is not only their matchless charm of style which gives to these masterpieces their paramount place in literature. Without claiming for them philosophic insight or originality of speculation, qualities which Cicero himself expressly disclaims, we owe him an inestimable debt for the vast body of philosophic thought which he has preserved and embellished, first for his contemporaries, and then for posterity. One could not, of course, seek a system in these works. This, we suppose, is the ground on which Mommsen (*R. H.* iv. 613) pronounces the philosophical work of Cicero a complete failure, adding—

‘Anyone who seeks classical productions in works so written can only be advised to study in literary matters a becoming silence.’

This, of course, depends on what we mean by ‘classical productions.’ Cicero was born in an age of eclecticism (cp. Zeller, *The Eclectics*, p. 146, Eng. trans.), and he picked out just what commended itself to him without any very wide or profound philosophical ideas. He wrote for the ordinary educated man for the most part. But he had a high view of the principles on which conduct should be based, and he set forth that view and the reasons for which he held it with a grace of language which has captivated all ages down to our own.

His anguish for the death of Tullia was acute: he writes, ‘My agony haunts me; not, God knows, because I foster it, but in spite of my struggles against it.’<sup>1</sup> His only comfort is the thought of the shrine which he has vowed to consecrate to her memory, and the reflection that (549. 1)

‘the long ages when I shall be no more are more important in my eyes than the brief span of present life, which indeed seems all too long.’

This beautiful sentiment, found also in Sophocles,<sup>2</sup> is the motto of George Eliot’s poem, ‘Oh may I join the choir invisible!’ His divorced wife, Terentia, seems to have been harassing him with proposals about some pecuniary transactions which he does not consider sincere (552. 4). On this subject he finally writes to

<sup>1</sup> 545. Here the editors insert a *non*, and ascribe to Cicero a sentiment the very opposite to that which the mss, our only evidence, present to us—a sentiment inconsistent, too, with other letters of this period.

<sup>2</sup> Antig. 74.

Atticus,<sup>1</sup> 'Let the first consideration be what my duty demands. If it proves to be a bad bargain for me, I would prefer to feel dissatisfied with her for overreaching me than with myself for any neglect of duty on my own part' (557. 3). The divorce of Publilia, the extravagance of his son at Athens under the tutelage of Gorgias (cp. 786. 6), who seems to have been an ancient Dr. Pangloss, and, above all, the unkindness of his brother and nephew, who are seeking to influence Caesar against him, fill the cup of his affliction. Yet of his son he writes in the most fatherly manner. He owns that he does not quite believe the favourable reports of Herodes and other Greek professors, but he adds frankly, 'In a matter like this I readily allow myself to be imposed upon, and find a pleasure in my own gullibility.'<sup>2</sup> Of young Quintus he speaks most bitterly as 'our blackguard kinsman.'<sup>3</sup> In fact, the project of deifying his daughter, and his literary activities, are the only sole solace of his 'life's downward slope.'<sup>4</sup> His indifference to money matters is a very marked trait in his character:—

'I am more vexed that [through Tullia's death and the misconduct of Marcus] I have no one to leave anything to, than pleased that I have a competency.'<sup>5</sup>

He constantly asserts his indifference to the minor vexations of life. He receives the news of the fall of two houses belonging to him and the insecure condition of others with the words, 'Men generally call such things misfortunes; to me they are hardly even inconveniences.'<sup>6</sup> He alludes with a jest to the difficulty of recovering Tullia's dower from Dolabella.

'Yes; Dolabella is acting well. A score for him! I wish he could be got to think of the score he has got to settle with me.'<sup>7</sup>

Cicero, though he had the intellect of a man, we might almost say of more than a man, had the heart of a child. Except with political enemies, he could not bear to be, in the child's phrase,

<sup>1</sup> 557. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 746.

<sup>3</sup> 581! 2. *Impuro nostro cognato.*

<sup>4</sup> 601. 2 *καταβίωσιν.*

<sup>5</sup> 637. 3, where see note.

<sup>6</sup> 712. 1 *Hanc ceteri calamitatem vocant, ego ne incommodum quidem.*

<sup>7</sup> 725. 5. *me facere magnam πρᾶξιν Dolabellae . . . Tibi vero assentior maiorem πρᾶξιν eius fore si mihi quod debuit dissolverit.*

‘out with’ anyone. He would sacrifice some of those feelings which we miscall manly rather than endure that aloofness from natural friends, the sting of which was felt by Coleridge when he wrote the immortal lines :

‘ And to be wroth with one we love  
Doth work like madness in the brain.’

Hence his noble forgiveness of Quintus and his ‘blackguard’ son. Hence even his complaisance towards Dolabella, who had rendered miserable the last years of the life of Tullia, the daughter on whom Cicero poured out all the riches of his loving heart. We cannot but feel surprised to find Cicero quite cordial with the man whom his daughter had at last been compelled to divorce after repeated provocations patiently endured. In Rome the marriage bond held no sanctity, and hardly even gathered round it tender associations. This is, according to some of our modern novelists, ‘a consummation devoutly to be wished.’ When we find Cicero, who was so much superior to his contemporaries in refinement, divorcing Terentia after having been married to her for over thirty years, owing to some misunderstanding about money; marrying Publilia, who might have been his granddaughter; almost immediately divorcing her, and living on friendly terms with the divorced husband of his beloved Tullia, we are enabled to judge how baneful the old Roman attitude towards marriage would be to the rank and file of modern humanity. A short letter to Atticus<sup>1</sup> on the death of a favourite slave or freedman in his friend’s household, puts in a strong light Cicero’s gentleness of disposition :—

“Poor Athamas! My dear Atticus, your grief is natural, but you must struggle against it. There are many forms of consolation; but this is the soundest—let philosophy bring about the result that time must effect. Now let us take care of your Tiro, that is Alexis, whom I am sending back to Rome rather ill. Is the Quirinal insanitary? If so, you must send him and Tisamenus, who is in charge of him, to my house. The whole upper part is empty, as you know. The change might, I think, have the most striking effect.’

It is interesting to observe the deep interest which Cicero takes

in questions of diction and style. We are told by Quintilian<sup>1</sup> that he was a severe critic of his son's latinity, which indeed called for animadversion if it is true, as Servius tells us on *Æn.* viii. 168, that young Cicero once wrote *direxi litteras duas*, a sentence which must have grieved his 'judicious' father.<sup>2</sup> He expresses his satisfaction that his son's letters are written 'in classic style' on one occasion,<sup>3</sup> but we suspect that the Greek tutors could have explained that circumstance. It has often been observed that Cicero reminds one of a modern Englishman more than any other character in so-called ancient history. We might almost be reading a translation from Cicero in this passage from Chesterfield's Letters to his Son (vol. ii. 16), except that Cicero would have been less severe in his language :—

'I come now to another part of your letter, which is orthography, if I may call bad spelling orthography. You spell *induce enduce*, and *grandeur* you spell *grandure*, two faults which few of my housemaids would have been guilty of. Orthography is so necessary for a gentleman that one false spelling may fix upon him a ridicule for the rest of his life.'

It is not only to his son that he plays the censor. He accuses Tiro (653. 1) of a solecism (*ἄκρπον*) for writing *valetudini fideliter inserviendo*. Tiro should have said *diligenter*. The word *fideliter*, it is said, can only be applied to duties towards others, not towards oneself (yet see note on the passage). But the most striking example of Cicero's purism about words is to be found in a letter to Atticus.<sup>4</sup> He needed a Latin word to represent *ἐποχή* in the philosophic sense of the suspension of judgment. He had hit on *sustinere*, but Atticus had suggested *inhibere*, with which at first he was delighted; but he writes:

'Now I do not like it at all. *Inhibere* is a nautical expression, but I thought it meant to lie on the oars and keep the vessel stationary. I learned that I was wrong when a ship put in yesterday here at Astura. *Inhibere* does not mean to keep the vessel stationary, but to row backwards, which is quite unsuitable to illustrate the meaning of philosophic suspense in the *Academica*.'

<sup>1</sup> i. 7. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Duas* should have been *binas*, and *dirigere*, 'to draw up,' can be paralleled only in late Latin.

<sup>3</sup> 746 *πεπινωμένως*, cp. 709. 1; 749. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 652. 3.

He then goes on to give authority for the use of *sustinere*, which he wishes to be restored, and finally remarks :—

‘You see how much more interest I take in the exact meaning of *inhibere* than in the political news, than in the career of Pollio, Pansa, or Critonius, and, certainly, than in the news about Metellus and Balbinus.’

Caesar could forgive his enemies, especially those who used against him only the sword and not the pen. But his clemency was not always based on the noblest motives. He left the learned Nigidius Figulus to die in foreign exile, while he permitted the return, at least to Sicily, of the contemptible Caecina, who purchased his pardon by his ‘Whines’ (*liber Querelarum* he calls it himself), in which he sounded the lowest note of self-abasement and adulation. And Caesar’s clemency has been much exaggerated by writers like Froude. Gaul was the scene of terrible acts of retribution. He executed the whole Senate of the Veneti; he permitted what was almost a massacre of the Usipetes and Tencteri; he flogged Gutruatus to death, and cut the right hands off all the brave men whose only crime was that they held to the last against him their town Uxellodunum.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, he seems to have had very few scruples when the interest of the dominant race clashed with those of the subject peoples. It is amazing that he seems to have completely failed to recognize the nobleness of Vercingetorix. Bacon, in his Essay on Revenge, quotes the ‘desperate saying of Cosmus, Duke of Florence, against perfidious or

<sup>1</sup> B. G. iii. 16; iv 15; viii. 38, 44. Pliny (H. N. vii. 92) [cp. Plutarch Caes. 15 fin.] says that Caesar acknowledged himself that he had killed in battle 1,192,000, exclusive of those who fell in the Civil Wars, and Pliny adds *non equidem in gloria posuerim tantam etiam coactam humani generis iniuriam*. Dr. Arnold (*op. cit.* ii. 110) says in reference to this passage: ‘We may judge what credit ought to be given him [Caesar] for his clemency in not opening lists of proscription after his sword had already cut off his principal adversaries, and had levelled their party with the dust’: cp. p. 63, ‘The security of his government could not be ensured by massacres, when everyone seemed ready to submit to his power.’ There is a great deal in this; but one must, in our opinion, concede to Caesar that he conducted the Civil Wars with much greater clemency than might have been, and indeed was, expected, while his opponents were still very strong. His doing so was self-interest perhaps, but it was a new and lofty form of self-interest: in his own fine words *Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus* Att. ix. 7 C. 3 (347): cp. ix. 16. 1, 2 (374) and Marcell. 12.



neglecting friends,' that though we are commanded to forgive our enemies, it is nowhere enjoined on us to forgive our friends. Cicero, as we have seen, could pardon even his friends. When his 'blackguard kinsman,' young Quintus, had grace enough to tell him that he felt keenly the estrangement between himself and his uncle, Atticus, Cicero replied (681. 1) at once with exquisite kindness, 'Why then do you permit the estrangement to exist?'—adding, 'I used the word *pateris* in preference to *committis*,' which would have meant, 'Why do you bring on yourself his anger?' and which indeed would have been none too hard. At the beginning of the epoch which we have been considering, in April, 46, Cicero wrote to his learned friend Varro,<sup>1</sup> words which nearly sum up his view of the way in which men, such as they were, should get through the troublous times on which they had fallen :

'Be it ours to adhere firmly to a life of study, a practice once essential to my happiness, but now essential to my existence; to be ready to come, ay and eager to run, to help in building up the constitution, if called to that task, whether as master-builder or even only as common workman; if not wanted, to write and read about the science of politics, and from our study, if the Senate and Forum are closed to us, to do our best in our writings and books to guide the destinies of the State, and to pursue our inquiries on morals and legislation.'

<sup>1</sup> Fam. ix, 2. 5 (461).

II.—ANTONY SUCCEEDS CAESAR.<sup>1</sup>

It was about half-past eleven o'clock on the Ides of March when Caesar fell dead. The suddenness and unexpected nature of the event struck with panic those senators who were not in the conspiracy, and they fled: so that when Brutus turned to justify his deed, as he had no doubt arranged, he found no one to address. Accordingly, the conspirators proceeded out from the Senate House brandishing their daggers, carrying aloft a *pilleus*, the symbol of liberty,<sup>2</sup> and, as is stated, many times calling on the name of Cicero as on one whose devotion to the free State and whose high character assured them that he would approve their action. But outside all was confusion, everyone trying to fly, as they did not know what was going to happen next. Brutus attempted to speak, but failed. With the escort of some gladiators whom Decimus Brutus had hired for the games that were in progress, they made their way to the Capitol, ostensibly to return thanks to the gods for the success of their enterprise. There they fortified themselves, and thence sent messengers to some of the more prominent Republicans whom they had not indeed enrolled among themselves to take actual part in the deed, but on whose sympathy they could rely. Cicero was no doubt one of these.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 712. 2 *vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit*, cp. 719. 2; 728. 3 *Quis enim non vidit regni heredem relictum?* Also 718. 6; 723. 1; 724. 6; Dio Cass. xlv. 53. 5 ('Αντώνιος) αὐτὸς δ' ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τοῦ Καίσαρος ὧν πάντα διεχειρίζε; xlv. 41. 43 πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ (Καίσαρος) ἐπειγόμενος; Appian iii. 15 τῆς τυραννίδος διάδοχον; Plut. Brut. 21 'Αντωνίου σχεδὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν καθισταμένον.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative of events immediately following the murder is found in Dio Cass. xlv. 20 ff.; Appian Bell. Civ. ii. 118 ff.; Plut. Brut. 18; Nic. Dam. 25 ff. A well-known coin of Brutus represents on the obverse a 'pilleus' between two daggers and underneath EID MAR. But these coins were not struck until two years later (Dio xlvii. 25. 3.). See Eckhel, vi. 24.

<sup>3</sup> We do not believe that Cicero was present in the Senate at the time of the assassination; for we should probably have heard more from him of the exciting scene if such had been the case. The passage (719. 4) *Quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio praeter laetitiam quam oculis cepi iusto interitu tyranni*, may mean that he actually gazed on Caesar's corpse, or it may imply no more than that he saw the whole altered state of things at Rome which resulted from the death of Caesar.

He would appear to have already received a note from L. Minucius Basilus, one of the actual participants, telling of the assassination ; and the little note Fam. vi. 15 (699) is probably, but by no means certainly, an excited acknowledgment of the bewildering news.

Arrived at the Capitol, the conspirators had time to think ; and to realize with some dismay that they had not considered what they would do next when their victim had been sacrificed. Many senators and other constitutionalists repaired to the Capitol in the early afternoon, and a long and anxious deliberation began. There was no doubt at all that the essential thing to do was to summon the Senate : the question was, who was to summon it ? Should it be the proper authority to do so, the surviving consul, Antony ? They might reasonably reflect that he was not by any means so opposed to them and their deed as he afterwards showed himself to be. He had only recently been reconciled to Caesar, who had not approved of his vigorous action against the democratical party in 47, and had not, prior to his return from Spain in the late summer of 45, received him back into favour. Antony had no doubt grown in years and in prudence, and Caesar may have seen no stronger and more trustworthy man to leave at Rome to manage affairs while he himself was absent on the Parthian War. But Antony was plainly not absolutely devoted to Caesar ; for he knew of the plot, and does not appear to have given<sup>1</sup> Caesar the information which he could have given. Cicero, who naturally disapproved of and distrusted Antony (hardly any two men could have been more opposite to one another), urged vigorous measures. The two praetors, Brutus and Cassius, who had been leaders of the conspiracy, should take upon themselves the duty of the suspected consul, and summon the Senate to deliberation and the people to arms (713. 1 ; 744. 2).

This would have been the wise course, but it was not adopted. After long deliberation, it was decided that Antony should be asked to come to the Capitol, and discuss with the liberators as to the restoration and defence of the Republic. Their making this suggestion was a guarantee that Antony should not lose any of the honours which he had obtained from

<sup>1</sup> Cicero (Phil. ii 34) says it was notorious that Trebonius had sounded Antony on the point at Narbo during the previous summer : cp. Plut. Ant. 13.

Caesar. This appeal to the consul was the legal and constitutional course; but Cicero still disapproved, and refused to take any part in the deputation to Antony.<sup>1</sup> It was evening when the deputation reached Antony's home. He must have been during all that afternoon in sore perplexity. When the murder had been perpetrated, he cast away the insignia of his office and hastened homeward. Of the Caesareans no one except Lepidus came to his house that afternoon. Hirtius was in the city, and conferred with Antony later; but the other prominent Caesareans, Balbus, Oppius, Pansa, Calenus, and Sallust, did not appear at all upon that fatal day. The fact that Lepidus alone came must have made Antony uncertain as to the extent of the conspiracy—so well was the secret kept; and when he found out on the arrival of the deputation that the conspiracy embraced in large numbers Caesareans as well as Pompeians, he must have feared that the request to come to the Capitol was a *ruse* on the part of the conspirators, and that, once arrived there, Caesar's colleague in the consulship would share his fate. He may have thought, too, that they had their plans well considered, that they were full of resolution and vigour, and that, if he refused their proposal straight off, they would speedily come and make an end of him. So delay seemed his best chance. Accordingly he asked for a day to consider his position; and, probably to his great surprise, the deputation agreed to this request.

We can imagine the thrill of joy and hope that Antony must have felt when his request was granted and the deputation withdrew. Once he and Lepidus were again alone, with all the additional knowledge they had obtained from the interview, they quickly formed their resolutions. Resistance must be made. They would appeal to the people and to the soldiers against the conspirators. The heads of the *collegia* would organize the populace; and Caesar's veterans would quickly unite to revenge their murdered commander. Lepidus, too, had some small military contingent at hand which he was going to lead to his province of Narbonensis. They would form a nucleus round which the

<sup>1</sup> Phil. ii. 89. He attributed the adoption of this course not to Decimus and Marcus Brutus, but to those other dullards (*aliorum brutorum*) among the constitutionalists who called their lack of enterprise prudence and wisdom (719. 2).

veterans in the city and its vicinity might group. Lepidus, who showed much vigour in this crisis,<sup>1</sup> at once set to work to organize these forces, while Antony proceeded to get from Calpurnia, Caesar's widow, all the papers and money, said to be a hundred million sesterces (say £800,000), which were at his house. Calpurnia naturally gave them to the chief magistrate,<sup>2</sup> to whom Caesar himself had already entrusted several documents dealing with the conduct of affairs during his absence in the East. The conspirators seem to have never thought of obtaining possession of Caesar's effects. Antony kept his head, and in all his actions showed much practical wisdom, resolute energy, and devotion to his murdered friend. He co-operated with Lepidus during the night in organizing the populace and the veterans.<sup>3</sup> The conspirators, too, made preparations for a demonstration next day, and hired a number of people to support and applaud whatever they might do or say. We cannot think that there was much sleep in Rome during that exciting night.

Next morning the populace were still undecided. But there was no doubt about the veterans and the colonists (those who were waiting for assignments of lands in the colonies which Caesar was in process of planting), who kept streaming into Rome during the night and morning. Antony appeared in public, and performed his ordinary duties as consul. The magistrates in the Capitol, however, did not come down: they

<sup>1</sup> Dio xlv. 34. 5, represents the vigour displayed by Lepidus at this time as due to an ambition to gain the supreme power, as he alone had military forces at hand; and Dio regards Antony as virtually his rival, who succeeded by his cleverness in persuading him to yield to the opinion of the majority. Antony conciliated him later on by engaging his daughter to the son of Lepidus (Fam. xii. 2. 2, Ep. 790), and by having him appointed pontifex maximus (though irregularly by co-optation by the priests, and not by election by the people) with the same object of weakening his opposition (cp. xlv. 53fin.). This is a theory that probably arose from the insignificant part played in the Triumvirate by Lepidus, 'that slight unmeritable man, meet to be sent on errands.'

<sup>2</sup> Appian (ii. 125) seems to put this on the night of the 16th, not of the 15th; but in iii. 17 he says it was done 'immediately after the murder.'

<sup>3</sup> They were already organized to a considerable extent: cp. Appian ii. 120 *τό τε πλήθος τῶν ἀποστρατευομένων οὐ διαλυόμενον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας . . . ἄθρουν τότε ἐστάμευεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἀποικίας, τὰ μὲν ὄντα σφίσιν ὥς ἐπ' ἐξοδὸν ἤδη διαπεπρακότες, εὖθνοι δ' ἐς ὅτι μισθοῖντο.* Cp. c. 133.

were plainly afraid. Their hired supporters,<sup>1</sup> too, had little courage in face of the indignation of the veterans. Still a praetor, Cornelius Cinna, declared he would only hold his praetorship by grant from the people, and threw aside the insignia of his office. Antony entered into further negotiations with the conspirators in the Capitol. He asked that Decimus Brutus, one of his old comrades in the Gallic War, might come down and discuss the situation with him. Antony seems to have thought that he might induce Decimus to give up Cisalpine Gaul, to which he had been appointed by Caesar.<sup>2</sup> That province, if properly used in the interests of the conspirators, would easily assure them the upper hand; and so it was of the utmost importance for Antony that Decimus should be deprived of it. To this end all the efforts of Antony up to the *Lex de permutatione* were directed. Antony was agreeably surprised to find a friendly disposition on the part of the conspirators, and especially a readiness to comply with his request for an interview with Decimus. He began to see that they were getting more frightened and irresolute. The veterans were no doubt the principal cause of alarm. The conspirators were afraid to come down and address the people, lest they should suffer violence. Meanwhile during the morning Dolabella, who was *consul suffectus* (though not acknowledged as such by Antony), appeared in the forum with the insignia of the consulship, and declared for the conspirators,<sup>3</sup> and then went and joined them. This gave them some heart; and it was resolved that the principal conspirators should go down and explain to the people the object of the assassination and the motives by which the perpetrators of it were actuated. They did so, and Brutus made a speech to that effect, which was, however, coldly received, but there was no

<sup>1</sup> Appian talks a great deal about these *μισθωτοί* (ii. 120, 121, 122, 126, 131, 132: cp. iii. 24). He says (c. 121) that they kept constantly shouting for peace, in order to secure the safety of the murderers: for there could be no peace without amnesty for them. *Cupere pacem* (727. 4) is a phrase that Cicero uses for the desires of the constitutionalists, and *otium timere* (cp. note to 728. 2) for the attitude of the Caesareans.

<sup>2</sup> Later in the summer, at the time of the *Lex de permutatione provinciarum*, Antony seems to have thought that he could influence Decimus to submit to the exchange: cp. Dio xlv. 14. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Dio xlv. 22. 1. It was even said that he proposed that the Ides of March should be decreed the birthday of the State: cp. Appian ii. 122.

interruption or violence.<sup>1</sup> This was disheartening, and they retired to the Capitol. Any resolution they had acquired by the events of the morning was evaporating.

Veterans continued to come in, and the populace were emboldened: so that late in the afternoon Antony resolved to have no more negotiations with the conspirators, but to call a meeting of the Senate for the next morning in the Temple of Tellus; this temple was near Pompey's house, which now was Antony's.<sup>2</sup> He did not expect that any considerable number of supporters of the conspirators would put in an appearance at this meeting, especially as danger would be incurred from the hostility of the populace and the veterans; and thus he would succeed in getting measures passed which would prove detrimental to the conspirators, and he himself would be able afterwards to plead that the Senate had so decided. He sent Hirtius to Decimus to tell him that he could not consent, owing to the violence it would arouse, to allow him to have the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and to urge him and the other conspirators to leave Rome.<sup>3</sup> This was very vigorous conduct indeed, and it daunted Decimus at least for a time, as may be seen from a letter (700) he wrote very early next morning to Brutus and Cassius.

Decimus was neither an energetic nor a courageous man (Plut. Brut. 12 οὐκ ὄντα ρέκτην οὐδὲ θαρραλέον). In this letter (700) he appears so alarmed that he thinks (§ 2) of obtaining any plausible excuse to fly from Rome, so violent did he deem the hostility of the people. Resistance might, he thought, be organized abroad, or at worst they can live in exile or die (§ 3). He sees no place where they can be safe except with Sextus Pompeius in Spain or Caecilius Bassus in the East (§ 4). He wants to know what he should do (§ 5). Before despatching this letter and before the meeting of the Senate, he had another talk with Hirtius, and gave up his intention of leaving Rome. He proposed to ask Antony

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (Caes. 67) says that the people listened without expressing either indignation or approval of what was done, and showed by their profound silence that they pitied Caesar and respected Brutus.

<sup>2</sup> Appian (ii. 126) says he was afraid to go to the Senate House below the Capitol (the Curia Hostilia) owing to the gladiators of the conspirators.

<sup>3</sup> Appian (ii. 124) represents Antony and Lepidus as being especially afraid of Decimus Brutus, owing to his having a province and a large army.

for State protection, not expecting to get it, but hoping to raise a prejudice against him (§ 6).<sup>1</sup> Late in the night Antony held a meeting of his friends, of which an account is given by Nicolaus of Damascus (see introd. note to 700). Hirtius advised co-operation with the conspirators to restore the Republic. Lepidus and some others were for open war, for slaying the conspirators, and thus both avenging Caesar and rendering their own position more secure. Antony, with much prudence, was on the whole for the proposal of Hirtius. The population of Italy would for the most part favour the conspirators: and so it was advisable that, if any action was taken against them, it should have the sanction of the Senate, which he hoped would be poorly attended and be intimidated by the outcry and violence of the mob and the veterans.

But he was mistaken. During the night the conspirators sent messages to the senators who were their supporters, asking them to attend the meeting. The actual murderers were afraid to attend themselves; but the senators who were not in the conspiracy appeared in such numbers as precluded any chance that measures would be adopted which would be very prejudicial to the conspirators. These senators showed no little courage in facing the storm of unpopularity which greeted them as they made their way to the Temple of Tellus; however, no actual violence was offered to any of them, except to Cornelius Cinna,<sup>2</sup> who had made the demonstration of resigning his praetorship the day before (p. lvi), but now appeared again in his dress of office. Antony showed no little prudence in that he took care to have at his disposal on the spot sufficient forces to prevent any of the senators suffering in life or limb, and prejudice to his interests being thereby caused. The debate that ensued must have been one of great earnestness; but we cannot reproduce it in full. It is well described by Appian (ii. 127-135). At first the discussion was as to the attitude the Senate should take up with regard to the actual

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to the same effect. Thus it came about that a compromise was effected, and the great master of compromise and of words, Cicero, discovered a term which met the requirements of the case. As the Athenians after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants decreed an 'amnesty,' even so an 'amnesty' should be decreed now.<sup>1</sup> All Caesar's grants and enactments then in force should be maintained 'for the sake of peace,'<sup>2</sup> and those which he had definitely and specifically drawn up as regards the future should be held valid and enforced, especially those dealing with the grants of lands to the veterans. These proposals were passed, and the meeting ended. The conspirators when informed of them expressed approval. Antony and Lepidus sent their sons to the Capitol as hostages,<sup>3</sup> and Brutus and Cassius and the rest of the conspirators came down. The extreme tension of the last few days was relaxed, and all parties must have craved for rest and sleep.

The next day, the 18th, was a comitial day, and probably there was no meeting of the Senate. Appian (ii. 142) says that Cicero made a long speech to the people in praise of the amnesty, with which the people were delighted. Antony and Lepidus appear to have entertained Brutus and Cassius at dinner.<sup>4</sup> But on the 19th another meeting of the Senate was held, and a decree passed abolishing the dictatorship. This was proposed on the motion of Antony, and the thanks of the Senate were voted to him (Phil. i. 3).<sup>5</sup> At this meeting the provinces and magistracies allotted by Caesar were confirmed to those whom he had nominated. It was probably at this meeting that Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law, urged

<sup>1</sup> Phil. i. 1; Vell. ii. 58. 2; Appian ii. 142; Dio xlv. 23-33 (Cicero's speech): cp. 34, Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπεισε τὴν γερουσίαν μηδένα μηδενὶ μνησικακήσαι, ψηφίσασθαι: cp. Xenophon Hell. ii. 4. 43 ὁμόσαντες ὄρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν. Dr. Sihler (*Cicero of Arpinum*, p. 396) says, "Whenever Dio deals generously with Cicero, it is probably not Dio whom we read. In the present case probably Livy."

<sup>2</sup> Phil. ii. 100 *pacis causa*: cp. 777. 9 *oti pacisque causa*: 778. 12 *oti causa*: Appian ii. 135 ἐπεὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει; iii. 22 ἐς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρηγορίαν τοῦ δήμου βορυβομένου.

<sup>3</sup> Dio xlv. 34. 6. If Antony sent the son he had had by Fulvia, as Cicero seems to imply (Phil. ii. 90), he must have been a mere child (cp. Phil. i. 31 *tuus parvus filius*), as Antony did not marry Fulvia till 47.

<sup>4</sup> Dio xlv. 34. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Dio xlv. 51. 3 is satirical on the influence of the mere name of dictator, as if people who had forces at their disposal would not exercise dictatorial power under some other name.

that his will should be read and a public funeral granted him.<sup>1</sup> As Caesar had been adjudged not to have been a tyrant, and his public dispositions had been confirmed, his private dispositions should certainly be held valid; and his services to his country had been so great and meritorious that he deserved, if anyone ever did, a public funeral. Several senators were vehemently opposed to the public funeral (Appian ii. 135), especially Cassius. So too was Atticus (713. 1). Antony supported Piso, and expressed fear that the veterans and the mob would proceed to violence if it were refused. Brutus assented (Plut. Brut. 20), and a public funeral was decreed. When Caesar's will was opened, it was found that he had adopted as his son his grandnephew, C. Octavius, grandson of his younger sister, and made him heir to three-quarters of his estate; while he made the grandsons of his elder sister, L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius, heirs to the remaining fourth. Among his second heirs were named Decimus Brutus and Antony.<sup>2</sup> He left three hundred sesterces<sup>3</sup> to each Roman citizen, and his gardens beyond the Tiber to the city of Rome. Such a generous will naturally aroused the enthusiasm of the poorer section of the community, and indignation was general among all partisans of Caesar when they found he had bestowed such a marked regard on at least one of his murderers, Decimus Brutus. Ingratitude is a vice that human nature justly abhors. These friends of Caesar made elaborate preparations for the funeral, which probably took place on the 21st or 22nd—not sooner, as time would not have sufficed for the extensive preparations which were made, and hardly later, as a seven-day interval between death and funeral was about the maximum.<sup>4</sup> Antony was to make the oration, “as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative.”<sup>5</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> Appian (ii. 135, 136), as we have seen (p. lv, note 2), considered that this decree was passed on the 17th. But Plut. Brut. 19 assigns the decision on these matters to the meeting of the Senate next after that at which amnesty was decreed, which, however, he places on the day immediately following.

<sup>2</sup> There was no mention in the will of Cleopatra or her son Caesarion.

<sup>3</sup> Mon. Ancy. 3. 7; Plut. Ant. 16; Suet. Iul. 83. Dio (xliv. 35. 3) says the sum was 120 (= 30 drachmas, say £1 10s.), and quotes Octavius himself as evidence; but this is probably an error, as the Mon. Ancy. is definite (HS *trecentos*).

<sup>4</sup> As far as we can ascertain there was no absolutely fixed interval: cp. Marquardt-Mau *Privatleben*, p. 348, note.

<sup>5</sup> Appian ii 143. The relationship was distant. Antony's mother was a Julia whose great-grandfather (Sex. Caesar, consul 157) was brother of Caesar's great-grandfather.

about April 11 Antony arrested and executed this impostor; and for this, as well as for other acts of wholesome severity, Antony obtained much commendation from Cicero and Brutus (710. 1) but is said to have changed popular feeling towards him 'from unspeakable goodwill to unspeakable hatred.'<sup>1</sup> Brutus and Cassius left Rome for Lanuvium (709. 1) about April 12 or 13. They had an interview with Antony just before leaving,<sup>3</sup> in which it is probable that Antony promised to get leave for Brutus, though he was city praetor, to absent himself from Rome for more than ten days; and after his departure Brutus appears to have corresponded with Antony in terms which did not indicate hostility. All the conspirators had now left the city. Lepidus, too, left for his province of Narbonese Gaul. Before he did so he succeeded in becoming Pontifex Maximus, though in some highly irregular way.<sup>5</sup> By the middle of April he had left for his province, as he had now got all he wanted. He stated that he had learned of good authority that plots were being formed against him, and perhaps they were. But he appears to have been in a less hostile frame of mind towards the conspirators than before.<sup>6</sup> The vigour he had exhibited immediately after the murder seems to have evaporated when the amnesty was decreed.

Antony now remained in sole possession of the government. He must have had hard work; but there is a certain exhilaration in hard work when one has a free hand. He was no doubt

<sup>1</sup> Appian iii. 4, μῖσος δὲ ἄρρητον ἐξ ἄρρήτου εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγήγερτο.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch (Brut. 21) says they went to Antium.

<sup>3</sup> 708. 1, *Antoni colloquium cum heroibus nostris pro re nata non incommodum.*

<sup>4</sup> 719 fin., *Epistula brevis . . . sane fuit iucunda de Bruti ad Antonium et de eiusdem ad te litteris.* Possibly it was on some occasion about this time that Antony said the Caesar was justly slain: cp. Seneca, *De Benef.* v. 16. 6, *Ingratus Antonius i dictatorem suum quem iure caesum pronuntiavit.*

<sup>5</sup> Vell. ii. 63. *furto creatus*: Livy *Epist.* 117, *pontificatum intercepit*: Dio xlii. 53 fin., οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα τῶν νενομισμένων πράξας. He seems to have been simply elected by the Pontifices to be Pontifex Maximus, and the election not made by the *minor pars populi* (seventeen tribes chosen by lot), as should have been done (cp. Livy xxv. 5. 2). Ferrero (iii. 38) supposes that Antony passed a decree of the Senate abrogating the nomination of the Pontifex Maximus by the people, and that forthwith the pontifices co-opted him. Lepidus had been already a member of the College for many years: cp. *Har. Resp.* 12.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. 710. 1, *moderate et amice scriptas litteras.*

besieged by petitioners. We know that the anti-Caesarean, King Deiotarus, some time a little later than this obtained official restitution of most of his kingdom, and that the Sicilians were granted full rights of citizenship, in consideration of large tributes administered to Antony or Fulvia (Phil. i. 24; ii. 92): and these grants were probably being negotiated about this time (715. 1). Fears were entertained that there would be outbreaks in the provinces, *e.g.*, Gaul (706. 1; 707. 1) and Spain (710. 2); so that hostile nations might make inroads into Roman territory, owing to the general disorder in the city. But news did not travel fast; indeed we learn, too, that there were some provinces to which the news of the crisis had not been officially sent<sup>1</sup>; and the people at Rome always thought that their own riots were regarded much more seriously in the provinces and by foreign nations than they really were or deserved to be. But the cataclysm of Caesar's murder might well have led to danger. Till all these fears proved groundless (712. 3), and no danger ensued even from the Getae, who were always threatening Macedonia. Antony made use of this pretext to ask for the command of the legions now in Macedonia, which had been sent forward by Caesar for the Parthian War. Appian says (iii. 25) that they hesitated to grant this to Antony on his own statement about the Getae, and sent out a commission to make inquiries. Antony's proposal about the abolition of the dictatorship and his generally prudent conduct seem to have conciliated the Senate so far that they granted him the army. The commission sent out to inquire reported that the Getae had not invaded Macedonia, but would do so if the army was withdrawn. This is Appian's story. But would not Antony, the consul, as holding the *maius imperium*, have had a right to the disposal of these legions?<sup>2</sup> However, even so, probably Antony wished to get the Senate's authority for his action in this important public concern, just as in the private affair about the restoration of Sext. Clodius he asked for the consent of Cicero (716. 3).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fam. x. 31. 4 (824)—from Asinius Pollio from Corduba.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Cic. Phil. iv. 9, *omnes enim in consulis iure et imperio debent esse provinciae*.

<sup>3</sup> We agree with Schwartz (*Hermes*, 1898, pp. 187, 226) that Macedonia and Syria had been assigned by Caesar as the provinces to be held by Antony and Dolabella in 43; and that the repeated statement of Appian iii. 2, 8, 12, 16, 24, 35, 36, and Florus ii. 17. 4 (= iv. 4. 4), that it was to Brutus and Cassius that they were

As we have seen, Cicero left Rome on April 6th for the Bay of Naples, whither it was customary for the upper classes to repair for the Spring vacation.<sup>1</sup> Some of the Caesareans, Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus, and others, had gone there already: Cicero calls them 'the Baian lot' (*Baiana negotia*, 710. 1).<sup>2</sup> In the outskirts of Rome he had on the same day a conversation with Matius, a friend of Caesar's, but a moderate man (cp. Ep. 785). Matius took—a gloomy view of the situation, supposing that a general dissolution of society, and perhaps even of the empire, was at hand (703. 1). Cicero did not seem to consider at this time that Antony was very dangerous (705. 2); but he was horrified at the violent language of many of the extreme Caesareans (706. 1; 714. 1). That many moderate Caesareans did not feel perfectly safe, and wished to gain the goodwill of such an influential anti-Caesarean as Cicero, may be gathered from their leaving him bequests in their wills, and securing that Cicero should know of it by asking Atticus to be present at the execution of these documents (705. 2 cp. 719. 5).<sup>3</sup> Cicero did not proceed direct to Naples: for we

assigned, is to be rejected, as it was in very decided terms by Dr. Arnold (*op. cit.* p. 133, note), who considered that Cicero's 'letters are our only good authority for the transactions of these times.' No mention of any such assignment to Brutus and Cassius is made in Plutarch (Ant. 14; Cic. 42; Brut. 19) or Dio (xlv. 20. 3; xlvii. 21. 1) or Cicero's Letters or Philippics. Indeed, in 712. 3 (see note) it is implied that Dolabella is the person who is interested in Syria; and in Phil. xi. 27, 28 he says that Macedonia was not the province of Brutus, nor Syria that of Cassius (*neque enim est in provinciam suam Cretam profectus* (Brutus), *in Macedoniam alienam advolavit* . . . § 28 *Cassius cum est in Syriam profectus, alienam provinciam*), when he would certainly have said something about its having been his if Caesar had designated him to it: cp. Phil. vii. 3 (January, 43), *Macedoniam suam vocat omnino* (Antonius): also Phil. x. 26, *utique Q. Caepio Brutus* [i.e., Marcus Brutus, who had been adopted by Q. Servilius Caepio] *pro consule provinciam Macedoniam Illyricum cunctamque Graeciam tueatur*, where he would also have made some allusion to his right to the province (such as *Macedoniam suam*), if it had been settled by Caesar that he should get it.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *res prolatas* (707. 2). The Schol. Bob. (p. 334 Or.) on Cicero's 'In Clodium et Curionem' (*homo durus ac priscus invectus est in eos qui mense Aprilis apud Baias essent*) has the following note:—*Consuetudo erat multis, ineunte verno, ad aquarum quae sunt in Campania velut fomenta salubria convenire . . . Et hinc fiet gradus ad ipsius Ciceronis Puteolanas possessiones in quas devertere ad oblectamentum solebat. Removetur ergo impudentiam reprehendentis a moribus suis, ne vel superbus vel nimium delicatus habeatur.*

<sup>2</sup> The less important Caesareans who followed their lead Cicero calls their 'chorus' (cp. 710. 1).

<sup>3</sup> About this time we hear that Cleopatra 'fled' from Rome (710. 1). During April



find him at Tusculum on the 8th, at Lanuvium on the 9th, at Astura on the 11th, at Fundi on the 12th, at Caieta on the 14th, at Formiae and Sinuessa on the 15th.<sup>1</sup> He reached Puteoli on the 16th (cp. 709. 1). During his journey he noticed the strong sympathy of the country towns with the liberators, and their desire to hear his view of the political situation; yet the constitutionalists were doing nothing (708. 2). After two days spent at Puteoli he went to his adjacent Cumanum on the 18th (cp. 713. 3): and there or in the neighbourhood he remained until early in May. It must have been a relief for him to get to the quietness of his 'realms of Puteoli and Cumae' (721. 1), away from the fierce veterans and the tumultuous mob that had been rioting at Rome. Indeed, on his first arrival he thinks that 'everything looks quite peaceful, very different from the forecast of Matus' (712. 3). But this was only temporary. Cicero remained full of agitation, indignation, and anxiety of mind. He wrote to Atticus nearly every day after he left Rome, and poured forth his thoughts and impressions of the moment with the utmost freedom. He sees the tyrant dead, but the tyranny alive: Brutus removed from all public affairs and compelled to live not in Rome, but at Lanuvium<sup>2</sup>; the Caesareans in possession of wealth and lands: and he is astonished at the lack of vigour on the part of the constitutionalists (713. 2), notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the country towns. He laments that the enactments of Caesar were confirmed. It is utterly anomalous that the tyrannicides

and May we have tantalizing references to some rumour about her: cp. 727. 2 and note; 730. 4. She appears to have made some promises to Cicero about literary or artistic works, which she did not fulfil, and about which she spread unjustifiable rumours, and thereby raised Cicero's ire (748. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Epp. 705 to 710.

<sup>2</sup> On arrival at Lanuvium, Brutus and Cassius appear to have sent a manifesto to the young men of the upper and middle classes in the towns of Latium, asking them to enrol themselves as their body-guard, and thus secure their return to Rome. Towards the end of April Antony wrote to them a firm letter, requiring them to dismiss this body-guard; and they appear to have done so in the fullest way, as subordinate officials obeying the consul (cp. 740. 1, *cum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus, tuoque adducti consilio dimiserimus ex municipiis nostros necessarios neque solum edicto sed etiam litteris id fecerimus*). This was a sad mistake on the part of Brutus (for one cannot but think that this irresolution and want of nerve was shown by him and not by Cassius): and we do not wonder that at the beginning of May he was meditating going into exile (725. 1; 726. 4).

should be lauded to the skies, and the acts of the tyrant maintained (708. 2: cp. 713. 1). Yet he feels himself powerless; and it must have added to his vexation that he had to no small extent co-operated in bringing about that result, and that he and the other constitutionalists had let themselves be deceived by Antony and his party, who had ungratefully taken advantage of their readiness to come to a compromise (*facilitate*, 723. 2). He thinks of leaving Italy, and becoming a wanderer on the face of the earth (713. 1, written April 19). Even as early as April 12 he says (707. 2):

‘What foolish scrupulousness on my part not to have asked for a *legatio libera* (cp. 718. 4) before the vacation, for fear I should be thought to be abandoning the State in its inflamed condition (*hunc rerum tumorem*); and indeed, if I could have possibly applied a healing hand, I ought not to have failed to do so. But you see the so-called magistrates, the tyrant’s creatures, in possession of offices [cp. Plut. Ant. 15], his armies and his veterans on our flank, all highly inflammable material.’

This was the state of Cicero’s mind when Caesar’s heir Octavius arrived at Naples on April 18 from Apollonia, where he had been studying. He had been expected somewhat earlier (707. 3); but Cicero did not consider him of much importance (708. 1, *de Octavio susque deque*). He called on Balbus on the morning of the 19th, and on Cicero later in the same day, and stated that he would accept Caesar’s inheritance. He also saw his stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus, who seems to have advised him not to take the inheritance,<sup>1</sup> and, according to Cicero (715. 2), would not salute him as ‘Caesar.’ He was polite and friendly with Cicero; but, owing to the violent language of his followers, Cicero was unable to feel sure that he would favour the constitutionalists (715. 2). A further source of anxiety was the news from Rome of increasing hostility to the tyrannicides exhibited at the pro-Caesarean meetings, which were being constantly held (714. 1: cp. 706. 1); and, much as Cicero sympathized with Deiotarus and the Sicilians, the manner in which they obtained their ends by personal influence with Antony and Fulvia was very disquieting (715. 1 and note), as were also the many exiles that were being restored (719. 2), and the inroads

<sup>1</sup> Nic. Dam. 18; Suet. Aug. 8. 2.

that were being made on the public treasury (719. 5). Octavius did not remain at Naples, but passed on to Rome, where he arrived about April 22, just at the time when Antony was leaving the city for a tour of inspection among the military settlements in South Italy.

Once Antony found himself in undisturbed possession of the Government at Rome by the departure of Brutus and Cassius on the 13th, he determined to take bold and active steps to consolidate the power which he had obtained by his firmness and prudence, and by the lack of forethought and the irresolution shown by the constitutionalists.<sup>1</sup> He saw plainly that he must have money and men, as Cicero did also for *his* party (706. 2), especially soldiers to support him; and, while the public Treasury and Caesar's hundred million sesterces, which Calpurnia had put into his hands (cp. p. li), along with the bribes he might obtain from applicants for privileges, like Deiotarus, and from those who had received appointments to offices (Dio xlv. 53. 3), would supply the former, the ill-organized veterans and civilian mob at Rome would not be able to supply the latter in such a way as to prove effective. So he determined to make a tour among the veterans in South Italy, especially among those in Campania, who either had got or were expecting to get settlements there, and to bring them to Rome and organize them into a force that would implicitly obey his orders. He had shortly before—it is generally supposed on April 24—had a law *de coloniis deducendis* enacted which was a necessary result of the decree of the Senate on that subject passed on March 17 (see above, p. lvi), and he used this

<sup>1</sup> In a long speech which Appian (iii. 33–38) represents Antony as making to the veterans about August, justifying his conduct during the whole period from the Ides of March, he claims that 'where courage was required he was the boldest, and where artifice (*ὑπόκρισις*) he was most resourceful (*εὐμήχανος*).' He instances (1) his preventing rewards being voted to the conspirators; (2) his yielding to an amnesty in their favour, so that afterwards he might be in a better position to exact vengeance on them; (3) his funeral speech; (4) his lulling the conspirators into a false security by his conduct with regard to Amatius and Sext. Pompeius; (5) his winning over Dolabella to unite with him; (6) his assigning no better provinces than Crete and Cyrene to Brutus; (7) his decrees about abolishing the dictatorship, whereby he beguiled the Senate, and obtained their sanction to use the legions then in Macedonia; (8) the acquisition from the people of Cisalpine Gaul; (9) his bringing over the Macedonian legions. 'Thus,' he says, 'from a state of great fear we have passed into one of firm security, in which we can face our enemies with boldness.' This boast had much to justify it at the time.

as an excuse for his tour.<sup>1</sup> This recruiting of the veterans he successfully accomplished during the next three weeks by holding before them the fear that unless they were prepared to act under him the constitutionalists would annul all Caesar's measures. He told the veterans that they were to bring their arms with them to Rome, and to be so far under discipline that they were to be inspected every month by two officials, who would see that they were in a proper state of readiness and efficiency.<sup>2</sup> He also proceeded to perform the ceremony of founding a new colony at Casilinum, where Caesar had already founded a colony—a proceeding which was, on this account, contrary to augural law (Phil. ii. 102). Cicero (733. 1) speaks of these settlers as *novi conventus habitatores*, not *coloni*.<sup>3</sup> Antony was certainly securing for himself very strong support, especially as he had at the same time succeeded in inducing Brutus and Cassius to discontinue the recruiting of the well-to-do young men in the country towns of Latium, who, as they hoped, would facilitate their return to Rome.<sup>4</sup> While in Campania Antony wrote a friendly letter (716) to Cicero, asking him to consent to his recalling from exile Sext. Clodius, a client of Cicero's old enemy P. Clodius.<sup>5</sup> Cicero was surprised and flattered by the request; and replied in a rather effusive letter (717), which Antony afterwards, when he and Cicero had broken off friendly relations, read out in the Senate to show the insincerity of Cicero (Phil. ii. 7-10). Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> This law is alluded to in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, C.I.L. II. 5439 (civ. 13, p. 857), where it is called *Lex Antonia*, not *Lex Antonia Cornelia*; so that Cicero may have been mistaken in attributing participation in it to Dolabella (Phil. viii. 25, *Addit praeterea 'ut quos ipse cum Dolabella dederit agros teneant ii quibus dati sint'*). Yet Cicero himself mentions Antony alone in another passage (Phil. v. 10, *Si quam legem de actis Caesaris confirmandis deve dictatura in perpetuum tollenda deve colonis in agros deducendis tulisse M. Antonius dicitur*); cp. Mommsen in 'Ephemeris Epigraphica,' ii. p. 119. Antony greatly abused the powers granted to him by this law according to Cicero (Phil. ii. 101).

<sup>2</sup> 728. 2 (written May 11), *Antoni consilia narrabat (Balbus): illum circumire veteranos ut acta Caesaris sancirent idque se facturos esse iurarent ut arma* [so Lambinus for *utram* of the mss.] *omnes haberent eaque duumviri omnibus mensibus inspicerent.*

<sup>3</sup> When Octavian went through Campania in October, the colonists in this town went over to him, and no wonder, says Cicero, Att. xvi. 8. 1 (797), for he gave them 500 denarii apiece.

<sup>4</sup> 740. 1 : cp. 727. 4, and above, p. lxiii, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch (Ant. 15), in reference to Antony's misuse of Caesar's papers, says, 'Antony, by inserting entries in these, nominated many to offices just at his pleasure.'

Cicero need not have expressed himself in such very friendly terms; indeed, he himself seems to have thought that some apology was necessary for so doing (cp. 718. 6 to Atticus). But just at this time Cicero wanted to be on good terms with Antony, not merely because he naturally disliked being on bad terms with anyone, and because he wished the state of peace attained by the amnesty to continue, but also for the sake of Atticus,<sup>1</sup> who required the influence of Antony to secure that Caesar's rescript about the exemption of the land of the Buthrotians in Epirus from confiscation should be confirmed and enforced.<sup>2</sup> Cicero hoped to have a meeting with Antony on this point early in May (724. 2), but he did not succeed (727. 2; 730. 2). At this time he was thinking seriously of his journey to Greece, but feared the adverse criticism that he was deserting his country in a crisis; and he thought that if he still remained he might be of some benefit to the State (718. 3). But he plainly wished to go away from Italy to avoid personal danger; for he seems to have feared an outbreak at any moment (718. 4).

Until the end of April Cicero and the constitutionalists did not know what Antony's exact object was; but when, during the first week of May, they began to discern his aims, they became panic-stricken (725. 4; 726. 3). For a moment during the latter part of April they were elated by very vigorous action on the part of Dolabella, who had returned to Rome after Antony had left. The mob had continued to exhibit the same sort of fanaticism which they had displayed at the altar or column which they had

and many he made senators (cp. Phil. xiii. 28), and he restored some who were in exile, and released others who were in prison, as if Caesar had determined all this.' These senators were called in mockery *Charonitae*. The Latin word is *Orcini* (Suet. Aug. 35). In Justinian's Institutes (ii. 24. 2) *orcinus* means a slave made free by a will. On Antony's letter and Cicero's reply see above, p. xl.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero received many favours from Atticus; but he was ever ready to show favours in return. Thus Pilia, wife of Atticus, came down to the Bay of Naples at this time, and Cicero put his Cumanum at her disposal, and frequently went to see her (721. 1; 724. 1; 725. 6; 727 fin.; 729. 1; 731. 1). Cicero was always glad to let his friends make use of his houses: cp. 733 fin.

<sup>2</sup> The early history of this Buthrotian business, of which we hear so much, is set forth by Cicero himself with his usual lucidity, 767. 4-6: cp. also Epp. 777 to 781. Ferrero (ii. 336, 337) considers that Caesar's dealing with the case shows that he was far from omnipotent, and is an instance, among others, of 'the shifts to which the master of the world was reduced.'

erected to Caesar under the influence of Amatius (see above, p. lix). Dolabella seized and executed several of the rioters, pulled down the altar, and had the place where it stood repaved. This repression of mere disorder seems to have been generally approved (721. 2), though Pansa criticized it severely (725. 2). Cicero was in the wildest delight at this (as he considered) heroic deed, worthy of record in epic song,<sup>1</sup> and on May 3 wrote an over-enthusiastic letter (722) to that violent self-seeker. He appears to have thought that the constitutionalists had now got a leader who would act with vigour (727. 4). Things were going much better, and Brutus would be able to return to Rome (721. 2). It was a pity that Caesar's acts had been confirmed (720. 3; 723. 1; 724. 6). But Cicero varied in his mood from day to day. He will not go to Greece until Atticus says he may do so with honour (720. 3); but once he has done all he can for Brutus he will take that journey, for he wants to see himself how his son is doing (721. 3, 4).<sup>2</sup> But on May 8 he is again despondent, and he seems inclined to go to Greece even before the situation fully develops (725. 6), as Brutus is meditating going into exile (726. 4); he says he yields to none in despair of the whole state of things (726. 3). He must see to getting his "seven-league boots" (lit. "winged sandals") ready (*talaria videamus*, 728. 4) and procuring a *legatio* of some kind to enable him to go to Greece (729. 2). Atticus thought that Cicero made too much of this exploit of Dolabella, though Cicero says in more than one letter that Atticus had praised Dolabella highly.<sup>3</sup> But Cicero's own enthusiasm for Dolabella was somewhat cooled before long: for within a week it had come to his knowledge that in league with Faberius, who had been formerly Caesar's and was now Antony's secretary, he had by

<sup>1</sup> 720. 2, *magnam ἀναθεώρησιν res habet* . . *Quid quaeris? Heroica* [qu. 'Ἡρωικά]; 721. 2, *O Dolabellae nostri magnam ἀπιστείαν*: cp. 723. 1; Phil. i. 5, 30; ii. 107.

<sup>2</sup> We think *portum propiorem* in 725. 1 is most probably Athens, as Dr. Reid suggests. But it has occurred to us that it might possibly also mean no more than complete retirement from political life and devotion to philosophical studies: cp. [Vergil] *Catalepta* v. 8, *nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus | magni petentes docta dicta Sironis, | vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura*.

<sup>3</sup> 725. 5; 726. 1 Atticus appears at times to have taken Cicero to task for conduct of which he had approved himself. A striking example is 783. 2-5.

forged documents helped himself to large sums from the public Treasury in the Temple of Ops (cp. 719. 5), and yet had not paid his debts, not even his debts to Cicero<sup>1</sup>: so that Cicero was compelled on May 9 to write a decidedly "stinging" letter to Dolabella, though he did not expect that this would have any further effect than that Dolabella might not care to meet him.<sup>2</sup> However, in his public capacity Dolabella was still to be commended, especially for his attacks on Lucius Antonius, who seems to have been keeping up the enthusiasm of the populace for his brother by low mob oratory.<sup>3</sup> So Cicero continued to have some hope that Brutus might be able to return to Rome and hold meetings there, which he thinks will be a virtual victory for the constitutionalists; and he lays great stress on the importance in that respect of Dolabella's whole conduct.<sup>4</sup>

But, on the other hand, the action of Antony in recruiting soldiers was a source of grave alarm, not merely to very timid men like Servius Sulpicius, but also to Cicero (725. 4; 726. 3). The amnesty was assuredly in danger. War was at hand (727. 4; 728. 3; 734. 1), and would be precipitated if Sextus Pompeius came with a strong army (729. 2), as Cicero a fortnight before felt assured would be the case (718. 2). What side was Cicero to

<sup>1</sup> 726. 1 (May 9), *Sed totum se a te abalienavit Dolabella eadem causa qua me quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit. O hominem prudentem! Kal. Ian. debuit; adhuc non solvit, praesertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberi manu liberarit et opem ab Ope petierit.*

<sup>2</sup> 726. 2, *satis aculeatas ad Dolabellam litteras dedi, quae si nihil profecerint, puto fore ut me praesentem non sustineat.*

<sup>3</sup> 727. 4 (May 11), *Dolabellae et prima illa actio et haec contra Antonium contio mihi profecisse permultum videtur.* From § 2 of that letter we may perhaps infer that it was Lucius Antonius he attacked, *L. Antoni horribilis contio, Dolabellae praeclara.* But to attack Lucius was virtually to attack Marcus. Cp. 732. 2 (May 18), *L. Antonium contionatum esse cognovi tuis litteris et aliis sordide, sed id quale fuerit nescio: nihil enim scripti.* This perhaps means rather 'made a low, vulgar speech' than merely that it was a poor effort of oratory, as we said in the note. We can see from *nihil enim scripti* that it was fairly common to write out and disseminate speeches immediately after they were delivered: cp. 722. 7, *Legi enim contionem tuam.*

<sup>4</sup> 727. 3 (May 11), *Atque utinam liceat isti contionari! Cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit vicinus. Ducem enim novi belli civilis aut nemo sequetur aut ii sequentur qui facile vincantur:* cp. § 4. Even Cicero saw that Brutus was not the man to be a real leader. Atticus asked Cicero to write a speech for Brutus on the occasion of his return to Rome (cp. in foro 726. 4). Cicero naturally demurred (727. 3), and Atticus approved of his decision (732. 2). Yet Atticus appears to have afterwards made a still more absurd request (733. 2), which he pressed with some persistence (734. 3).

take? He could not be neutral. The Caesareans would not have him, for he had exulted at Caesar's death; and they considered him ungrateful after all the kindnesses he had received from Caesar.<sup>1</sup> Was he to go to the war? Impossible at his age.<sup>2</sup> He again thinks of the *libera legatio* which is to enable him to go to Greece. The Ides of March were a failure unless the tyrannicides "by other glorious deeds wipe out the blot" of disgrace which they had incurred owing to their inaction (729. 2). Hirtius, who was a Caesarean at heart, but a cautious man, whose full sympathy and co-operation Brutus and his party were always trying to secure,<sup>3</sup> seems to have recovered confidence, and expressed views which were widely entertained when he said that the tyrannicides were to blame for having assassinated an illustrious man,<sup>4</sup> and having plunged the State into confusion, and that if once they ceased to fear any opposition from Antony they would refuse to sanction Caesar's acts; that he wished for peace, but, though he disapproved of Antony's squandering of the public money (732. 4) and of the way in which he was dealing with the veterans (741. 1; cp. 738), he feared a recourse to arms on the part of Brutus as well as on that of Antony.<sup>5</sup> That Brutus and Cassius were projecting some appeal to arms, notwithstanding assurances to the contrary (740. 1), seems probable even from the cautious language of Cicero's letters. In 719. 6 (April 28) he

<sup>1</sup> Cicero at times recognizes Caesar's kindness to himself personally (724. 6; 734. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 718. 2; 725. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 727. 4; 728. 4; 737. 1; 738. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Clarissimum virum*, 729. 1. This was the epithet for Caesar which the Caesareans used in their speeches (714. 1; 752. 2).

<sup>5</sup> 729. 1; 730. 3 *non minus se nostrorum arma timere quam Antoni, et tamen utrosque non sine causa praesidium habere, se autem utraque arma metuere*. Somewhat similar appear to have been the views of Hirtius' shadow, Pansa. At any rate, on May 8 he censured actions on both sides. He was very indignant (*furere*) at Antony's conduct as regards the restitution of Sext. Clodius, and talked quite sternly (*severe*), if you care to believe him, as Cicero says (725. 2). On the other hand, he disapproved of the tumultuous procedure of Dolabella in throwing down the column (725. 2). Three days later, on May 11, Cicero says (727. 4): 'I stayed with Pansa in his villa at Pompeii. He satisfied me that he had sound opinions and desired peace' (*bene sentire et cupere pacem*): cp. 755. Hirtius and Pansa appear to have been an easy-going pair, who formed impartial and judicious opinions, but who were not ready to argue or stand up for them, especially against such an impetuous master of words as Cicero (see note on 730. 2). Hence Cicero often thought them insincere (728. 2, 4; 729. 1; 730. 3).



seems to make reference to armed forces at the disposal of the conspirators.<sup>1</sup> In 727. 3 (May 11) he says that if Brutus attempts to lead in a new civil war he will have no one to follow him. In 730. 3 Hirtius expresses fear of their arms. Towards the end of the month Hirtius very definitely begs Cicero to dissuade them from any hot-headed plan which he feared that they might attempt, probably in the East.<sup>2</sup> On June 5 or 6 Cicero asks Atticus is he to advise them to adopt some vigorous line of action (*ut moliantur aliquid* 743. 1), and answers that they have neither the courage nor have they now the power to do so (*nec audent nec iam possunt*).<sup>3</sup> The project does not appear to have been energetically prosecuted, and we think that it broke down when towards the end of May they failed to raise money from Atticus (735. 5 and note: Nepos Att. 8. 4 fin.) and possibly from others to finance the movement. The cause of Brutus did not successfully revive until he acquired a large sum of money next year from Appuleius and from Antistius, the quaestors of Asia and Syria.<sup>4</sup>

Such was the way in which the ship of the constitutionalists (744. 3) was going to pieces. Meanwhile Antony had returned to Rome about May 20 with a large number of veterans in addition to those he had sent on before; and he had arms for them too.<sup>5</sup> So that he was master of the situation. He surrounded himself with Ityraeans,<sup>6</sup> and made himself difficult of access (741. 1). It is little wonder that all sorts of rumours were afloat: that the legions were coming from Macedonia (732. 2, May 19); that Antony was going to take Gaul immediately,<sup>7</sup> and dispossess

<sup>1</sup> Restitution can (he says) be made to the people of Massilia, *armis, quae quam firme habeamus ignoro*. Possibly the correspondence of Brutus, Cassius, and Dolabella referred to in 724. 4 (May 3) may have reference to this project.

<sup>2</sup> 738. 2, *per te exorentur ne quod calidius ineant consilium*. 'Cedentis' enim haec ais scripsisse; quo? aut quare? Cp. note to 749. 1 *Siregio*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. also perhaps the very obscure language in 749. 1 and notes there.

<sup>4</sup> For Appuleius cp. Phil. x. 24; xiii 32; Appian iv. 75; and for Antistius ad Brut. ii. 3. 5 (837); i. 11. 1 (850): cp. also Plutarch Brut. 24. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Phil. ii 108, *agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur: scutorum lecticas portari videmus*.

<sup>6</sup> These were a warlike people living N.E. of Palestine—the modern Druses—whom Pompey had subdued in his Syrian campaign. They were renowned as archers. Phil. v. 18, cp. Verg. Georg. ii. 448.

<sup>7</sup> The opinion that Antony wished for the Gallic provinces, with an extension of tenure for five years, had been entertained in the middle of April (719. 4); but

Decimus Brutus forthwith ; that legal proceedings were going to be taken against Decimus and Marcus Brutus and Cæssius (737. 3, May 27, where see note). So that there was the greatest excitement, and no little apprehension, as to the result of the meeting of the Senate when it resumed its sittings on June 1 after the vacation.

Cicero had left the Bay of Naples on May 17. The unsatisfactory way in which affairs had been going for the constitutionalists was a bitter affliction : and to this great trouble were added petty annoyances (though these did not weigh much with him in comparison with public affairs), such as his debts (see below, p. lxxxvi, note 2), the conduct of young Quintus,<sup>1</sup> pressure being

probably it was then considered that he would not take over those provinces until after his consulship had expired : now the rumour was that he would take them over at once, and dispossess Decimus forthwith : cp. 734. 1 (May 24), *Sed mihi totum eius consilium ad bellum spectare videtur si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur*. The *Lex de Permutatione* (see below, p. lxxxviii) gave him immediate possession. On the importance of Cisalpine Gaul from a military point of view, cp. Appian iii. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Young Quintus had a bad nature—cp. Att. x. 7. 3 (388)—and all the foolish impetuosity of his father without the latter's constantly recurrent placability. After Pharsalia we hear of his perpetually abusing his uncle, and he, as well as his father, even wrote to him with astonishing hostility : cp. Att. xi. 10. 1 (425) ; 15. 2 (430). During his service with Caesar in Spain he continued vilifying Cicero—conduct which the latter naturally characterized as 'foul' (658. 1 : cp. 603. 1 ; 623. 1 ; 657. 2 ; 660. 1)—and even wrote to him in the same strain (658. 1). He was quite unstable and flighty, requiring the curb, while young Marcus required the spur : cp. Att. vi. 1. 12 (252). At one time he professed hatred of his mother (659. 1) ; but when Quintus divorced her, he took her side (713. 4), and declared he would not endure as step-mother Aquillia whom Quintus was proposing to marry (718. 5 ; 724. 3). Naturally his irascible father was often most incensed against him (660. 2 ; 713. 4), but was appeased by any sign of repentance (753. 1 ; 769. 6). Marcus, too, always showed indulgence to him as far as he could. Young Quintus was apparently an agreeable young man : cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1. 19 (148) ; but of a somewhat gluttonous habit (Q. Fr. iii. 9. 9 (160) : cp. 607. 4), and in character unprincipled and full of duplicity (*vanitatem*, 659. 1). He was ever on the look-out for money : cp. Att. x. 7. 3 (388). In 45 he was heavily in debt (681. 1 ; 763. 1 ; 769. 6). The conversation he had with Cicero in 681. 1 is interesting and characteristic of the two men. Quintus wanted money, and professed himself ready to marry. There had been some talk of his marrying the daughter of Atticus' friend Gellius Canus (661. 2). Cicero was as usual very indulgent, but did not commit himself. After the Ides of March—young Quintus was now twenty-two—he ostentatiously professed himself a Caesarean (719. 1 ; 725. 3), in order probably to curry favour with Antony, and get money from him. He said he had got all he wanted from Caesar, but nothing from his father (cp. 768. 2), and he hoped now to get what he wanted from Antony (724. 3). Though Atticus said he was Antony's right-hand man (*dextella*, 727. 5), we fancy he got about as much from Antony as he probably did from Caesar or his father. At any rate, in June he proposed

brought on him to take back Publilia (730. 4 : cp. 725. 4), the death of his physician Alexio, to whom he was much attached (732. 4).<sup>1</sup> From the 19th to the 24th he was at Arpinum. He reached Tusculum on May 26, and remained there until June 27, except for a visit to a conference at Lanuvium and a visit of a week (June 7 to 15) to Antium (also for a conference, cp. 744) and Astura. The conference at Lanuvium was attended by Brutus and Cassius, and also by Atticus : its object was to discuss the situation generally, and especially to decide what should be done as regards attending the meeting of the Senate on June 1. Even as early as May 14 (729. 2), Cicero was advised not to attend the Senate, as soldiers would be there to attack the liberators. Cicero did not know what Brutus wished him to do in the matter : he plainly did not want to go himself (730. 5).<sup>1</sup> We do not know any details of the conference at Lanuvium, only the main result, that the chief constitutionalists decided not to

leaving Antony and joining the constitutionalists (751. 2), and romanced (Cicero applies *alucinari* to his random talk : cp. 768. 2) at length (753. 1) about Antony's requesting him to propose that he be made dictator and to seize some strong position, and that he refused for his father's sake ; also about the great promises Antony had made him : so that Cicero asks, ' Did you ever see a more downright (or 'crack-brained,' if we read *cerritiorem*) scoundrel ? ' Later he told stories about a certain lady who wanted to leave her husband and marry him (768. 2). But now he promised to be as good a constitutionalist as Favonius or Cato (768. 2 ; 769. 6), and asked Cicero to guarantee his honesty of purpose to Atticus, who naturally distrusted him. Cicero, who seems to have been a little afraid of him, wrote the guarantee, but told Atticus not to mind it (769. 6). But young Quintus came to Cicero, and by his serious manner and diligent study of Cicero's own writings convinced him of the sincerity of his conversion, and Cicero introduced him to Brutus (770. 2) : yet Cicero did not wholly trust the young man (773. 3). However, he does not appear to have proved faithless in politics any more. In December, with the help of the new quaestors, he proposed to arraign the previous administration of the Treasury : cp. Att. xvi. 14. 4 (805) ; and when Antony attacked him in a manifesto, Cicero defended him handsomely (Phil. iii. 17). Antony accused him of having attempted to murder his father and uncle, Quintus and Marcus ; but we hardly think young Quintus went quite so far as that. He perished with his father in the proscriptions, father and son vying with each other who should meet death first (Appian iv. 20).

<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat amusing to learn that, in the midst of all these vexations, some lady seems to have been desirous of marrying Cicero, and to have pestered Atticus in the matter (730. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Hirtius advised Cicero not to attend the Senate (737. 2). With some laboured pleasantry, Hirtius said he thought it was beyond his energy to attend himself : nor would he attend on the 5th either ; and that Caesar had made all necessary provision for the coming time (738. 2) *quoniam praesidia sunt in tot annos provisae*.

attend the Senate—a point on which Cicero had virtually made up his mind (737. 3), as it appeared to him that Brutus and Cassius were now virtually at the mercy of Antony.<sup>1</sup>

Octavius during Antony's absence from Rome had not been idle, but, as his mother advised him, he used art and patience rather than open boldness.<sup>2</sup> He declared before the praetor C. Antonius that he would take the inheritance, and thus he became C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.<sup>3</sup> L. Antonius introduced him to the people, and Octavian made a speech in which he appears to have promised that he would with as little delay as possible pay the legacies left to the people by Caesar, and that he would celebrate the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* in July. He made no allusion either to the tyrannicides or to the amnesty—a reticence which both Cicero and Atticus viewed with some disquietude.<sup>4</sup> At some games given by Critonius about the middle of May (see note to 733. 2) he attempted to bring forward Caesar's golden chair,<sup>5</sup> but was prevented by Critonius himself and some tribunes who were applauded by the knights.<sup>6</sup> He could not indeed fulfil his

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 752. 2, *Lanuvi vidi nostros tantum spei habere ad vivendum quantum accepissent ab Antonio* : cp. 742. 2 (June 2), *ita circumsedemur copiis omnibus*. The tone of the manifesto of Brutus and Cassius (740, written at the end of May) to Antony is a proof that they too felt their helpless position, e.g. § 2. *Fallere nemo nos potest nisi tu*.

<sup>2</sup> Appian iii. 14 *παρήνει γε μὴν ἔτι τέχνη καὶ ἀνεξικακία μᾶλλον ἢ φανερά θρασύτητι πω χρῆσθαι*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Dio xlv. 47. 6. He called himself C. Julius C. f. Caesar ; but, as Ferrero says (iii. 54), it will save confusion with the dictator to call him Octavian. He was sometimes so called by his enemies : cp. Gardthausen i. 52, note 21. Dio (xlv. 5. 3) says that Antony pretended to further the adoption of Octavius, but really induced some tribunes to oppose it and have it postponed. It was Lepidus, the Pontifex Maximus, who was the proper person to bring it forward at the *comitia calata* : cp. Mommsen, St. R. ii.<sup>2</sup> 34, iii. 318. But probably this was a formality which was not regarded as essential at this time.

<sup>4</sup> 727. 5 ; 732. 3, *sed isti omnes, quemadmodum sentis, non minus otium timent quam nos arma*.

<sup>5</sup> On Caesar's golden (or gold and ivory) chair cp. Suet. Caes. 76, *ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est : sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa aras, simulacra iuxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem mensis a suo nomine*. This chair evidently struck the Roman imagination, and is often referred to : cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 85, 110 ; De Div. i. 119 ; Dio xlv. 11. 2 ; 17. 3 ; Val. Max i. 6. 13 ; Appian ii. 106 ; Plut. Caes. 61 ; Plin. H. N. xi. 186. It afterwards belonged to Vibius Rufus, who was allowed by Tiberius to use it publicly (Dio lv. 15. 6).

<sup>6</sup> 733. 2 (May 24). A similar attempt to bring the chair forward was made at the

promises to the people until Antony returned, and he was able to get from him Caesar's money, which Calpurnia had put into his possession. When Antony did return, he attempted to intimidate Octavian from undertaking the duties of heir to Caesar.<sup>1</sup> Antony and Decimus Brutus were the second heirs; and if Octavian were compelled to give way, Antony would become Caesar's legal heir, for Decimus was not likely to be able to press his claims. Pedius and Pinarius (p. lvii, above) appear to have been men of no account; nor was Octavian regarded at this time as a person of any serious importance. Cicero mentions him very seldom in his letters of this period.<sup>2</sup> Antony would not pay him back Caesar's money, and he did not wish to share the great power he now had at Rome with a young, untried man, even though he was Caesar's heir. Antony succeeded towards the end of the month in gaining over the unscrupulous Dolabella, not only no doubt by promising to secure him in possession of the money he had fraudulently obtained from the Treasury and to obtain for him further grants from the same source,<sup>3</sup> but also by arranging with him that he should get a similar extension of the tenure of the province of Syria (to which he had been designated by Caesar: cp. p. lxi, note 3) as Antony himself would get of Gaul.<sup>4</sup> Thus a vigorous man had

Ludi Victoriae Caesaris in July (Nic. Dam. 28. 4; Dio xlv. 6. 5; Plut. Ant. 16; Appian iii. 28).

<sup>1</sup> The account which, with a bias in favour of Octavian, is given by Appian (iii. 14 to 20) of this interview is in detail probably a product of the rhetorical schools, not a record of facts. But no doubt Antony did treat him with discourtesy, and may have told him that he was not in his senses in taking up, without friends and at his age, so great a burden as that of being successor to Caesar (Plut. Ant. 16). It is possible, too, that Antony may have thwarted him in any litigation he may have had to conduct with claimants against Caesar's estate (Appian iii. 22). Appian further says (iii. 23) that Octavian did actually sell his own property in order to pay the legacies Caesar had left, but that, owing to the litigation, it was not sufficient. From the very beginning Cicero appears to have anticipated that Octavian and Antony were sure to quarrel (cp. 713. 3, April 19, *ῥιζόθεμιν magnam cum Antonio*). Though the exact words are uncertain, the meaning is plain). The Treasury appeared empty two months after Caesar's death (Nic. Dam. 28); and an investigation of the public accounts was ordered by the Senate: Appian iii. 21: cp. Dio xlv. 24. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The only (as we think) places of any moment in which he is mentioned are 707. 3; 708. 1; 713. 3; 714. 2; 715. 2; 727. 5; 728. 4; 732. 3 (cp. 785. 6); 745. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. 726. 1; Att. xvi. 15. 1 (807); and p. lxix, above.

<sup>4</sup> The narrative in Appian (iii. 7 and 8) is vitiated by the presupposition that Macedonia and Syria had been assigned by Caesar to Brutus and Cassius.

been lured away from the constitutionalists. Brutus and Cassius towards the end of May wrote to Antony a manifesto which is extant (740), protesting against his enrolment of the veterans, and asking would they themselves be safe if they returned to Rome for the Senate on June 1st, in the face of all these violent soldiers. They say that, though he has the power, they cannot believe that he will deceive them. They had fulfilled their part in disbanding their followers (see p. lxvi). The plea that the interests of the veterans were to be discussed on June 1 was a trifling one: for no one had any intention of opposing those interests. We do not know what answer Antony made to all this—possibly that he would see that provinces were assigned them at the same time.<sup>1</sup> Antony did not yet feel secure enough to break with them irrevocably. Everything pointed to the fact that there would be an important and critical meeting of the Senate on the first of June.

But no one of any importance appeared at the meeting (Phil. i. 6). Antony was then quick enough to see that he might have recourse to rapid measures. On June 2, he proposed to the people for instant enactment, without giving the usual interval *trinum nundinum*,<sup>2</sup> the *Lex de provinciis consularibus*, whereby he and Dolabella were to get possession of Macedonia and Syria for six years.<sup>3</sup> He waived all claim for the present to the Gallic provinces. Further, by means of the same tribunes he passed into a law, the *Lex de actis Caesaris cum consilio cognoscendis*, the decree of the Senate that the consul along with a committee should be the judges as to what were to be regarded as genuine *acta* of Caesar.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 737. 2, *ut tu de provincia Bruti et Cassi per senatus consultum, ita scribit et Balbus et Hirtius.*

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (Phil. i. 25; ii. 6) refers to the passing of laws at this time without promulgation. A tribune Nonius Asprenas in the interests of the Senate attempted to stop the proceedings by 'observing the heavens'; but Antony, 'right vexed with Asprenas for his lying,' ordered the tribes to go on with their voting for Dolabella (Appian iii. 7).

<sup>3</sup> That is for the present year in which they were consuls, and five years after that: cp. Phil. v. 7, *Tribuni plebi tulerunt de provinciis contra acta C. Caesaris: ille biennium, iste sexennium. Etiam hanc legem populus Romanus accepit? quid? promulgata fuit? quid? non ante lata quam scripta est? quid? non ante factum vidimus quam futurum quisquam est suspicatus? Ubi lex Caecilia et Didia? ubi promulgatio trinum nundinum?* This was a violation of Caesar's law (Phil. i. 19: cp. viii. 28) whereby a proconsular province could not be held for more than two years, or a pro-praetorian for more than one: cp. Dio xliii. 25. 3.

<sup>4</sup> We do not profess to be able to solve the difficult question as to the exact course

He further appears to have notified that he intended on June 5 to propose that Brutus and Cassius be sent to Asia and Sicily respectively to purchase corn—news which Cicero received at Tusculum on June 2 in a letter from Balbus (742. 1). This was a very shrewd blow indeed. To men like Brutus and

in which the legislation about the ratification of Caesar's *acta* proceeded. It does not appear that there is sufficient evidence to decide it beyond all dispute. Probably, however, the course was as follows:—The general principle that Caesar's *acta* were to be considered valid was passed by the Senate on March 17th: the meaning of *acta* being assumed to be the actual enactments which had been passed, or those which it was well known he intended to pass, which he had actually drafted, and which could be enacted in accordance with powers with which he had been vested: and at first Antony, in consultation with distinguished senators, acted fully up to the spirit of this understanding (Cic. Phil. i. 2), and assented to a decree of the Senate that no decree or concession of Caesar's should be published after March 15 (Phil. i. 3; ii. 91), *ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut benefici figeretur*: cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 23, 7.

But Antony soon announced that among Caesar's papers there were many important measures on which Caesar had decided; and when he urged that these should be examined, the Senate decided that Antony with a committee of the Senate should investigate and report on these documents (Dio xlv. 53. 4): thus of course annulling the decree which forbade the promulgation of any measure of Caesar's after March 15. This decree was probably passed early in April, before most of the senators had left town, and when they had got an inkling of the way in which Antony, with the help of Caesar's secretary, Faberius, was likely to deal with Caesar's papers. (In 718. 6, April 26, Cicero says that measures which Caesar would never have tolerated were being published from forged (*falsis*) memoranda of his.) But as the vacation was coming on, it was decided that the examination should not be instituted until after the Senate resumed business in June. The Senate may have understood that the consuls and the committee would report their findings to the Senate; thus we know that a decree of the Senate *de Iudaeis* (cp. Josephus xiv. 10. 10), which was drawn up on February 9, was laid before the Senate for ratification on April 11. But the Senate does not appear to have put that explicitly into its decree. The consuls and committee seem to have had full power to adjudicate at their own discretion (777. 8; 778. 11; 779. 14). Probably a law in accordance with this decree was promulgated shortly afterwards; but this law was not actually passed until June 2 (778. 11). It is true that Antony—most probably without the knowledge of his committee—published the grants to the Sicilians and Deiotarus in the middle of April (715. 1), when he proceeded to more vigorous measures against the conspirators. But it would appear that these grants were represented as having been actually proposed to the people by Caesar (*legem a dictatore comitiis latam*, 715. 1—perhaps indeed *latam* means actually 'passed': cp. *Sest.* 55), though Cicero says the grant to the Sicilians had never been even thought of during Caesar's lifetime. Probably some other grants—Cicero with exaggeration says 'hundreds' (*sescenta similia*)—were also published at the same time, and were no doubt fraudulent, and did not come under the cognizance of the committee at all (Dio xlv. 53. 5; xlv. 23. 8). The keeping of the public archives at this time was very lax; cp. 723. 1, *falsa senatus consulta deferuntur*, and note to 763. 1.

Cassius, who took themselves so very seriously,<sup>1</sup> the assignment to them of this, a subordinate's post, was really an insult; and yet Antony could represent himself as doing them a favour in giving them a sphere of duty when they did not venture to perform their praetorian functions at Rome,<sup>2</sup> and it removed them from Italy. If they refused the position, the next time scarcity of corn occurred at Rome they could be held up to odium. Cicero saw all that, and felt that it *was* disgraceful that they could not hold the games, and that they should be assigned such paltry posts; but he thought it better that they should do something, even take a subordinate's office (*legatoria provincia*), rather than idle away their time at Lanuvium (742. 1; 743. 1). They would be more secure from violence out of Italy than in it, while the soldiery were in such an excited state. On June 2, Dolabella at once, on his appointment to Syria, gratified Cicero by making him one of his *legati*, the office to be a pure sinecure (752. 1 note), and to allow of his coming to or going from Rome as he pleased.<sup>3</sup> It would also procure him the privilege of travelling at State expense,<sup>4</sup> and for five years; whereas a *libera legatio* would have held good for only a shorter period. This too was a very clever move. The passing of the law about the consular provinces was not legal,<sup>5</sup> and Cicero by accepting an appointment under the law was precluded from attacking it, at least as long as he was availing himself of its privileges. The conspirators, with their women-folk and Favonius, held a conference on June 8 at Antium, to discuss the altered situation. It is described in one of the most

<sup>1</sup> For example, 782. 1, *concede nobis ut doleamus ne hoc quidem abs te Bruto et Cassio tribui*: 740 fin. *cum accidere nobis nihil possit sine pernicie et confusione omnium rerum* (cp. 744. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 744. 1. Cassius says *Egone ut beneficium acceperissem contumeliam?*

<sup>3</sup> 744. 4. Strictly Dolabella should have obtained the sanction of the Senate (Vat. 35; Sest. 33) for the appointment of a *legatus*: cp. Schol. Bob. 323 Or. (on Vat. 35), *nullo iure Vatinius dicit in legationem esse profectum, cum soleat hoc a senatu peti ut praesides provinciarum possint quos velint amicos suos habere legatos*. But there are examples of the governor dispensing with this formality, e.g. Sall. Jug. 28. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A *legatus* received a *viaticum* from the State: Fam. xii. 3. 2 (791). Cicero appears to have written to Dolabella about appliances (mules, &c.) for his journey (750. 1). He had intended to ask for a *legatio* from Caesar, and had all along from the time he conceived the idea of going to Greece proposed to go in some such official capacity.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, seven months later, attacks its various illegalities in Phil. v. 7-10 (cp. Appian iii. 7), but makes no allusion to the fact that he profited under it.



interesting and vivid letters that Cicero ever wrote (744). Cicero was present, and gives a dramatic account of the whole scene. (See above, p. xxxiv f.) He advised Brutus to take the corn-commissionership, as the welfare of the State depended on his safety. On similar grounds he advised that Brutus should *not* go to Rome to hold his games. Cassius at first, with flashing eyes, declared he would not take the commissionership: it was an insult in the guise of a favour. He went on to mourn lost opportunities, and blamed Decimus Brutus—possibly because he did not, once he found his army favourable to him, march down on Rome before Antony had organized Caesar's veterans. Cicero thought, however, that Cassius would leave Italy—for Servilia said she would have the corn-commissionership removed from the decree of the Senate. We wonder what influence she can have had with the dominant politicians to be able to make any such promise. Brutus decided that he would not go to Rome, but would have the *ludi Apollinares* held by some other praetor in his name. It appears to us that Brutus was inclined to give up the contest, and go into exile, as he had said in May (725. 1 ; 726. 4), and repeated in July (cp. Vell. ii. 62. 3, quoted at 783. 1). Cicero, in defending the vigorous course he had advocated on the Ides of March, nearly had a quarrel with Servilia. The upshot of the whole meeting to his mind was that the conspirators' cause was a total wreck; and, now that he had fulfilled all obligations of duty and affection, that he would fly away, in the words of his favourite quotation, "where the deeds of Pelops' children and their fame he ne'er should hear." For the present Cicero went on to Astura, where he remained until the 15th. But he was ill at ease in Italy, and desired at least for a time to gratify his long-cherished wish of visiting Greece. He would thus obtain some respite from the despondency he felt at seeing the cause he had at heart going from bad to worse: and he could return next year when Antony and Dolabella would be no longer consuls, and there might be some chance, with Hirtius and Pansa in their place, that liberty of speech and action would once more be possible.

For certainly Antony was in a very strong position. He possessed an organized military force in the veterans, and he had money too, which he took from the State chest to pay them; and

he could no doubt get more from applicants such as Deiotarus and the Sicilians, who would be ready to pay for such privileges and concessions as they might desire. The tyrannicides had no organized followers in Italy, and no money with which to raise or support soldiers. Decimus Brutus had a large fortune, which he spent on that object later<sup>1</sup>; but none of the rest of the conspirators was really wealthy. Antony was still marching along on his successful course of action; and early in June Lucius Antonius promulgated his Agrarian law, the object of which was to secure firmly the support of the veterans (740. 3; Phil. i. 6). We know little about its provisions except that it renewed the intention of Caesar to drain the Pomptine marshes, and proposed that all public land which was still available should be divided and private land be purchased in Italy. This was to be effected by a Commission of Seven (*Septemviri*), who consisted of Marcus, Lucius, and Gaius Antonius, Dolabella, and three creatures of Antony, Nucula, Caesennius Lento, and another whose name is not known. The Commission was the important thing.<sup>2</sup> It had wide powers, and was virtually controlled by the party of Antony—for Dolabella was now his partner in all his doings. It recalled the law of Rullus. There was a considerable amount of apprehension as to how the Commissioners would act, even with property so near Rome as Tusculum (741. 2), but L. Antonius re-assured Cicero (745. 2): and it does not seem as if they ever took really active steps to put their powers into effect in respect of actual distribution of Italian land to the veterans. But the veterans were encouraged, and the power of Antony increased. That party now consisted mainly of the less wealthy and lower-class Caesareans, many of whom Cicero mentions with scorn and

<sup>1</sup> Fam. xi. 10. 5 (854).

<sup>2</sup> On this and Antony's laws about the change in the *iudicia* and permission to appeal to the people from sentences *de vi*, Dr. Arnold (*op. cit.* ii. 136) says: "So invariably did each new adventurer tread in the steps of his predecessors, and endeavour to re-open the door which they had successively hoped to shut against all future demagogues, so soon as they had themselves passed through it." He speaks (p. 137) of Antony's *Septemvirate* as possessing "the usual exorbitant powers granted to such commissions in declaring what were national domains, and in distributing them at their pleasure."

indignation in the Philippics.<sup>1</sup> These were full of energy, and anxious to become rich and influential. The educated and rich Caesareans, Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus and others,<sup>2</sup> were too well off, and were self-indulgent rather than ambitious; and, being cultured men, they were naturally reluctant to enter the hurly-burly of politics with the uncultivated and violent crew that were beginning to dominate the situation.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the month the law passed—against the auspices indeed, for there was a storm on that day (Phil. v. 7)—but without opposition or violence. The persistent Atticus succeeded towards the end of the month in securing by the aid of Mark Antony and Dolabella (Lucius Antonius was opposed to them on the point) that the exemption granted by Caesar to the Buthrotians from having their lands confiscated should be deemed valid.<sup>4</sup> Antony, who all through these months seems to have acted with no little prudence, no doubt did not want to alienate the rich

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Phil. xiii. 2, *Cum Antoniis pax potest esse? cum Censorino, Ventidio, Trebellio, Bestia, Nucula, Munatio (i.e. Plancus Bursa), Lentone, Saza? Exempli causa paucos nominavi; genus infinitum immanitatemque ipsi cernitis reliquorum. Addite illa naufragia Caesaris amicorum Barbas Cassios, Barbatios, Polliones: addite Antoni collusores et sodales, Eutrapelum, Melam, Coelium, Crassicium, Tironem, Mustelam, Petissium: comitatum relinquo, duces nomino.* Add Insteius (*nescio qui, fortis, ut aiunt, latro quem tamen temperantem fuisse ferunt Pisauri balneatorem*, xiii. 26), and Cotyla (*ornamentum atque arcem amicorum suorum*, viii. 24). Some of these we have heard of before as being on good terms with Cicero, e.g. Barba Cassius (679. 1), and Eutrapelus (Epp. 229, 474). Cicero at the end of May availed himself of the influence of Eutrapelus with Antony to get letters transmitted to him (741. 1).

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that we do not ever hear of Sallust in Cicero's Epistles at this time.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero at times speaks of these educated Caesareans as "fearing peace" (728. 4; 732. 3). But peace and quiet were the very things these easy-going, indolent (769. 4) politicians did want. But this does not disprove the strong probability that, as Pansa is represented as saying on his death-bed, they were really Caesareans at heart, but of necessity concealed their real sentiments until some restraint was put upon Antony, who had become too aggressive and insolent (*ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψία* Appian iii. 76). Hirtius objected, on the one hand, to any warlike procedure on the part of the tyrannicides (738. 2, 3), and, on the other, to the terrorism Antony was causing by means of the veterans (741. 1: cp. 738. 1).

<sup>4</sup> See Cicero's letter of thanks to Dolabella on June 26 or 27 (Ep. 758). In § 1 of that letter we fear that we have made a mistake. Cicero's excuse for writing the second letter to Dolabella was that when he wrote the first he had learned of Dolabella's kindness from Atticus only by letter (cp. § 2): but since then he has had a special visit from Atticus, who told him by word of mouth how grateful he was to Dolabella for the remarkable goodwill and affection he had shown him in the matter.

banker and all his friends in a matter in which he had a good case, had Caesar's authorization at his back, and on which he had so earnestly set his heart. Antony was still subject to opposition. Octavian was not at all inclined to sit down under his contemptuous treatment; and the constitutionalists thought that, though he was Caesar's heir, yet under the circumstances and to judge from his demeanour towards them, he might be brought over to their side, especially through the influence of that very decided conservative, Gaius Marcellus (consul in 50), who had lately married Octavian's sister, Octavia, and with whom Octavian was on very friendly terms. Cicero's judgment on Octavian at this time is worth quoting (745. 2):

'As to Octavian [so Cicero now styles him, thus acknowledging his adoption under Caesar's will], I see clearly that he has intellect and spirit, and is as well disposed as we could wish to our heroes. But we must carefully reflect on the amount of reliance that can be placed on him, considering his age, his name, his position as Caesar's heir, and his up-bringing. His stepfather [L. Marcius Philippus] indeed thinks that no reliance can be placed on him. But still he must be trained, and especially he must be dissociated from Antony. Marcellus will do splendidly if he regards him as one of us and instils into him our principles.<sup>1</sup> At any rate Octavian seems devoted to Marcellus. He does not trust Hirtius and Pansa too implicitly. His is a good disposition, if it only wears (*ἐὰν διαμείνη*).'

So things were still very unsettled, and there was always more or less fear that Antony or some of his party might impel the veterans to violent measures.<sup>2</sup> Yet Cicero says about this time to Tiro (754. 2, June 21), "I shall indeed be glad to retain my long-existing friendship with Antony, and I shall write to him, but not before I see you." There was also the danger of Sext. Pompeius carrying war into Italy.<sup>3</sup> No wonder a man of

<sup>1</sup> Reading *si praecepit ut nostro nostra*. See note to 745. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 750. 2, *vides homines, vides arma*: 752. 4 *videtur iste qui umbras timet* (Antonius) *ad caedem spectare*: 740. 3 (Brutus and Cassius to Antony) *multitudinem veteranorum facilius impelli ab aliis quam a te retineri posse*.

<sup>3</sup> 752. 3; 753 fin.; 755. That alarm, however, disappeared early next month, when Sextus sent an official letter that he would lay down his arms if all armies were disbanded, and in a letter to Libo added the indispensable condition that he be restored 'to the home of his father' (*ad larem suum*): cp. 771. 2. 'I would,' says Cicero a few days before (768. 1), 'that Sextus were not proving a craven (*Sextum*

peace like Cicero wished to extricate himself at least temporarily from all this coil. In a moment of extreme frankness he says that his acceptance of the *legatio* is an indication of despair at the present condition of things; and he adds it is all the fault of Brutus (752. 1, 2: cp. 745. 2). He had returned to Tusculum on June 16, where he stayed until the end of the month, in considerable doubt whether to go to Greece or not (759); but by the end of the month he had made up his mind to do so, apparently owing to the advice of Oppius (763. 1). He then on June 30 left for Arpinum, on his way to the Bay of Naples (763. 3); from which, after a short stay there, he proposed to take his departure for Greece. He was at Anagnia (763. 1) on the same evening, and probably reached Arpinum on July 1. We note with surprise and admiration that in the midst of all these anxieties Cicero was able to continue writing. He was finishing a treatise *De Gloria*, and proposed to 'hammer out' (*excudere*) a political work in the style of Heraclides Ponticus (764. 2; 772. 6); and had in contemplation an edition of his own letters (770. 5).<sup>1</sup>

On July 6 he proceeded on his way south from Arpinum. He

*scutum abicere nolebam*). For the negotiations with Sextus at this time cp. Dio xlv. 9. 4, who says that the offers to him were confirmation of the pardon granted by Caesar, and that all the silver and gold of Pompey that had been confiscated should be restored to him; but that Antony would not make any restitution of the real property of Pompey, of which he still held the larger part. Appian (iii. 4) seems to put these negotiations in April, and perhaps indeed there were some negotiations or talk of negotiations at that time (703. 2), though more probably the allusion in that letter is to the possibility of Sextus actually intervening in the unsettled state of politics at the time (706. 1; 710. 2). Lepidus seems to have conducted successful negotiations with Sextus in November (Phil. v. 39, 41).

<sup>1</sup> Petrarch stated that he once owned the treatise *De Gloria*, but that he lent it to his schoolmaster, who sold it, and that thus it was lost. But little reliance can be placed on this statement: cp. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums* i.<sup>3</sup> pp. 39, 40. 2. Cicero also speaks of an *ἀνέκδοτον*, some sort of a memoir which he proposed to publish at this time (724. 6). Possibly this was a continuation of a work he had projected as long before as 59 B.C. (Att. ii. 6. 2 Ep. 33: cp. Sihler, p. 406). It is generally supposed to be the same as the work referred to by Asconius (74. 13 KS), Dio Cassius (xxxix. 10. 2, 3: cp. xlv. 8. 1), Charisius, St. Augustine, Boethius, and others as *de consiliis suis* (see Müller's ed. of Cicero, iv. 3, p. 338), which was published after his death. It is just possible that Plutarch may refer to the *Anecdoton*, in his life of Crassus (13, ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ). We cannot think that the *Anecdoton* and the *Ἡρακλείδειον* were the same work. The topic of the latter was probably more abstract, and is perhaps indicated in 733. 3: cp. 724. 6. The former was more personal, and was perhaps the kind of treatise in which Trebonius hoped to get honourable mention (736. 4).

was at Formiae on the night of the 6th (768. 3), and reached Puteoli on the 7th. Brutus had set off southwards possibly from Astura (745. 1) on his final journey from Italy early on June 23 (757). He had asked Cicero to attend the Ludi Apollinares, which Brutus was giving by deputy—a request which Cicero considered did not exhibit his usual prudence. Cicero replied that, as he was not the giver of the games, it was not necessary for him to be present, and would hardly be right; and that it would be perfectly paradoxical (*ἀποπώταρον*) that, after staying away from Rome all these months to ensure not so much his safety as his dignity, he should suddenly go to Rome to see games. Besides, he had already set out on his journey.<sup>1</sup> Cicero says he could not quite understand (*interpretari*) the letter (765). Another letter received from Brutus a few days later exhibited grievous helplessness and lack of resource (768. 1). Brutus and Cassius and some others of the conservative party were at this time in the little island of Nesis (Nisida), which had been part of the property of Lucullus previously (769. 1), and now belonged to his son.<sup>2</sup> Cicero visited Brutus here both on July 8 and 10. He wished to travel along with Brutus to Greece, as protection would thereby be afforded him from the pirates who were infesting the seas again (769. 3). But Brutus did not ‘catch at’ (*adripere*) the idea as much as Cicero could have wished (770. 3); for he was absorbed in anxiety about his games which C. Antonius was holding in his name.<sup>3</sup> They had been announced by C. Antonius for the Nones of *July*, not the Nones of *Quinctilis*, to the great annoyance of Cicero and Brutus (769.1; 771.1). That announcement seemed to acknowledge that Julius Caesar by having the honour of giving his name to a month (Suet. Iul. 76) was a god like Janus or Mars. Brutus took care that the *venatio* which was to follow the regular games should be proclaimed for the Ides of *Quinctilis* (771.1). The games were very splendid<sup>4</sup>; and Brutus thought that there might

<sup>1</sup> 763. 1. This letter of Brutus reached Cicero at Anagnia on June 30.

<sup>2</sup> Gardthausen (*Augustus* i. 62) thinks that they may have accepted the hospitality of Lucullus in this island, as its natural characteristics would render any attack on the part of the Campanian veterans very difficult. This is the estate of Lucullus referred to by Varro R. R. iii. 17. 9.

<sup>3</sup> 770. 3 *Existimabam μετεωρότερον esse* (Brutum), *et hercle erat et maxime de ludis.*

<sup>4</sup> Phil. i. 36; Plutarch Brut. 21; Appian iii. 24.

be some revulsion of feeling of the populace towards him; but they did no more than applaud the plays (especially the 'Tereus' of Accius) and the performers. There does not seem to have been any marked political demonstration.<sup>1</sup> But the applause for the games seems to have been hearty. 'Yet the more favourable the news,' says Cicero (772. 3), 'the more I am vexed that the Roman populace employ their hands in applauding plays instead of using them in defence of the State. For my part, I think that the Antonians at Rome (*istorum animi*) seem to be actually burning to give a foretaste of their wicked policy (*incendi etiam ad repraesentandam improbitatem suam*)<sup>2</sup>: "But let their shame be e'er so small, if only shame they feel at all (*Dummodo doleant aliquid, doleant quidlibet*)."'

Cicero was still in uncertainty as to the route by which he would travel to Greece. He was even not quite decided whether he would go at all; but he declared he was being 'pitchforked' out of the country.<sup>3</sup> The journey by long sea was wearisome, and danger would be incurred from pirates. If he went across to the east coast, and started from Hydruntum, he would run the risk of meeting the legions who were reported to be coming from Macedonia (771. 4). But this was a recurring rumour—it had been already circulated in May (732, 2)—and did not perturb Cicero very much. He finally made up his mind to leave, intending to be back about November, or at latest the end of December (cp. 759). Atticus said that his departure was thoroughly approved (*in coelum ferri*), provided he returned for

<sup>1</sup> Appian (iii. 24) says that a few hirelings cried out for the recall of Brutus and Cassius, but that this demand was quickly extinguished; and that Octavian was instrumental in frustrating what they hoped to obtain from the games. We have no indication in Cicero of any such action on the part of Octavian. In reference to these games Plutarch (Brut. 21 fin.) tells a characteristic story: 'With respect to a certain Cannutius who was a theatrical favourite, Brutus wrote to his friends to persuade him to go on the boards; for it was not fitting that compulsion should be used on any Greek.' This Cannutius was probably a freedman.

<sup>2</sup> The expression of opinion at games was considered important as affording an index of popular sentiment: cp. 705. 2 *populi επισημασίαν*: cp. 646. 1; 704. 1; 733. 2; and especially Att. ii. 19. 3 (46).

<sup>3</sup> 772. 4 (July 11), *Quin etiam idcirco trahebam ut quam diutissime integrum esset. Sed quoniam furcillis extrudimur, Brundisium cogito*: cp. 771. 4 *arbitror esse commodius tarde navigare quam omnino non navigare*. We confess that we are not sure what were Cicero's reasons for these statements.

the beginning of the new year.<sup>1</sup> So, after having asked Atticus and Balbus to look after his interests at Rome, and come to his aid financially if necessary,<sup>2</sup> he left Pompeii by sea on July 17.<sup>3</sup> At Velia he stayed at the house of a friend called Talna<sup>4</sup> on the 19th. On the 20th he left Velia, and on his journey south, during the next few days, wrote his *Topica* on ship-board (Top. 5), and dedicated the work to Trebatius. On the 24th he was at Vibo, where he stayed at the house of his friend Sicca (775. 1). He was at Regium on the 28th and at Syracuse on August 1 (776 fin.; Phil. i. 7). He apparently intended striking across from Syracuse to Patrae (775. 1), and left on the 2nd. But adverse winds drove him back to Leucopetra near Regium on the 5th. On the 6th the ship made another attempt to sail, but it was again driven back to Leucopetra on the 7th. Here he was being hospitably entertained by his friend P. Valerius,<sup>5</sup> when he

<sup>1</sup> 775. 2: cp. 768. 1; 769. 3; 772. 4; 783. 2. Plutarch (Cic. 43) says that Hirtius and Pansa, who were good men, and great admirers of Cicero, asked him not to desert them, and they undertook, if he were present, to put down (καταλύειν) Antony when they became consuls; and that Cicero, neither wholly distrusting nor trusting them (οὐτ' ἀπιστῶν παντάπασιν οὔτε πιστεύων), agreed that he would return for the 1st of January, and, bidding farewell to Dolabella, sailed away for Greece. Plutarch seems to have considered that the *legatio* was not a sinecure, but would require Cicero's going to Syria with Dolabella.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero was always indifferent to money (cp. Plutarch Comp. Dem. et Cic. 3). At this time his steward Eros (just possibly the same as the Eros mentioned in Plutarch Apophth. Ciceronis 21 = 205 E), whom Cicero does not seem to have trusted implicitly (557. 4), appears to have had Cicero's accounts in a very unsatisfactory condition, and Cicero had to send his faithful Tiro to put them in order: cp. 726. 2; 748. 1, 3, 4; cp. 754. 1 and Fam. xvi. 24. 1 (806); though he still continued to employ Eros (769. 6; 772. 1). From 752. 4 we gather that in June, in order to free himself from debt, Cicero would have to get a bill for two hundred thousand sesterces for five months, when money due to him from his brother Quintus would probably be paid. These difficulties Cicero takes but as passing annoyances, and frankly (*apertius*) asks his friends Atticus, and even Balbus, to see to securing his credit (772. 2; 773. 5). He did not ever seem to be quite clear how his money affairs stood, and generally talks about them in a somewhat perfunctory manner (772. 2; 775. 3). One of the chief reasons why he returned to Rome in August, 44, was to see after his finances himself (783. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. 775. 1; he reached Vibo on the 24th, the eighth day from the 17th.

<sup>4</sup> Some commentators suppose that he stayed at the house of Trebatius at Velia, and alter *Talna* to *Testam* in 775. 1: but see note to 774. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 783. 1; Phil. i. 8. We cannot be certain who he was: probably the kind friend (*homo officiosus*) who wrote to Cicero during his exile telling him of the hardships Terentia was suffering at Rome; and he may be also the Valerius mentioned in 598. 1; 600. 1; 628 [15]. We hear, too, of a P. Valerius who was a debtor of



received a visit from certain distinguished citizens of Regium who had left Rome shortly before the end of July, and brought him letters and news which induced him to abandon his idea of going to Greece, and to return to Rome (783. 1; Phil. i. 8). This requires us to revert to what was happening at Rome in the political world during the month of July.

The only person who stood at all in Antony's way was Octavian; but Antony did not consider that he was very dangerous, and still thought that he might be intimidated. During some four or five days from the 20th the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* (also called *Veneris Genetricis*) were celebrated<sup>1</sup> by Octavian with considerable success. He once more (see above, p. lxxiv) made an attempt to exhibit Caesar's golden chair, but was prevented by some of the tribunes. He appealed to Antony as consul, but Antony supported the tribunes, and threatened to imprison Octavian if he did not desist. A comet appeared on the last day of the games. Octavian declared it was the soul of Caesar translated to the heavens, and erected in the temple of Venus a statue of Caesar, and decorated its head with a comet, as he well knew that an assertion of this kind would excite and foster the fanaticism of the lower order of Caesareans, who had paid worship to Caesar at the altar which Dolabella had overturned. The whole body of Caesarean fanatics were with Octavian. Antony had not estimated the influence of the mere name of Caesar with such excitable minds; and when we add to this the fact that Octavian was Caesar's heir, and had expressed willingness, if only he were treated fairly, to pay all his obligations which were due under Caesar's will to the people, and that he was desirous to take vengeance for Caesar's murder,<sup>2</sup> we can understand that he was an influence with which it was necessary for Antony to reckon. But, nevertheless, Antony felt that he might now take the step for which all his previous actions had been preparing: and towards the end of July he promulgated the *Lex de permutatione*

Atticus, Att. v. 21. 14 (250). It is to be noticed how welcome Cicero was always made by his friends and their retainers.

<sup>1</sup> They can hardly have lasted more than three or four days at this early stage in their history. Later they lasted for ten days: cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Jahrbuch* (1883), p. 864.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Appian iii. 28.

*provinciarum*, whereby he was at once to receive the province of Cisalpine Gaul along with the Macedonian legions for five years, and Decimus Brutus was to get Macedonia without an army for the remainder of the year.<sup>1</sup> The veterans were of course enthusiastic for the law, because they considered that if a strong man like Antony held that province which commanded Italy, there was no doubt but that their interests would be secure, and Caesar avenged. But the promulgation of the law caused general alarm. War seemed imminent, as it was felt that Decimus would certainly resist; and in consequence there was something of a financial panic, certainly a difficulty in raising money.<sup>2</sup> Even some Caesareans were alarmed: and Calpurnius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law, and Cicero's old enemy of the *In Pisonem*,<sup>3</sup> declared that he would move in the Senate on August 1st that Cisalpine Gaul should be no longer deemed a province, as all its inhabitants were Roman citizens. The crisis that had arisen showed how much Cicero's eloquence was missed, and he was criticized in several quarters for going off to Greece to the Olympic games when the State required him so urgently at home (783. 1, 5).

<sup>1</sup> Cicero never speaks of this law about the exchange of provinces except in 784. 7. The title of the law is found only in Livy Epit. 117 *M. Antonius consul cum impotenter dominaretur legemque de permutatione provinciarum per vim tulisset, et Caesarem quoque petentem ut sibi adversus percussores avunculi adesset magnis iniuriis adfessisset*. That there was an exchange is implied in the references of other authors, e.g., Nic. Dam. 30. 4 ἀλλαζόμενος; Appian iii. 27 ἐναλλάξαι; 37 ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος ἀντιδῶσιν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην—so that this view, that the law did not specify that Dec. Brutus was to get anything in exchange for Cisalpine Gaul, can hardly be sustained. Antony may have intended that Decimus should never actually receive Macedonia, and he certainly persisted in calling Macedonia 'his own' absolutely: cp. Phil. vii. 3 *Macedoniam suam vocat omnino*; viii. 25 *utramque provinciam remitto*—i.e. Macedonia and Cisalpine Gaul. But that was because Decimus did not acknowledge the law, and so was not competent to receive Macedonia. Antony seems to have entertained some expectation that he might be able to bring his old comrade Decimus over to agree to the exchange, and hoped that perhaps Decimus as one of Caesar's murderers would join with him against Octavian: cp. Dio xlv. 14. 1 (quoted by Ferrero, iii. 86 n.) ἤρχε μὲν δὴ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν εἶχεν ἅτε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεκτονότος.

<sup>2</sup> 783. 6, *mirifica enim dyschresia est propter metum armorum*.

<sup>3</sup> There was a rumour abroad at the end of June that Piso was going to get a *legatio* by means of a bogus decree of the Senate (ψευδεγγράφῃ *senatus consulto* 763. 1)—thus indicating that he was in league with Antony; but it was probably untrue.

During the last few days of July Brutus and Cassius appear to have issued a manifesto (783. 1 ; Phil. ii. 8 ; Vell. ii. 62. 3) saying they were willing to resign their praetorship, and in the interests of peace leave Italy (cp. Phil. ii. 113). This was their answer to those who supported the grant of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony for fear of civil war being raised by the tyrannicides. It is possible that they also asked to be relieved of their corn-commissionerships, and to be informed what provinces they were to have next year. Piso fulfilled his undertaking on August 1 ; but the general fear of violence from the veterans prevented any enthusiasm from being shown. All the Senate did was to assign two insignificant provinces to Brutus and Cassius, viz., Crete and Cyrene (Illyria according to Nic. Dam. 28. 17). The courage of Piso was commendable : he declared he would leave Italy if this tyranny continued (Phil. xii. 14) : but, though Cicero (Phil. i. 10) says that he gained great renown in public estimation, his efforts were ineffective, and he obtained no support (783. 7). Accordingly, just as after the meeting of the Senate on June 1 (see above, p. lxxvi), Antony saw plainly that his opponents had no real backing, and that he might now proceed to vigorous measures against Brutus and Cassius, so on the evening of the 1st, or on the 2nd, he wrote a violent manifesto against them, accusing them of shirking their duty and promoting civil war. They replied in a document of great severity and dignity, dated August 4, which we still possess (782). The veterans, bitterly hostile to the conspirators, were carrying all before them. Octavian alone by his disagreement with Antony proved a hindrance to the complete union of the Caesareans. It was, perhaps, about this time (though the date is very uncertain) that Octavian, though a patrician, stood for the tribunate vacated by the death of Helvius Cinna (see above, p. lviii, note 4). Antony opposed his candidature on the grounds that he was a patrician, that he was too young, and that he had never held the quaestorship ; and succeeded in having the election postponed. But whether this additional cause of disagreement occurred just at this juncture or not, there is no doubt that Antony and

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Ant. 16 ; Suet. Aug. 10 ; Dio. xlv. 6. 2 ; Appian iii. 31. The date is very uncertain. Dio places this before the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, Suetonius after them, and Appian even after the reconciliation of Antony and Octavian.

Octavian were hostile to one another. This state of things the leaders of the veterans and the Antonian party generally determined to stop. The dramatic scene which describes how soldiers came to Octavian's house, how he in fear fled to the roof, but heard the soldiers cheering, how he showed himself to them and was received with applause, how they told him that they desired him to be reconciled with Antony, and that a detachment of them had gone to urge the same course on Antony, is well described by Nicolaus of Damascus 29. Antony did not hold out, and the reconciliation was effected<sup>1</sup>; and shortly afterwards, probably some time about the 20th,<sup>2</sup> the law *de permutatione* was passed. Octavian supported Antony: refractory tribunes were bought off<sup>3</sup>; all the entrances to the forum were barricaded so that supporters alone of the law could pass; and much violence was used.<sup>4</sup> Though opposition was still to be apprehended from Octavian, and the soldiers were wholly devoted to him and his name, the position of Antony as chief man in the State seemed to be well established (Phil i. 10-23).<sup>5</sup>

But Cicero at Leucopetra on August 7 did not hear any news from Rome of later date than about July 28 or 29. From that he learned that there was to be a meeting of the Senate on August 1<sup>6</sup>; that there was some probability that Antony would give way and resign his claim on Cisalpine Gaul; that an agree-

<sup>1</sup> Appian iii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Appian (iii. 55) is wrong when he says τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἀντωνίῳ ἔδωκε . . . δῆμος νόμος, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος. Cicero was certainly not present.

<sup>3</sup> We doubt whether this statement of Appian (iii. 30) can apply to the tribunes who were consistently opposed to Antony, such as Ti. Cannutius (the man who, as Velleius ii. 64. 3 says, worried Antony like a dog), L. Cassius Longinus, and D. Carfulenus—if indeed Carfulenus was a tribune this year.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. Epit. 117; Appian iii. 30.

<sup>5</sup> During August Antony promulgated two laws of a democratic nature: (1) *de tertia decuria*, which enacted that jurymen should no longer be taken from the Senators and the Knights only (the Tribuni Aerarii had been abolished by Caesar: cp. Suet. Caes. 41; Dio xliii. 25. 1), but that a third *decuria* of centurions and lower military officers without property qualification be added; (2) *de vi et maiestate*, which enacted that all citizens condemned under these heads should have an appeal to the people. The *quaestiones* had been hitherto final; and also (3) a law that on every occasion of public thanksgiving a special day should be added in honour of Caesar, that is that he should virtually be deified (Phil. i. 13: ii. 110).

<sup>6</sup> 783. 1. We think, with Drumann and Groebe, that the Kalends there mentioned must be the Kalends of August: see note.

ment would be arrived at, and Brutus and Cassius return to Rome.<sup>1</sup> This optimistic view can only have arisen from the opposition which for the moment the promulgation of the law *de permutatione* caused, and from the firm position which Piso took up, and the support he seemed likely to receive. It cannot have lasted beyond August 1. But the citizens of Regium had probably left Rome a day or two before the end of July, and related their forecast of events from the point of view of the time of their departure, not from that of the time at which they were speaking to Cicero. It was felt even then, in the crisis that had arisen owing to the promulgation of the law *de permutatione*, that Cicero should not be absent<sup>2</sup>: and, after the proceedings of the first week of August, it must have been still more felt that no one except Cicero could adequately defend the republican cause. Atticus, in opposition to his general approval of Cicero's journey to Greece (cp. note to 783. 3), now changed his tone very emphatically (*vehementer*, 783. 2), and, apparently before August 1,<sup>3</sup> wrote a harsh letter to Cicero blaming him for deserting his country in this crisis. Cicero wrote back with wonderful command of temper. 'I wish' (said Atticus, with a note of contempt) 'you would elaborate a dissertation (*σχόλιον*) defending your conduct.' 'Yes, my dear Atticus' (he replies), 'I *will* compose an *Apologia*; but I shall address it to those against whose wish and advice I started on my journey.' Atticus reminded him, too (§ 6), of his financial difficulties in the monetary crisis that had arisen. Cicero replied that he saw at once clearly that he must meet his creditors. So he set his face homeward, and on August 17 had reached Velia, where he had a meeting with Brutus, who seems to have been unusually effusive in his praise of Cicero for returning.

<sup>1</sup> 783. 1; Phil. i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Dio xlv. 15. 4, says that Cicero returned because he had heard that Antony and Octavian had become violently hostile to one another (*ἐκπεπολεωμένους*). This is different from Cicero's own statement that he returned because he understood that an agreement between Antony and the constitutionalists was likely to be attained (*rem conventuram*). He does not seem to have regarded Octavian at this time as an important factor in the political situation.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero replies to this letter on August 19, writing from ship-board as he was approaching Pompeii, 783 fin. The letter of Atticus reached him, as would appear, while he was still at the Straits of Messina (*in freto medio*): cp. 783. 6, where see note.

Brutus had not urged this course previously, because (so at least Atticus seemed to imply, 783. 5) he did not wish to appear to give advice to a man who was so much his senior.<sup>1</sup> Brutus told him of the events of the early part of August, and may have given him copies of Antony's manifesto of the 1st or 2nd and his own in reply (782). We may, perhaps, conjecture also that he did not emphasize the danger and difficulty of the position which he had created, and which he was urging Cicero to face. Cicero had no illusions that he would be able to take a successful part in politics, but he felt it his duty to return and show, as he had always done, his devotion to his country. He was fully conscious of the justice of the cause which he was now espousing.<sup>2</sup> He was at Pompeii on the 19th (783 fin.), and at Tusculum certainly on the 28th, possibly earlier. It was probably from Tusculum that he wrote his letter to Matius (784), expostulating with him for having supported the law *de permutatione provinciarum*. Matius made a manly and honourable reply (785), which permits us to see the views of the political situation which were held by many able, educated, and moderate Caesareans.<sup>3</sup> On the 31st

<sup>1</sup> Cp. also for this interview, Phil. i. 9, *atque ego celeriter Veliam devectus Brutum vidi : quanto meo dolore non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse ubi ille non posset. Neque vero illum similiter atque ipse eram commotum esse vidi : erectus enim maximi et pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro* (i.e. the Roman people, dominated as they were by Antony) *querebatur*. It is really amazing to see the veneration with which such a poor creature as Brutus was regarded by Cicero—and that too at a time when Brutus was flying from all danger, and Cicero returning to Rome to find all things there in a blaze (*in flammam ipsam venire*, 783. 2). Cicero certainly fulfilled his intention of never faltering in his devotion to Brutus (720. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 783. 7, *nec ego nunc, ut Brutus censebat, istuc ad rempublicam capessendam venio. Quid enim fieri potest ? Num quis Pisoni est adsensus ? Num rediit ipse postridie ? Sed abesse hanc aetatem longe a sepulchro negant oportere* : Phil. i. 10. *Hunc (Pisonem) igitur ut sequerer properavi quem praesentes non sunt secuti, non ut proficerem aliquid—nec enim sperabam id nec praestare poteram—sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset—multa autem impendere videntur praefer naturam etiam praeterque fatum* (apparently the ordinary accidents of human life)—*huius tamen diei vocem testem reipublicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Arnold (*op. cit.* ii. p. 132) well describes, partly after Cicero (729. 1), the point of view of such moderate Caesareans. 'Assassination is a crime which, when once practised or defended by a political party, must render it impossible for their opponents to trust them again ; and while Caesar's friends regarded the late dictatōr as the victim of his own unsuspecting confidence, they naturally imagined that the conspirators and their friends assumed the language of moderation only whilst they were overawed by

Cicero entered Rome, welcomed by a large crowd.<sup>1</sup> The ship of the Republic was not, perhaps, so very shattered as Cicero had declared two and a half months before (744. 3), but it was, nevertheless, in a very unsound state. It is no little tribute to Cicero's ability and character that in this critical condition of affairs it was to him that men turned their eyes. He was no longer left relegated to the hold, but was once more called upon to grasp the helm.<sup>2</sup> For the next year he navigated that crazy old vessel, not always, perhaps, with consummate wisdom, but, on the whole, with conspicuous courage and spirit; and when the inevitable moment came, and the ship went down, he shared her fate.

the populace and the veterans, and that as soon as Decimus Brutus should have organized an army in Cisalpine Gaul, and Sex. Pompeius with his rapidly increasing force should have arrived from Spain to join him, the aristocratical party would retract the concessions made in the temple of Earth on the seventeenth of March, and would annul all the acts of Caesar's sovereignty, as they had formerly intended to do to those of his first consulship.'

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch Cic. 43, 'Such a multitude of men in their joy and longing for him poured out to meet him, and well-nigh the whole day was spent in welcomings and greetings to him at the gates.' When Cicero returned from Cilicia in a much greater crisis, he received, as he tells us, a very complimentary welcome: cp. Fam. xvi. 11. 2 (301), *obviam mihi sic est proditum ut nihil posset fieri ornatius*. This going out to meet important people seems to have been a point of etiquette which was considered almost imperative (Plutarch, Ant. 11, says that all the chief men went out many days' journey to meet Caesar when he was returning from Spain: cp. 667. 3, 4). Appian (iii. 13) implies that it was considered a slight to omit it: if one could not go oneself, a deputy should be sent.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fam. ix. 15. 3 (481) written in the autumn of 46, *Sedebamus enim in puppi et clavum tenebamus: nunc autem vix est in sentina locus*.

## III.—CICERO'S CORRESPONDENTS.

## 1. PUBLIUS VATINIUS.

IN the year 168 B.C. a certain farmer named Vatinius informed the magistrates that, as he was returning one night from Reate to Rome, he was met by Castor and Pollux, who told him that Perseus had been taken captive on that day. The magistrates very properly put him under restraint; but a few days later, when news of the capture of Perseus arrived, they released him, and gave him a farm as a reward.<sup>1</sup>

His grandson was the celebrated, or notorious, tribune, P. Vatinius, with whom there is no record that the gods ever held any intercourse, and who was, according to Cicero and Catullus, the best detested man at Rome.<sup>2</sup> He was a vulgar, low-born creature, who had vulgar ambitions for mere rank and title, and attained the vulgar success he coveted. In the rough-and-tumble of Roman politics during the last generation of the Republic, success of that kind, in the case of a man sprung from such origins as Vatinius, was pretty sure to be obtained by audacity, wit, want of principle, and readiness to perform capably any and every kind of work which the heads of the opposing factions considered needful. This was the character of Vatinius, and the part he played. His exterior corresponded to his mind.<sup>3</sup> He was

<sup>1</sup> Cic. N. D. ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Vat. 1, *odio tui ab omnibus paene vincor*: cp. 9 and 39, *si te vicini, si adfines, si tribules ita oderunt ut repulsam tuam triumphum suum duxerint . . . si es odium publicum populi, senatus, universorum hominum rusticanorum*; Catull. 14, 3, *odissem te odio Vatiniano*. On this latter passage we agree with the late Prof. Ellis in his view that *Vatiniano* is objective; though, of course, the other view, that Catullus is thinking of the hatred felt by Vatinius for Calvus and all his enemies, is just possible. Good stories gathered round Vatinius; one which illustrated his unpopularity is told by Macrobius (ii. 6, 1). When Vatinius gave a show of gladiators, stones were flung at him: the aediles then declared that he should be pelted only with fruit (*poma*). A spectator asked the eminent counsel Cascellius whether a pine-cone (*nux pinea*) was fruit, and he ruled that it was if it was to be thrown at Vatinius.

<sup>3</sup> Vell. ii. 69, *cum Vatinius nulli homini non esset postferendus, in quo deformitas*



deformed, and disfigured by scrofulous swellings (*strumae*). At these many jibes were directed, which, in the lack of refinement of the age, were considered not merely allowable, but even witty.<sup>1</sup>

His first appearance in public life was his election last on the list of quaestors in 63. Cicero, the consul, sent him to Puteoli to prevent the exportation of gold and silver: the precious metals appear to have been needed to pay for the imports into Italy. Vatinius availed himself of this opportunity to exercise his natural gift of peculating, and to institute severe inquiries into the property of individuals, with the result that the good people of Puteoli laid violent hands on him. Next year he was lieutenant of Q. Cosconius in Further Spain. But his true field of action was so-called politics; and the chief feature of his life was his tribunate in 59, during the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus.<sup>2</sup> He put his services unreservedly at the disposal of Caesar, and acted as his most energetic and, in a certain sense, able helper during that excited and noisy year.

It was no great distinction for Vatinius that he set the auspices at defiance, though perhaps he did so with more effrontery than most politicians: everyone at that time set the auspices at defiance when it suited his purpose. Nor that he filled the forum with soldiers; nor that he so intimidated his colleagues that they did not dare to exercise their right of intercession.<sup>3</sup>

*corporis cum turpitudine certabat ingeni, adeo ut animus eius dignissimo domicilio inclusus videretur.* 'Just to think,' says Cic. Att. ii. 6, 2 (33), writing from Antium, 'that there is a place so near Rome where there are many people who have never seen Vatinius.'

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Senec. de Const. Sap. 17. 3, *Vatinium, hominem natum et ad risum et ad odium, scurram fuisse et venustum et dicacem memoriae proditum est. In pedes suos ipse plurima dicebat et in fauces concisas. Sic inimicorum, quos plures habebat quam morbos, et in primis Ciceronis urbanitatem effugerat.* For gibes at the struma of Vatinius, cp. Sest. 135, Vat. 39; Att. ii. 9, 2 (36); Plut. Cic. 9. 26. For a joke on his diseased feet, see Quintil. vi. 3, 77: Vatinius, wishing to seem quite able to walk, and not merely to crawl, says, 'I've walked two miles to-day.' 'Yes,' replied Cicero, 'the days are getting longer now.'

<sup>2</sup> During this year Vatinius aspired to obtain the place in the College of Augurs left vacant by the death of Metellus Celer; but that body was spared the disgrace for the time: cp. Att. ii. 9. 2 (36); Vat. 19, 20. He was elected augur in the room of Appius Claudius, who died in 48: cp. 696. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Vat. 17, 18.

That was the recognized order of procedure, and the virtuous and high-souled Titus Annius Milo conformed to it as strictly as any Clodius or Vatinius. Nor did it show any special gifts to treat Bibulus with every kind of indignity, though, no doubt, it afforded him and Caesar, 'that most excellent and merciful man,' a considerable amount of amusement.<sup>1</sup> But two other actions of Vatinius in that eventful year are more worthy of record. The celebrated law which is associated with his name is regarded, and justly regarded, as a most important step in the development of the military monarchy. It enacted that Caesar should hold Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, and to these provinces the Senate afterwards added Transalpine Gaul. On this field of action Caesar won to himself the devotion of the army, by means of which he was afterwards able to dictate terms to the Senate and people of Rome. Another remarkable and exciting act was the production of Vettius, and, according to Cicero, the subsequent murder of that informer. This mysterious affair, of which we learn most from Att. ii. 24 (51) and Vat. 24-26, shows the general lack of constitutional morality which characterized the politics of the day.

As a reward for his services, Caesar appears to have made Vatinius one of his legates in 58; but it is uncertain whether he ever left Rome at all.<sup>2</sup> We learn that he failed for the aedileship in 57.<sup>3</sup> In 56 he appeared as a witness against Sestius and

<sup>1</sup> Vat. 21, 22. Really the way they treated Bibulus was too bad. No pantaloons in a pantomime was ever more knocked about. First of all, Vatinius arrested him, and, in spite of the other nine tribunes, who ordered his release, led him along some kind of a bridge, formed by breaking up the tribunalia in the forum, to prison, and (adds Cicero) to execution and death. (The latter can hardly be more than a rhetorical flourish.) Afterwards it appears that Vatinius and his crew drove Bibulus to leave public life and shut himself up in his house; and then turned round, and sent an officer to arrest him and drag him out, thus violating a fundamental law of the Roman, as of the English, citizen, that a man's house is his castle. The only resistance poor Bibulus was able to make to all this was to issue 'Archilochian' edicts, which broke no bones. As in the case of other political martyrs, his attitude was applauded as nobler than any triumph: *ep. Cic. Fam. i. 9, 7* (153), but was not emulated, except, indeed, by the irrepressible Cato and his shadow Favonius.

<sup>2</sup> In that year he appears to have been accused by Licinius Calvus *de vi*, on which occasion, when there was some dispute about challenges, certain partisans of Vatinius scaled the bench, and tried to scatter the lots in the urn. By this vigorous, but scarcely constitutional, procedure Vatinius got all he wished, as the Schol. Bob. 323 (Or.) says.

<sup>3</sup> Sest. 114.

Milo, when these worthies were tried for violence.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the trial of Sestius, Cicero made Vatinius the subject of a stringent *interrogatio*,<sup>2</sup> which has come down to us. In that *interrogatio* Cicero heaps up every kind of charge against his adverse witness. Sprung, as he was, from some mud or other, he became a Pythagorean, evoked evil spirits, and offered up to them the bowels of children in his unholy rites; he set all religion at defiance; he beat his mother; he bored through the walls of his neighbours' houses; when *legatus* he made a round-about journey to Spain by sea; and went to a dinner-party in a black toga.<sup>3</sup> In fact, he was the greatest ruffian at Rome, except Clodius, an exception which, according to Cicero, Vatinius resolutely refused to acknowledge.<sup>4</sup> The reason why Cicero made this attack on Vatinius is stated by Cicero himself in his *Apologia*<sup>5</sup> to Lentulus (§ 7). Vatinius had said that Cicero had been urged to cultivate the friendship of Caesar by reason of Caesar's extraordinary good luck and fortune. The whole *interrogatio*, says Cicero, was simply a censure on his tribunate. The speech is not bad reading. Cicero regarded it with no little complacency. Writing to Quintus, he says:—

'I cut him up to my heart's content, gods and men applauding. Paulus, witness for Sestius, said he would prosecute Vatinius if Licinius Macer hesitated, whereupon Macer rose up from the benches where sat the supporters of Sestius, and said he would not fail to carry his undertaking through. In short, the aggressive bully Vatinius left the Court dismayed and crushed.'<sup>6</sup>

This was possibly in a measure true; but Cicero cannot have regarded with much satisfaction his own futile efforts to dissociate

<sup>1</sup> In giving his evidence Vatinius declared that the whole 'set' (*natio*—this was the word Vatinius used: cp. Sest. 96; N.D. ii 74) of the Optimates should be destroyed and cut away; he censured Caesar for his indulgence to them, and solemnly asserted that there never would be any peace while that 'set' existed.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Quintil. v. 7, 6, *interim adversus singulos dirigitur actio: quod insectationis genus et permixtum defensionis legimus in orationibus plurimis et separatim editum, sicut in Vatinium testem.*

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Vat. 17, 14, 11, 12, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Vat. 41, *quem tu unum improbiorem esse quam te nunquam soles confiteri.* Public opinion said that Clodius was the one man who was a greater rascal than Vatinius: the latter would not allow this. It is perhaps better thus to explain *unum* than to read, with most editors, *nonnunquam*.

<sup>5</sup> Fam. i. 9. 7 (153).

<sup>6</sup> Q. Fr. ii. 4. 1 (105).

the actions of Vatinius from those of Caesar. The speech is a lively one, and sufficiently abusive; but, in our opinion, the abuse is all in the way of business, and did not betoken much more than dislike and contempt for a vulgar and unpopular opponent. Cicero's feelings towards Vatinius were of a very different nature from those which he entertained for Clodius, whom he really hated and feared. 'The hatred of Vatinius,' said Cicero, a few years later, 'I am able not only to swallow, but also to digest.'<sup>1</sup> For, with all his faults, his want of principle and vulgar aggressiveness, Vatinius had one redeeming quality—good-humour. He had his joke against everyone, even against himself and his physical deformities; and this good-humour tended, as a general rule, to disarm in some degree the hostility of his enemies.<sup>2</sup>

In 55 he became praetor, and thereby gained another step on the ladder of office, by a clever, but unscrupulous, piece of tactics on the part of Pompey and Crassus, who again required his services for their consulship. They procured a decree of the Senate to the effect that the praetors should enter on their magistracy at once after election. As by this means their creature, if successful, would be saved from prosecution for a year, by wholesale bribery and intimidation they secured for him the praetorship in opposition to Cato. It was a scandal for ever, the gravest in the record of elections.<sup>3</sup>

When Vatinius vacated this office, towards the end of 55 or beginning of 54, he was accused by Licinius Calvus, probably under Cicero's law, on a charge of *ambitus*. By giving a show of gladiators during his canvass, he brought himself within the severe penalties of this law, which forbade the exhibition of such shows within two years of the election.<sup>4</sup> This speech of Calvus was especially famous.<sup>5</sup> It was a great effort, and extorted a cry

<sup>1</sup> Q. Fr. iii. 9, 5 (160), *ut eius ista odia non sorbeam solum sed etiam concoquam*.

<sup>2</sup> Senec. de Const. Sap. 17. 3, quoted above, p. xcy, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Val. Max. vii. 5, 6, *comitiorum maximum crimen*. The case became proverbial for the fortune of election: cp. Senec. Epist. 118, 4, '*nihil mihi tecum, Fortuna: non facio mei tibi copiam. Scio apud te Catones repelli, Vatinius fieri: nihil rogo.*' *Hoc est privatam facere fortunam*. For the scandalous bribery on the occasion cp. Plut. Cat. Min. 42, Pomp. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Vat. 37. Cicero's law added to the previous penalties for *ambitus* exile for ten years.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Tac. Dial. 21, *At hercule in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusa-*

of praise even from Vatinius. In the middle of the speech he started up, and cried excitedly, 'I ask you, judges, is it right that, because this man is eloquent, I should be condemned?'<sup>1</sup> The whole *clique* of Calvus and Catullus loathed Vatinius; his physical repulsiveness and brawling behaviour doubtless offended the artistic sensibilities of that *coterie*: and, of course, their utter detestation of Caesar and all his works extended, with the additional feeling of contempt, to his hireling creatures.<sup>2</sup> 'I would hate you as everyone hates Vatinius': so Catullus expresses to Calvus the highest degree of hatred he could feel.<sup>3</sup> The defence of Vatinius was conducted by Cicero, at the order of Pompey and Caesar. Cicero, at this time, after the complete break-down of his opposition to the triumvirs the year before, was their obedient slave. The defence, Cicero said, was easy.<sup>4</sup> To be compelled to take this part was galling to Cicero, not so much from any strong personal hostility to Vatinius (though that counted for something), as from his being forced to act against the political party with which his real sympathies lay. The elaborate and laboured defence, which Cicero makes in his well-known letter to Lentulus, leaves itself open to charitable or harsh judgment, according as critics are kindly or malevolent. If Cicero did play a somewhat unworthy part, he played it in self-defence: he took the side of those who would not desert, or show mean jealousy of, their best supporters. Pompey had recently reconciled Vatinius with him, and Caesar had earnestly requested him to conduct the defence; but Cicero dwells especially on the favour shown by the Optimates to Clodius as a motive which induced him to alter his policy, and to play off his Publius Vatinius against their Publius Clodius.<sup>5</sup>

*tiones quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis auribus iudicum accommodata.* It was during the delivery of this oration that Catullus noticed the bystander who held up his hands, and said of Calvus, *Di magni, salaputium disertum* (53, 5). The commencement of the speech was considered especially powerful (Iul. Sev. rhet. 19), *Hominem nostrae civitatis audacissimum, de factione divitem, sordidum, maledicum accuso* ('J'accuse').

<sup>1</sup> Senec. Contr. vii. 4 (19), 6, *Rogo vos, iudices, num, si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet.*

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (Vat. 38) says that Caesar declared that Vatinius had been repaid for all his services, so that he felt no concern for the failure of Vatinius for the aedileship. The man who is paid in money for service must submit to the loss of position and honour.

<sup>3</sup> 14, 3, *Odissem te odio Vatiniiano*: cp. above, p. xciv, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Q. Fr. ii. 15, 3 (147).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Plut. Cic. 26; Fam. i. 9, 19 (153).

We do not hear of Vatinius again until 51, when he appears as a legate of Caesar in Gaul.<sup>1</sup> He, doubtless, remained with him until his invasion of Italy in 49, but took no prominent part in the crisis of that year. Before the battle of Pharsalia he was sent with proposals of peace to Pompey, but was not present at the action. He had previously been appointed governor of Brundisium, which he defended with ability against an attack of D. Laelius.<sup>2</sup> During his governorship of Brundisium, Cicero was lodging in the town, and speaks of having received considerable kindness at the hands of Vatinius. 'He would do anything if he could only find out in what he could assist me.'<sup>3</sup> In the spring of 47 Vatinius, with very inferior forces, defeated the fleet of M. Octavius in a well-fought battle at the Island of Tauris, off the coast of Illyricum.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the same year, the oath which Vatinius so often had sworn, the oath by his prospective consulship, could no longer be regarded as a false one, for he was made *consul suffectus* apparently within a few days of the end of December.<sup>5</sup>

In 46 or 45, Vatinius was appointed to the command of Illyricum. During his tenure of that district he made some successful expeditions against the Dalmatians, of which he gives a slight account in the two and a-half letters of his which have come down to us. For his success he was saluted *Imperator* by his soldiers. He writes to Cicero, asking his good services in confuting the calumnies of his enemies, and in securing for him a triumph. He promises his aid in endeavouring to capture a runaway slave of Cicero's, but holds up his hands in pretended

<sup>1</sup> Bell. Gall. viii. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Caes. Bell. Civ. iii. 19, 90, 100.

<sup>3</sup> Att. xi. 5, 4 (416); cp. 9, 2 (423).

<sup>4</sup> Bell. Alex. 44, 45.

<sup>5</sup> Catull. 52, 3, *Per consulatum peierat Vatinius*. Catullus died in 54, so we must suppose that Vatinius, during his career of office, often swore, *Ita consul fiam ut haec vera sunt*, as Dio Cassius (l. 5. 4) tells us Cleopatra used to swear, *Sic in Capitolio iura reddam*; and this is, indeed, virtually stated by Cicero, Vat. 6, *At tamen hoc, Vatini, memento . . . me . . . magnificentissime post hominum memoriam consulem factum, omniaque ea me pudenter vivendo consecutum esse quae tu impudenter vaticinando sperare te saepe dixisti*: cp. 11, 38. The jokes which Cicero made on the consulship of Vatinius (Macrob. ii. 3, 5) are of the same nature as those he made on the consulship of Caninius Rebilus—'a prodigy is the consulship of Vatinius: in it was neither winter, spring, summer, nor autumn.' Vatinius asked Cicero why he did not call to see him. 'Oh!' replied Cicero, 'I intended to call on you when you were consul, but was overtaken by night.'

amazement and horror at Cicero's request on behalf of a certain Sex. Servilius and of a notorious criminal, one Catilius—

‘Are those the clients, those the cases you undertake to support? A man as great a savage as there is alive, who has killed, ravished, and outraged numbers of free youths, married women, and Roman citizens, and who has laid whole regions waste. The ape, who was not worth a half-penny, tried to fight me, and I took him prisoner of war. But, though you ask me, my dear Cicero, what can I do? My word, I *do* wish to perform every command you lay upon me. The penalty and punishment which I was intending to execute on my prisoner I remit and relinquish at your request; but what reply can I make to those who demand satisfaction for the plunder of their goods, the attack on their ships, the murder by Catilius of their brothers, children, and parents? Upon my faith, if I had the brazen face of my predecessor in the augurate, Appius, I could not bear these complaints. Well, what then? I shall carefully do all that I know you want. His defence is being conducted by your pupil, Volusius, and possibly that circumstance will be able to terrify his opponents. In this is our best hope.’

This is decidedly amusing, especially the tone of expostulation. The not too scrupulous Vatinius is in amazement at the magnitude of the job which the righteous Cicero wishes to have perpetrated; but yet he will do his best.<sup>1</sup>

In 45, the successes of Vatinius were recognized by a vote which decreed a *supplicatio* in his honour. Soon after he was sent out to the east coast of the Adriatic again. In 43, he held Dyrrhachium for some time against Marcus Brutus, but finally surrendered to him during the spring. It is uncertain whether the surrender was under compulsion or voluntary: the statements of Cicero and Appian<sup>2</sup> to the latter effect have the greater degree of probability. Notwithstanding this failure, the triumvirs allowed him the honour of a triumph for his exploits in Dalmatia; and on the 31st of July, 712 (42), he entered the city as *imperator*, and the name of Vatinius was added to the list of *triumphatores*, whereon had been inscribed the names of Camillus and Africanus, Paullus, and Marius, Pompeius and Caesar. We hear no more of him.

Yet it is a fitting end for our knowledge of a second-rate politician, and a second-rate, though courageous, general. A triumph by itself had ceased to be a real honour; even Lentulus

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 696.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Phil. x. 13; App. Bell. Civ. iv. 75.

Spinther got a triumph. It meant no more than a peerage means to-day. Yet we are glad that Cicero did not live to learn of this special scandal, and was spared the grief and humiliation of seeing what had been the highest glory of his darling republic carelessly granted to a vulgar agitator, and the purple-dyed and gold-bespangled robe of the triumphant commander, the very garments of Jupiter himself, wrapped round the scrofulous swellings of Vatinius.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. MARCUS CICERO THE YOUNGER.

CICERO's only son, young Marcus, was born in 65, about July or August, when L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus had been just designated consuls for the next year. He was thus some nine years younger than Tullia. During the early part of his life we hear little of him, except in a few conventional remarks.<sup>2</sup> He is not mentioned in his father's correspondence during those years except incidentally as a 'sweet boy.'<sup>3</sup> He was seven years old when Cicero was exiled, and it was one of the sources of greatest sorrow to the father that just as his son was beginning to perceive things intelligently he had felt the bitter sting of misery and sorrow.<sup>4</sup> When the boy was eleven years old, he and his cousin Quintus were put under the care of a teacher of rhetoric, called Paeonius, who appears to have given them instruction in a somewhat declamatory style of oratory.<sup>5</sup> In 51 the two boys accompanied Cicero to Cilicia with the respectable but irritable<sup>6</sup> Dionysius as their tutor. During 50 King Deiotarus asked the boys to visit him, and Cicero considered Galatia a very desirable place for them in which to spend the summer.<sup>7</sup> Towards winter Deiotarus took them back to Cicero at Laodicea. 'The two lads,'

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Att. ii. 9, 2 (36) of the augurate, *denique etiam Vatini strumam sacerdoti διαβαφω vestiant.*

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Cat. iv. 3; Post red. ad Quir. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *mellitus Cicero*, Att. i. 18, 1 (24).

<sup>4</sup> Fam. xiv. 1, 1 (82).

<sup>5</sup> Q. Fr. iii. 3, 4 (151).

<sup>6</sup> Att. viii. 4, 1 (335): cp. vi. 1, 12 (252), *Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est: pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci, sed homo nec doctior nec sanctior fieri potest nec tui meique amantior.*

<sup>7</sup> Att. v. 17, 3 (209).



writes Cicero to Atticus vi. 1, 12 (252), 'are companions in their studies and their exercises; but, as Isocrates said of Theopompus and Ephorus, one of them (young Quintus) needs the curb, the other (young Marcus) the spur.'

On his return Cicero appears to have touched at Rhodes, as the boys wished to see the town. Young Marcus was now about fifteen. He remained with his father during the early part of the eventful year 49. There was some talk of sending him to Greece, to escape the dangers to which Italy was exposed by reason of the Civil War<sup>1</sup>; but he did not go. At the end of March his father gave him the *toga virilis* at Arpinum, after the important meeting with Caesar in which Cicero finally committed himself to the cause of Pompey.<sup>2</sup> He accompanied his father to Greece in that year; and we are a little surprised to hear that Pompey put the boy, who was not yet sixteen, in command (we presume honorary command) of a squadron of cavalry. In the *De Officiis* (ii. 45), a work dedicated to young Marcus, Cicero says:—

'When Pompey put you in command of a squadron, you won great praise from that eminent man and from his army by your skill in riding, in throwing the javelin, and in enduring every kind of military toil.'

This shows that his bent was decidedly in the direction of athletics. He never displayed any taste for intellectual pursuits.

After the battle of Pharsalia he returned with his father to Brundisium. In the course of the miserable year which Cicero spent in that town he meditated sending his son to Caesar with a defence against the calumnies of his brother and nephew, but gave up the idea when he heard that Caesar was in a dangerous position in Alexandria, and could hardly escape.<sup>3</sup> In the next year 46 young Quintus, young Marcus, and M. Caesius were appointed aediles at Arpinum<sup>4</sup> through Cicero's influence; and about the same time Cicero wrote for his son the dialogue called *Partitiones Oratoriae*, in which young Marcus and his father are the two interlocutors.

Towards the end of the same year we have an account of an interesting conversation between father and son relative to a desire

<sup>1</sup> Att. vii. 17, 1 (315).

<sup>2</sup> Att. ix. 19, 1 (377): cp. vol. iv, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Att. xi. 17 and 18 (432, 434).

<sup>4</sup> Fam. xiii. 11, 3 (452), where see note.

of the latter to accompany Caesar on his Spanish expedition. Writing to Atticus, Cicero says:—

‘My talk with the lad was most frank. I wish you would, if convenient, inquire about it from him. But why should I put it off? I told him that you had informed me of his wishes and requirements; namely, that he wished to go to Spain, and that he required a liberal allowance. As regards the liberal allowance I said he should have the same as the sons of Publius and of the flamen Lentulus. As regards the Spanish project I brought forward two considerations:—First, that which occurred to you, that I was afraid of censure. ‘Is it not enough that we relinquished our cause? Are we even to take arms against it?’ Secondly, that he would be mortified when he found that his cousin was on more friendly terms and in every way more influential with Caesar than he could be. I should prefer that he should avail himself of my liberal allowance rather than adopt the liberty of life he wishes for; but I left it to himself, for I saw that you did not entirely disapprove of this course. I shall turn the matter over in my mind again and again, and I beg of you to do the same. It is an important matter. The simple thing is for him to remain; the other project is dangerous. But we shall see about it.’<sup>1</sup>

Yet, after all, young Marcus did not go to Spain. Nor was he allowed to set up a house of his own at Rome, which was another project of his.<sup>2</sup> He was sent instead, now twenty years of age, to the University of Athens to study philosophy under Cratippus.<sup>3</sup> He was given a very liberal allowance indeed, his father putting aside for that purpose the rent of house-property he owned in the Aventine and Argiletum. It amounted to almost £800 a year.<sup>4</sup> Cicero appears to have been actuated by a desire that none of the young Romans who were studying at Athens should have a larger allowance than his son.<sup>5</sup> No wonder that he fell into bad ways, and that an unprincipled Greek teacher, one Gorgias, who appears to have combined proficiency in rhetoric with an accurate knowledge of the Athenian *demi-monde*,<sup>6</sup> aided and abetted him in the culture of his wild oats.<sup>7</sup> We hear that in May, 45, Atticus had some serious fault to find with young Marcus, and wrote him a letter which Cicero says was written with as much gravity and

<sup>1</sup> Att. xii. 7, 1 (500).

<sup>2</sup> 568. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. note to 736. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 769. 5.

<sup>5</sup> 568. 2: cp. 748. 4, *id etiam ad dignitatem meam pertinere eum non modo liberaliter a nobis sed etiam ornate cumulateque tractari*; also 709. 2.

<sup>6</sup> See note to 786. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Plut. Cic. 24.

restraint as possible, and precisely in accordance with his wishes. Later, about August, the sensible and thrifty Atticus appears to have expostulated with Cicero on the extravagant allowance which he had given his son, and pointed to the results; but the fond father replied that he would be ashamed that his son, be he what he may (*qualiscunque est*), should be at all pinched this first year.<sup>1</sup> During the early spring of 710 (44) Leonides, one of the authorities of the University, did not give a very satisfactory report of the young man; he said he was getting on pretty well 'just at present' (*quomodo nunc est*), and 'so far' (*adhuc*). In consequence of these reports Cicero thought of taking a run (*excurrere*) into Greece to see his son.<sup>2</sup> Trebonius, indeed, writing in May, speaks warmly of young Cicero's studious and regular habits and his great popularity.<sup>3</sup> He had probably been more studious or at least more steady;<sup>4</sup> but we cannot help thinking that this account of Trebonius was exaggerated in order that Cicero might allow his son to go with Trebonius on a visit to Asia. Young Cicero wished it very much. To be sure, Cratippus was to go along with them, so that the boy would not be neglecting his studies. Herodes, another professor, also spoke well of young Cicero. The father, though not quite reassured, confesses with an affectionate frankness, 'I readily allow myself to be imposed on in this respect, and I gladly lend myself to be convinced.'<sup>5</sup> When we read a sentence like this, College tutors may disapprove and shake their heads, but our hearts warm to Cicero all the same. Natural affection atones for a multitude of errors.

Cicero appears to have also derived some comfort from the fact that his son's letters were written in a 'classic' style, so that he would be prepared to read them 'even in a conversazione.'<sup>6</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> 601. 1; 664. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 721. 3; 746.

<sup>3</sup> 736. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 748. 4, *Cicero noster quo modestior est eo me magis commovet.*

<sup>5</sup> 746.

<sup>6</sup> 749. 2, *ipsius litterae sic et φιλοστόργως et πεπινωμένως scriptae ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere.* We know Cicero was a severe critic of his son's letters (Quintil. i. 7, 34, *in filio, ut epistulis apparet, recte loquendi asper quoque exactor*), and he had good grounds to be, if his son perpetrated such a sentence as *direxi litteras duas*, which is handed down on the testimony of Servius (on *Æn.* viii. 168). We are uncharitable enough to have a lurking suspicion that the enterprising Gorgias may have composed the 'classic' epistles which delighted the too credulous father.

still young Marcus clamoured for money, and still the father desired to 'give him a large margin' (*laxius*), and continued the allowance.<sup>1</sup> Atticus remitted the money by a Bill of Exchange on Athens.<sup>2</sup> Xeno, the agent of Atticus at Athens, appears to have wisely doled out very small sums to the lad in a chary and 'skimpy' fashion (*γλίσχωρος*).<sup>3</sup>

However, the conduct of Gorgias appears to have become too outrageous, and Cicero sent peremptory orders to his son to break off all intimacy with that depraved man. On the receipt of this order young Cicero wrote a most interesting and effusive letter to Tiro.<sup>4</sup> He will of course defer to the wishes of his most indulgent and affectionate father, is deeply sorry for his youthful errors, and promises complete reformation. He then proceeds to paint quite ideal relations between his tutors and himself. Cratippus is like a father to him; not only does he attend with pleasure the lectures of Cratippus, but that learned professor often drops into supper, and they have pleasant chats and jokes together. Bruttius also, who cultivates plain living and high thinking,<sup>5</sup> is his constant companion, and with him, too, merry talk is not divorced from learning and daily work.

'Indeed I have taken a house for him in the neighbourhood, and, as far as I can, from my scanty means I alleviate his narrow circumstances. I have started declamation in Greek with Cassius: I wish to practise myself in Latin declamation with Bruttius. I have as my intimate and daily associates men whom Cratippus has brought over with him from Mitylene, men who are both learned and are, as he considers, of the highest character. Epicrates, the chief of the Athenians, is with me a good deal, and Leonides, and others of the same sort. *De nobis ipsis haec hactenus.*'

Of course he will dismiss Gorgias, though Gorgias had been very useful in the daily rhetorical exercises; and so on. This was

<sup>1</sup> 749. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero is constantly giving directions to Atticus with regard to the amount and despatch of his son's allowance: 657. 1; 664. 2; 709. 2; 714. 2; 721. 4; 724. 5; 748. 4; 749. 1; 752. 4; 769. 5.

<sup>3</sup> 769. 5.

<sup>4</sup> 786. We are a little surprised that he did not write to Cicero himself; but this does not seem to have been the first occasion on which the father had reason to feel aggrieved that his son chose the freedman of the family as his correspondent: cp. 748. 4, *ad me enim de hac re nihil scripsit, ad quem nimirum potissimum debuit.*

<sup>5</sup> § 4, *cum frugi severaque est vita.*

indeed the Golden Age of University life. Not only does the professor lie down (to supper) with the student, and the student out of his own allowance pay the rent of the professor's house, but the student has, or at least wants to get as soon as possible, a private secretary who knows Greek to copy out his notes, so that his valuable time may not be wasted.<sup>1</sup>

About September M. Brutus arrived at Athens. He, too, not only attended lectures by Cratippus—that was apparently the respectable thing to do—but also proceeded to recruit among the students. The athletic young Cicero at once volunteered, delighted, we are sure, to get rid of Cratippus, of Greek and Latin declamation, and all the rest of it.<sup>2</sup> Brutus appointed him to the command of a squadron of cavalry; and formed such a high opinion of him that he declared that, whether, he was awake or asleep, he admired young Cicero for his noble nature and his hatred of tyrants.<sup>3</sup> He did good service for Brutus in the campaign against C. Antonius, received the surrender of L. Piso, who was in command of a legion, and won a victory over C. Antonius himself, who attempted to force a pass at Byllis.<sup>4</sup>

About this time Cicero wished that his son should be elected among the Pontifices, but thought that perhaps it was advisable that he should not return to Italy until Brutus came himself.<sup>5</sup> It was fortunate he did *not* return to the city where he would have met the fate of his father, his uncle, and his cousin; for young Marcus Cicero was registered among the proscribed.<sup>6</sup> He fought at Philippi, and probably ran away, as Horace did. At all

<sup>1</sup> 786. 8.

<sup>2</sup> It was about this time that Cicero dedicated to his son his elegant and earnest treatise *De Officiis*: cp. Att. xv. 13, 6 (795), *Nos hic φιλοσοφοῦμεν—quid enim aliud?—et τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus προσφωνοῦμενque Ciceroni. Qua de re enim potius pater filio?*

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Brut. 24, ὧν ἦν καὶ Κικέρωνος υἱὸς ὃν ἐπαίνει διαφερόντως καὶ φησιν, εἴτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἴτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται, θαυμάζειν οὕτω γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ μισοτύραννον: cp. Brut. ii. 3, 6 (837), *Cicero, filius tuus, sic mihi se probat industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem cuius sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum ut pluris facias eum qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo ut tibi persuadeas non fore illi abutendum gloria tua ut adipiscatur honores paternos.*

<sup>4</sup> Cic. Phil. x. 13; Plut. Brut. 24, 26; Plut. Cic. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Brut. i. 5, 3 (852); 12, 3 (909); 14, 2 (913).

<sup>6</sup> Appian iv. 19.

events, after the battle he fled to Sextus Pompeius, by whom he was appointed to a post of command in his army<sup>1</sup>; but he doubtless returned to Rome in '39, when an amnesty was granted by the Treaty of Misenum.<sup>2</sup> Some time later Octavian, as an *amende* for having given up Cicero to death,<sup>3</sup> made him augur, and in September, 30, elevated him to the dizzy eminence of *consul suffectus*.<sup>4</sup> During this consulship of young Cicero, and apparently at his proposal, the Senate

'threw down the statues of Antony, and annulled all the other honours which had been bestowed upon him, and further decreed that henceforth no Antonius should bear the name of Marcus. Thus Heaven (τὸ δαιμόνιον) delivered over to the house of Cicero the final punishment of Antony.'<sup>5</sup>

Afterwards, when the death of Antony was announced, young Cicero 'read the news to the people, and posted the letter on the Rostra where formerly his father's head had been fixed.'<sup>6</sup>

After his consulship, when an interval of five or probably ten years had elapsed, young Cicero governed Asia as pro-consul; and later, probably not before 13, he was legatus of Syria.<sup>7</sup> This is the last event in young Cicero's life of which we hear. It would seem to show that he was not such a drunken sot as some writers represent him, though doubtless he was sometimes guilty of excess. Thus we are told that, when drunk on the occasion of a banquet during his proconsulship of Asia, he had the rhetorician Cestius whipped for having called his father an uneducated man; and that on another occasion he flung a cup at Marcus Agrippa. Seneca also tells us that he ruined any little memory he had by drunkenness.<sup>8</sup> But whatever allowances we make, we

<sup>1</sup> Appian iv. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. ii. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Appian iv. 51, ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως.

<sup>4</sup> Fasti Consulares ap. C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. Cic. 49: cp. Seneca De Benef. iv. 30. 2: Dio Cass. li. 19. 4

<sup>6</sup> App. iv. 51.

<sup>7</sup> App. iv. 51. The well-known inscription, M. TULLIO M. F. M. N. M. P. N. (= pronepoti) COR. | CICERONI COS. PROCOS. PROV. ASIAE LEG. IMP. | CAES. AUG. IN SYRIA PATRONO, like so many others found at Rocca d'Arce relating to the family of the Ciceros, is unfortunately not genuine: cp. C. I. L. x. \*704; Mommsen Res gestae d. Aug., p. 165.

<sup>8</sup> Senec. Suas. 7, 13, *Erat autem Cestius, nullius quidem ingenii, Ciceroni etiam infestus: quod illi non impune cessit. Nam cum M. Tullius, filius Ciceronis, Asiam obtineret, homo qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit praeter urbani-*

must confess that the son of Cicero had an essentially common nature, transmitted to him possibly from Terentia. He was a degenerate son of his illustrious father, though he appears to have inherited some of Cicero's wit. But he had no other intellectual gift whatever, and he was especially deficient in application and memory. Nor does he appear to have had any ambition<sup>1</sup> nor much energy; he was idle and listless, and even in boyhood, while his cousin required the curb, he required the spur.<sup>2</sup> He seems to have been good at physical exercises, to have been a capable subordinate officer in the army, and was probably a fairly competent administrator: but it saddens one to think that what Fame has borne down the ages as the most noteworthy feat of the son of Cicero is that he was accustomed to drink nearly a gallon and a half of wine at one bout.<sup>3</sup>

*tatem, cenabat apud eum Cestius. M. Tullio et natura memoriam demperat et ebrietas si quid ex ea supererat subducebat; subinde interrogabat qui ille vocaretur qui in imo recumberet, et cum saepe subiectum illi nomen Cestii excidisset, novissime servus, ut aliqua nota memoriam eius faceret certiore, interroganti domino, quis ille esset qui in imo recumberet, ait 'hic est Cestius qui patrem tuum negabat litteras scisse'; adferri ocus flagra iussit et Cicero, ut oportuit, de corio Cestius satisfacit.* The chastisement was perhaps merited; but it represents a strange state of manners to scourge a guest at one's own table for an offence committed at a previous time.

<sup>1</sup> In a fragment of a letter found in Priscian viii. 96 (i. 445. 2 Keil) we find his father urging him 'to work and strive earnestly to excel' (*quare effice et elabora ut excelleas*). He doubtless felt that his son's dull soul did not warm with the desire αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. above, p. ciii.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. H. N. xiv. 147 is justly severe: *Tergilla Ciceronem M. F. binos congios simul haurire solitum ipsi obicit, Marcoque Agrippae a temulento scyphum impactum. Etenim haec sunt ebrietatis opera. Sed nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui, M. Antonio: is enim ante eum avidissime adprehenderat hanc palmam.*

## IV.—ADDENDUM TO THE COMMENTARY.

FAM. IV. 5, 4 (EP. 555).

ST. AMBROSE EPISTOLAE I. 39. 3 = MIGNE XVI. 1099.

(*To Faustinus, who has shut himself up in despair at the death of his sister.*)

Sed doles quod dudum florentissima repente occiderit. Verum hoc nobis commune non solum cum hominibus, sed etiam cum civitatibus terrisque ipsis est. Nempe de Bononiensi veniens urbe a tergo Claternam, ipsam Bononiam, Mutinam, Rhegium, derelinquebas, in dextera erat Brixellum, a fronte occurrebat Placentia, veterem nobilitatem ipso adhuc nomine sonans; ad laevam Appennini inculta miseratus, et florentissimorum quondam populorum castella considerabas, atque affectu relegebas dolenti. Tot igitur semirutarum urbium cadavera, terrarumque sub eodem conspectu exposita funera non te admonent unius, sanctae licet et admirabilis feminae, decessionem consolabiliozem habendam; praesertim cum illa in perpetuum prostrata ac diruta sint; haec autem ad tempus quidem erepta nobis, meliorem illic vitam exigat?

Itaque non tam deplorandam quam prosequendam orationibus reor: nec moestificandam lacrymis tuis sed magis oblationibus animam eius Domino commendandam arbitror.

The language may, perhaps, be inferior to that of Sulpicius, but the hope is higher.

The very hesitating manner (cp. 555. 6 note) in which Sulpicius speaks of the possibility that there may be a future life—*si qui etiam inferis sensus est*—no doubt represents the views of a certain circle of educated Romans of Cicero's time; but it was not the opinion of Cicero himself.<sup>1</sup> Cicero believed in the immortality of the soul. He based his view mainly on the ground of

<sup>1</sup> It is true that Cicero sometimes argues on the supposition that the soul may be mortal: cp. Tusc. i. 82; Fam. v. 16, 4 (529), *dicam quae saepissime et legi et audiui, nihil mali esse in morte, ex qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius quam mors ducenda sit, sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat quae non sentiatur* (cp. Plato Apol. 40 c); but, as Zeller says, 'this is merely the prudence of the Academician and of the practical man of the world, who would make the moral effect of his discourses as far as possible independent of all theoretic presuppositions,' and who is especially anxious to dispel the fear of death, which may prove so disturbing a factor in the conduct of life.



innate notions on the subject, and on the conviction that ‘such a piece of work as man, so noble in reason, so infinite in faculty, . . . in apprehension so like a god,’ could not possibly be formed of merely earthly mould. No; rather he is an effluence of the Divine spirit enclosed in the prison-house of the body.<sup>1</sup> To these *a priori* notions he adds, as verification, the universal consent which obtained with reference to the idea of immortality, shown especially in the worship of the dead; the care which each man takes that he be held in remembrance after death; and the belief of the great men of his own nation, who, strong in that belief, faced all the terrors of death for their country, and made Rome Rome.<sup>2</sup> In order possibly to gratify learned readers, Cicero sometimes adduces recondite Platonic arguments<sup>3</sup>; but the others were the real grounds on which he based his faith. They were such as actuated the bulk of the ordinary high-minded and thoughtful Romans; and it is not the least attractive of the many broadly human characteristics of Cicero’s nature that, with all his extensive learning, he grounded his deepest beliefs on the same foundations as did the mass of his countrymen.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. De Leg. i. 22, *Animal hoc providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, memor, plenum rationis et consili, quem vocamus hominem, praeclara quadam condicione generatum esse a supremo deo. Solum est enim ex tot animantium generibus atque naturis particeps rationis et cogitationis, cum cetera sint omnia expertia. . . . Est igitur, quoniam nihil est ratione melius, eaque est et in homine et in deo, prima homini cum deo rationis societas*: ibid. 24, *quod (genus humanum) sparsum in terras atque satum, divino auctum sit animorum munere. Cumque alia quibus cohaerent homines a mortali genere sumpserint, quae fragilia essent et caduca, animum esse ingeneratum a deo*: De Senect. 77, *Dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur: est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatisque contrarium*.

<sup>2</sup> Tusc. i. 27; 30, *omni in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est*; 31, *Maximum vero argumentum est naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacitam iudicare, quod omnibus curae sunt, et maximae quidem, quae post mortem futura sint. ‘Serit arbores quae alteri saeculo prosint’ ut ait Silius in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecula ad se pertinere*? 32, *Quid in hac re publica tot tantosque viros ob rem publicam interfectos cogitasse arbitramur? iisdemne ut finibus nomen suum, quibus vita, terminaretur? Nemo unquam sine magna spe immortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem*.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Tusc. i. 53 ff.



## PART VIII.

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MIHI OMNIS SERMO EST CUM LITTERIS; EUM TAMEN  
INTERPELLAT FLETUS.



## PART VIII.

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### LETTERS FROM THE DEATH OF TULLIA TO THE DEATH OF CAESAR.

EPP. 545-698.

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A. U. C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	709, 710
B. C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	45, 44
AET. CIC.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	61, 62



## CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

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### 545. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 13).

ASTURA : MARCH 7 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De Atticae valetudine, de litteris Bruti, de solitudine sua, de desiderio Attici, de se excusando apud Appuleium, de Cocceio appellando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Commovet me Attica, etsi adsentior Cratero. Bruti litterae scriptae et prudenter et amice multas mihi tamen lacrimas attulerunt. Me haec solitudo minus stimulat quam ista celebritas. Te unum desidero ; sed litteris non difficilior utor quam si domi essem. Ardor tamen ille idem urget et manet, non mehercule indulgente me, sed repugnante tamen. 2. Quod scribis de

*Astura*] Tullia died about the middle of February at Tusculum. After that Cicero seems to have gone to a villa of Atticus, near Rome, and remained there until March 5 or 6, when he came to the unfrequented little sea-coast town of Astura, which was pleasantly situated (552. 1 : 649) between Antium and Circeii. He remained there until the end of the month, writing to Atticus every day.

1. *Attica*] Attica, who was about six years old now, was suffering from a fever, and was not getting well as soon as Cicero expected.

*Cratero*] This famous physician had doubtless taken a cheerful view of Attica's malady. He is mentioned by Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 161, and Persius iii. 65, who borrows the name from Horace, as he does those of Nerius, Pedius, Bestius. Other characters mentioned both in Cicero's letters and in Horace's Satires and Epistles are Arrius, Arbuscula, the son of Aesopus, Damasippus. Tarpa, Tigellius, Trebatius.

*stimulat*] 'is less painful to me.' *Stimulare* is more frequent in this sense in

Cicero [cp. Att. ix. 15. 2 (373)] than in the meaning of 'urging to action,' which *stimulate* bears in our language.

*ardor*] 'torment'—a very unusual sense of the word, but found in Lucr. iii. 251. *sive voluptas est sive est contrarius ardor* ; and Catull. ii. 8, *gravis adquiescat ardor*. In both these places the attributes *contrarius* and *gravis* suggest that the emotion which the word expresses is *painful*. Here the word by itself conveys the idea of pain, unless it means simply 'the passionate feeling of love,' as in Lucr. iv, 1086, 1098. Shuckburgh translates 'passionate unrest.'

*repugnante tamen*] 'my agony haunts me : not, God knows, because I foster it, but, though I struggle against it, in spite of my struggles.' The course taken by all the editors on this passage is to insert a *non* before *repugnante*. We have had occasion before, especially on Q. Fr. ii. 9, 4 (132), to protest against the audacity of editors who do not hesitate to make Cicero utter a sentiment the very opposite to that which the MSS (our only

Appuleio, nihil puto opus esse tua contentione nec Balbo et Oppio, quibus quidem ille receperat mihique etiam iusserat nuntiari se molestum omnino non futurum. Sed cura ut excuser morbi causa in dies singulos. Laenas hoc receperat. Prende C. Septimium L. Statilium. Denique nemo negabit se iuraturum quem rogaris. Quod si erit durius, veniam et ipse perpetuum morbum iurabo.

evidence) ascribe to him. Thus in Ep. 132 the editors have forced Cicero to deny to Lucretius either *ingenium* or *ars*, though the words handed down to us by the MSS convey the much truer criticism that the author of *The Constitution of Nature* possessed both genius and also that quality which rarely accompanies it, artistic finish. Here the case is even stronger for adherence to the MS tradition. Cicero did struggle against his grief, as is plain to anyone who reads § 3 of the next letter. Cp. Lactantius quoted on Ep. 574, 1. He even tried a remedy against it, hitherto never essayed, in drawing up for himself an abstract of the sources of consolation which were open to him. But it was in vain; his agony came back on him, 'though he did not indulge it, but in spite of his struggles against it, all the same (*tamen*).' We have before met *tamen* in the sense of 'after all'; cp. *de dictatore tamen actum adhuc nihil est*, Q. Fr. iii. 9. 3 (160); *qui te tamen ore referret*, Verg. A. iv. 329; *alieniore aetate post faceret tamen* ('all the same'), Ter. Ad. 110, cp. 174. The only change we have made is the transposition of *repugnante* and *tamen*. Dr. Reid suggests *etiam* for *tamen*. Possibly *tamen* may be rightly placed in the MSS, and the meaning be ('though I might fairly indulge my sorrow'), yet I struggle against it.'

2. *Appuleio*] Appuleius was augur this year. He was quaestor in 43, and handed over to M. Brutus his troops and money in Greece: cp. note to 850. 1: also Phil. x. 24, and xiii. 32: Appian, B.C. iii. 63: iv. 75.

*Sed cura ut excuser*] The usual view of this affair is as follows:—It was customary for all the augurs to be present at the banquet given by the incoming member of the college. Those banquets sometimes lasted several days. Appuleius had promised not to exact Cicero's presence. Cicero, however, preferred to provide himself with the formal plea for absence, namely, the plea of ill-health, certified by three other members of the augural college. This seems somewhat improbable

on several grounds. It requires us (1) to postulate a number of augurs who are elsewhere unnoticed: (2) to suppose that an augural feast lasted for several days: (3) that absence therefrom required something of the nature of a legal affidavit, a requirement not noticed elsewhere, and almost certainly not demanded in the case of other confraternities, e.g. the Arvales Fratres, where the attendance is often most meagre. These considerations are urged by Bardt (*Die Priester der vier grossen Collegien*, p. 27). The probability is that the affidavit (so to speak) of excuse was required when the business to be transacted at the Augural Meeting (usually held on the Nones, cp. De Div. i. 90, Lael. 8) was of a special nature, e.g. when the co-optation of a new augur took place, or, perhaps, some special legal or financial business had to be transacted—the reference to Balbus and Oppius may point to that. The meeting may have lasted for some days if the business was extensive or important: and though the business was an essential feature of the meeting, we can well suppose, as in the case of the meetings of our own Societies and Associations, that a very considerable element was social and convivial (hence Cicero says, *cum mihi cendum sit convivii*)—the principal host being probably Appuleius, and the principal entertainment, of course, being the *cena aditialis* of the newly elected augur, which was generally of a very splendid nature (cp. Fam. vii. 26. 2 (94): also Seneca Epist. 95. 41: 123. 4. Hortensius first served up peacocks at such a banquet, Varro R. R. iii. 6. 6). We think Appuleius was the new augur: but the other men mentioned, Laenas, Septimius, Statilius, &c. (cp. 550), were probably only witnesses to the legal excuse furnished by Cicero.

*Prende*] 'have a talk with': cp. Cael. ap. Fam. viii. 11. 2 (267). Often in Terence: e.g. Heaut. 509; Phorm. 620.

*durius*] 'if there is any difficulty' cp. Ter. Phorm. 238.

*morbum iurabo*] cp. Att. i. 1. 1 (10)



Cum enim mihi carendum sit conviviis, malo id lege videri facere quam dolore. Cocceium velim appelles. Quod enim dixerat non facit. Ego autem volo aliquod emere latibulum et perfugium doloris mei.

## 546. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 14).

ASTURA : MARCH 8 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De se excusando apud Appuleium, de negotio Cornificii pro quo sponndit, de maerore suo propter mortem Tulliae, de desiderio Attici, de litteris Bruti, de valetudine Atticae.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De me excusando apud Appuleium dederam ad te pridie litteras. Nihil esse negoti arbitror. Quemcumque appellaris, nemo negabit. Sed Septimium vide et Laenatem et Statilium ; tribus enim opus est. Sed mihi Laenas totum receperat. 2. Quod scribis a Iunio te appellatum, omnino Cornificius locuples est ; sed tamen scire velim quando dicar sponndisse et pro patre anne pro filio, neque eo minus, ut scribis, procuratores Cornifici et Appuleium praediatores videbis. 3. Quod me ab hoc maerore recreari vis, facis ut omnia, sed me mihi non defuisse tu testis es.

Ill-health and absence on state-service were the only legitimate grounds for non-attendance. Shuckburgh refers to Lael. 8 : *quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non affuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse.* LAEL. *Recte tu quidem Scaevola, et vere : nec enim ab isto officio quod semper usurpavi cum valerem abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere ut ulla intermissio fiat officii.*

Cocceium] seems to have owed money to Cicero, and not to have kept his promise about paying : cp. 549. 3.

1. *apud*] Both *ad* (cp. Att. ix. 6. 1 (360) : 565. 1) as well as *apud* (547. 1 : 550. 1) are used after *excusare*. Compare such expressions as Lig. 30 *ad parentem sic agi solet* : ad Brut. i. 15. 2 (914) *laudare ad Brutum* : Liv. xl. 24. 1 *accusare ad patrem*.

*totum receperat*] Laenas had undertaken not only to give the necessary certificate

himself, but also to procure two others to join him in making up the number. For the construction cp. Plancius ap Fam. x. 21. 1 (861) *omnia ei petenti recepi*. The word *recipere* in this sense is very frequent in the correspondence : see many examples in L. and S. s.v. *recipio* B. 2. b.

2. *Iunio*] Cicero seems to have become security for Cornificius, who had borrowed money from Junius. The latter applied to Atticus as Cicero's agent. Cicero says that Cornificius is in a position to pay himself (*locuples est*). Moreover, he does not remember when the alleged transaction took place, and whether he is said to have become security for Cornificius senior (now deceased) or Cornificius junior. Cp. also 550 : 552. 2.

*Appuleium praediatores*] This Appuleius, who is to be distinguished from the augur mentioned above, was a dealer in landed estates sold under foreclosure of mortgage : cp. Att. xii. 17 (550). For *praediator* cp. Balb. 45 (with Reid's note) and Gaius ii. 61.

Nihil enim de maerore minuendo scriptum ab ullo est quod ego non domi tuae legerim. Sed omnem consolationem vincit dolor. Quin etiam feci, quod profecto ante me nemo, ut ipse me per litteras consolaretur, quem librum ad te mittam, si descripserint librarii. Adfirmo tibi nullam consolationem esse talem. Totos dies scribo, non quo proficiam quid, sed tantisper impediior—non equidem satis (vis enim urget)—sed relaxor tamen omniaque nitor non ad animum, sed ad vultum ipsum, si queam, reficiendum, idque faciens interdum mihi peccare videor, interdum peccaturus esse nisi faciam. Solitudo aliquid adiuvat, sed multo plus proficeret, si tu tamen interesses, quae mihi una causa est hinc discedendi. Nam pro malis recte habebat. Quamquam *id ipsum* doleo. Non enim iam in me idem esse poteris. Perierunt illa quae amabas. 4. De Bruti ad me litteris scripsi ad te antea: prudenter scriptae, sed nihil quod me adiuverant. Quod ad te scripsit, id vellem, ut ipse adesset: certe aliquid, quoniam me tam

3. *domi tuae*] cp. 545. 1, 584. 2.

*ut ipse . . . consolaretur*] *ut* is explanatory: cp. note on Petit. Cons. 42 (Ep. 12), 'I did what certainly no one has hitherto done, I wrote a consolatory letter (treatise) to myself,' cp. 564. 2: ad Brut. i. 9. 1 (902) *teque per litteras consolaretur*: Fronto p. 188. 1 *sentio quam difficile te absentem per litteras consolari*: Lactantius i. 15. 16 *M. Tullius . . . in eo libro quo se ipse de morte filiae consolatus est*.

*consolationem*] Cicero says there is no means of consolation so efficacious as drawing up such a work as he speaks of. We need not, by printing *Consolationem*, force on Cicero the egotistical declaration that his own treatise surpasses all others on the same subject.

*impediior*] 'I find in it a temporary check—no, not quite that, my affliction is too heavy—but at all events a mitigation (of the course of my grief).' The verbs *impediior* and *relaxor* would naturally be followed by some words indicating that from which he was relieved, such as *a dolore*, which Boot would insert, reading *a dolore atque enitor* (see Adn. Crit.): but the words may well be understood in a letter. *Tamen* is characteristic of a resumption after a parenthesis.

*omniaque nitor*] So Zl. M has *ad omniaque nitor*, but with a line under *ad* to show that it should be deleted. If

we read *ad omnia*, the phrase will be analogous to *descendere ad extrema* and such like (for *niti ad* cp. De Sen. 82): while *omnia nitor* would be like *contendere omnia* (Verr. ii. 52): cp. for a neuter adj. with *nitor* De Sen. 33 *tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur*. We prefer to omit *ad*, considering that it arose from the proximity of *ad animum* and *ad vultum*. Wesenberg alters to *omnique vi enitor*, which is adopted by Baiter, but is hardly necessary. Cp. Reid in *Hermathena*, x (1898), p. 133.

*reficiendum*] 'To secure mere composure of countenance, if I cannot secure anything like composure of mind.' For the use of *ipsum* cp. Fin. i. 67, *ipsam amicitiam*, 'the mere existence of friendship' (as a relation between man and man).

*peccaturus esse*] sc. *mihi videor*.

*tamen*] 'however,' i.e. if you (notwithstanding all your business) yet could be with me.

*pro malis*] 'This place is well enough, in so far as any place can be well, in my misery.'

*id ipsum*] 'The fact that I am going to meet you,' who will find me such poor company in my affliction.

4. *ut ipse adesset*] 'his company': cp. *ut . . . consolaretur*, above, § 3.

valde amat, adiuuaret. Quod si quid scies, scribas ad me velim, maxime autem, Pansa quando. De Attica doleo, credo tamen Cratero. Piliam angi veta: satis est me maerere pro omnibus.

## 547. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 15).

ASTURA; MARCH 9; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De se excusando apud Appuleium, de solitudine sua et vita omnino.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Apud Appuleium, quoniam in perpetuum non placet, in dies ut excuser videbis. In hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane me in silvam abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. Secundum te nihil est mihi amicius solitudine. In ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris; eum tamen interpellat fletus, cui repugno quoad possum. Sed adhuc pares non sumus. Bruto, ut suades, rescribam. Eas litteras cras habebis. Cum erit cui des, dabis.

## 548. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 16).

ASTURA; MARCH 10; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De vita sua et desiderio Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Te tuis negotiis relictis nolo ad me venire, ego potius accedam, si diutius impediere. Etsi ne discessissem quidem e conspectu tuo, nisi me plane nihil ulla res adiuuaret. Quod si esset aliquod

*Pansa quando*] 'the date of Pansa's departure,' as we learn from 550 *fin.*: 552. 3. Pansa had been appointed to succeed Brutus in the government of Cisalpine Gaul. He was consul with Hirtius in 43. For the ellipse cp. 588. 1 *Et quod tu scire volebas ego quando ex hoc loco* (sc. proficiscar), *postridie Idus Lanuvi constitui manere*; and Heidemann, p. 55.

*credo*] 'I have confidence in,' cp. Q. Fr. i. 3. 8 (66) *quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio*.

*in perpetuum . . . in dies*] 'since you do not approve of my making a general

excuse for refusing his hospitality, you will kindly see that particular excuses are made for each day.' *In perpetuum*, which should properly mean 'for all time,' here denotes the whole period during which Appuleius shall exercise his hospitality to his brother augurs.

*careo*] 'I avoid' all society, cp. 659. 1 *domo carendum propter matrem*: 2 Verr. v. 38 *domo carendum esse meretricis*. 'He confined himself to his house' is, in Lat., *caruit publico* (Mil. 18); 'to be exiled' is *patria carere* (Mil. 63).

*cui repugno quoad possum*] Another reason for not inserting *non* before *repugnante* in the last letter.

levamen, id esset in te uno, et, cum primum ab aliquo poterit esse, a te erit. Nunc tamen ipsum sine te esse non possum. Sed nec tuae domi probabatur nec meae poteram, nec, si propius essem uspiam, tecum tamen essem. Idem enim te impediret quo minus mecum esses, quod nunc etiam impedit. Mihi nihil adhuc aptius fuit hac solitudine, quam vereor ne Philippus tollat. Heri enim vesperi venerat. Me scriptio et litterae non leniunt sed obturbant.

## 549. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 18).

ASTURA; MARCH 11; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De dolore suo, de fano Tulliae aedificando, de solitudine sua ne a Philippo quidem obturbata, de epistula adiuncta ad Brutum danda, de rebus domesticis. de Attici itinere ad se suscipiendo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Dum recordationes fugio, quae quasi morsu quodam dolorem efficiunt, refugio ad te admonendum: quod velim mihi ignoscas, cuiusmodi est. Etenim habeo non nullos ex iis quos nunc lectito auctores qui dicant fieri id oportere quod saepe tecum egi et quod a te approbari volo. De fano illo dico, de quo tantum quantum me amas velim cogites. Equidem neque de genere

*Nunc ipsum*] 'at this present moment' cp. 584. 2.

*probabatur*] sc. *tecum esse*: 'It did not seem advisable to be at your house.' We do not know the reason why.

*tamen*] 'after all': cp. 545. 1.

*aptius*] So all the mss except M<sup>1</sup>, which reads *peius*. It is corrected by M<sup>2</sup>. Vict. conjectured *prius*; but *prius* did not bear the sense of 'preferable' in Cicero's time. Kahnt conjectured *optatus*, and Otto *potius*. For *aptius* Müller compares 587. 5: Fam. ix 24. 3 (820) *nihil est aptius vitae*. Dr. Reid conjectures *paratius*, comparing 2 Verr. i. 119 *paratissimum perfugium*: Tusc. i. 118.

*Philippus*] A neighbour of his at Astura. Afterwards in Att. xii. 9 (649) he is called *Amyntae filius*. Cicero's fears were groundless, as we learn from the next letter that, after a ceremonial call, Philippus at once left Astura for Rome. This L. Marcius Philippus was the second

husband of Caesar's niece, Atia, the mother of the future Augustus.

*obturbant*] 'distract.' In the next letter § 1 *solitudinem obturbavit* means 'to break in upon,' 'to disturb' my loneliness.

1. *ad te admonendum*] 'I take refuge in refreshing your memory [about all my plans]; and whatever you may think of this particular one, I hope you will excuse' [the trouble I am giving you].

*cuiusmodi est*] cp. 549. 1 and note to 81. 4.

*fano*] a temple to be consecrated to the memory of his dead daughter. We hear a great deal about it in the ensuing letters. He desired it for the ἀποθέσις of his daughter; and the whole incident brings under our notice a state of feeling strongly contrasting with the sentiments of modern times. He here begs Atticus to turn over the project in his mind.

*genere*] 'the design,' which was that

dubito—placet enim mihi Cluati—neque de re—statutum est enim—de loco non numquam. Velim igitur cogites. Ego, quantum his temporibus tam eruditus fieri potuerit, profecto illam consecrabo omni genere monumentorum ab omnium ingeniis sump-torum et Graecorum et Latinorum : quae res forsitan sit refricatura vulnus meum. Sed iam quasi voto quodam et promisso me teneri puto, longumque illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum, quod mihi tamen nimium longum videtur. Habeo enim nihil temptatis rebus omnibus in quo acquiescam. Nam, dum illud tractabam de quo ad te ante scripsi, quasi fovebam dolores meos. Nunc omnia respuo, nec quidquam habeo tolerabilius quam solitudinem, quam, quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus. Nam, ut heri me salutavit, statim Romam profectus est. 2. Epistulam quam ad Brutum, ut tibi placuerat, scripsi, misi ad te. Curabis cum tua perferendam. Eius tamen misi ad te exemplum, ut, si minus placeret, ne mitteres. 3. Domestica quod ais ordine administrari, scribes quae sint ea. Quaedam enim exspecto. Cocceius vide ne frustretur. Nam Libo quod pollicetur, ut Eros scribit, non incertum puto. De sorte mea Sulpicio confido et Egnatio scilicet. De Appuleio quid est quod labores, cum sit excusatio facilis? 4. Tibi ad me venire, ut ostendis, vide ne non sit facile. Est enim longum iter, disceden-

of the architect Cluatus. Cluatus is mentioned again in 578. 3.

*re*] 'the question' whether the shrine shall be built or not. On that he 'has made up his mind.'

*omni genere . . . Latinorum*] 'every kind of memorial which the genius of every artist, whether Greek or Roman, can supply': *sumptorum* is the reading of Σ and the ed. Romana: Δ has *scriptorum*.

*longumque illud tempus*] This is the motto of George Eliot's poem, 'Oh may I join the choir invisible.' It is a very beautiful sentiment, not unlike Soph. Ant. 74, ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος | δὲν δεῖ μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.

*illud tractabam*] his treatise. written for his own consolation (546. 3), called 'De Consolatione' or 'De Luctu minuendo.' Cicero quotes from it in Tusc. i. 65, and mentions it elsewhere in his philosophical writings, e.g. Tusc. i. 75. The fragments and references to it are collected in Müller's Cicero, part iv. vol. iii., pp. 333 ff.

*fovebam*] Yet he says in ep. 545, *non mehercule indulgente me*, 'my grief abides with me, not through my fostering it, but in spite of all my struggles against it.'

2. *Epistulam*] This was an answer to Brutus's letter of consolation (546. 4): cp. 554. 3.

*tamen*] 'however' i.e. though I say you are to send the letter.

3. *Quaedam exspecto*] 'I expect some information.'

*Cocceius*] He and Libo seem to have owed money to Cicero. Cic. felt fairly sure that Libo would pay, but was not so certain about Cocceius, cp. 546. 2: 552. 2. Probably Sulpicius and Egnatius were securities for the repayment of the capital (*de sorte mea*).

*scilicet*] 'of course,' 'naturally.' This sense is very common in Cicero and the drama; the ironical usage is oftener met in later writers.

4. *ostendis*] 'promise,' cp. 641. 1 note. *vide ne non sit facile*] 'consider—perhaps it may not be easy': cp. note to 554. 1.

temque te, quod celeriter tibi erit fortasse faciendum, non sine magno dolore dimittam. Sed omnia ut voles. Ego enim, quidquid feceris, id cum recte tum etiam mea causa factum putabo.

### 550. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 17).

ASTURA; MARCH 12; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De se excusato apud Appuleium, de sponsione sua pro Cornificio.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Marcianus ad me scripsit me excusatum esse apud Appuleium a Laterense, Nasone, Laenate, Torquato, Strabone: iis velim meo nomine reddendas litteras cures, gratum mihi eos fecisse. Quod pro Cornificio me abhinc amplius annis xxv spopondisse dicit Flavius etsi reus locuples est et Appuleius praediator liberalis, tamen velim des operam ut investiges ex consponsorum tabulis, sitne ita—mihi enim ante aedilitatem meam nihil erat cum Cornificio, potest tamen fieri, sed scire certum velim—et appelles procuratores, si tibi videtur. Quamquam quid ad me? Verum tamen—. Pansae profectionem scribes, cum scies. Atticam salvere iube et eam cura, obsecro, diligenter. Piliae salutem.

*omnia*] sc. *fac*, as often: e.g. 564. 3  
*Tu vero nihil, nisi ut illi volent*: 598. 1.

*Appuleius praediator*] cp. 546. 2.

*aedilitatem*] Cicero was aedile in 70 B.C. The Lex Furia freed all sureties from their obligation at the end of two years. But unfortunately the date of the Lex Furia cannot be exactly fixed: it is just possible that it may have been passed after Cicero's time. If, as Poste (Gaius, p. 402) says, it was passed about 95 B.C., then we may suppose that Cicero could have pleaded the statute, but did not wish to do so, at least at first, as Cornificius was a man of means, and Appuleius

likely to give a good price for the estate of Cornificius (cp. 546. 2). If Junius and Flavius, the creditors of Cornificius, became insistent, Cicero may have felt that he was secured by the law (*quid ad me?* *Verumtamen*—cp. 552. 2): cp. Rein, *Privatrecht*, p. 673: Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii. p. 30, note 2.

*quid ad me*] a common colloquialism: cp. Catull. x. 31; Plin. Epp. iv. 27. 4 (in a passage of verse); Mart. xii. 30, 2. To add *id* spoils the phrase.

*Verum tamen*] Like 'however' with us, and ἀλλ' ὅμως, *verum tamen* is often followed by an aposiopesis: cp. Fam. xvi. 23. 1 (754) note.

## 551. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 18 a).

ASTURA; MARCH 13; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De adventu Antonii sibi nuntiatio; quod Terentia de obsignatoribus sui testamenti loquitur nihil esse demonstrat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Heri, cum ex aliorum litteris cognovissem de Antoni adventu, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. Sed erant pridie fortasse scriptae quam datae. Neque ista quidem curo. Sed tamen opinor propter praedes suos accucurrisse. 2. Quod scribis Terentiam de obsignatoribus mei testamenti loqui, primum tibi persuade me istaec non curare neque esse quidquam aut parvae curae aut novae loci. Sed tamen quid simile? Illa eos non adhibuit quos existimavit quaesituros, nisi scissent quid esset. Num id etiam mihi periculi fuit? Sed tamen faciat illa quod ego. Dabo

1. *nihil esse in tuis*] sc. *epistulis de Ant. reditu scriptum*.

*Neque ista quidem curo*] It is very unfair of Drumann, i. 76 (= 55, ed. 2) to say that this return of Antony frightened Cicero: cp. 552.2: 553.1.

*propter praedes suos*] Cicero's account in Phil. ii. 76-78 is that Antony was on his way to join Caesar in Spain, when suddenly he came back, partly to give an amorous surprise to his lately wedded wife, the notorious Fulvia; but that the real reason was lest Plancus, the prefect of the city, should sell up his sureties, because he had not paid for the proscribed property of Pompey, which he had purchased. Antony and Caesar were just now on bad terms, as Antony considered it unreasonable and ungrateful that Caesar should require him to pay up (cp. Phil. ii. 72). The immediate events of this time are thus summarized by Cicero in his invective ib. 77 f. *Ergo, ut te Catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier aspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti? Et domi quidem causam amoris habuit, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes suos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno plebis, cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam*

*dicacem in te reddidisti*. We do not know what the exact jokes were which the people made, perhaps some reference to his amorous propensities, perhaps to his speaking of *res mea* in his bankrupt condition. Antony does not seem to have ever paid up these obligations. He became reconciled to Caesar soon afterwards, probably, as Drumann (i.e.) suggests, because Caesar wanted such an able officer for the Parthian War.

2. *testamenti*] Terentia seems to have feared lest Cicero should have failed to make proper provision in his will for Tullia's infant, Lentulus, whose birth is announced in Att. x. 18 (404). Her fears derived confirmation from the rumour that no relative of Dolabella, the father, was present at the execution of the will, and that Publius, the brother of Publia, Terentia's successor, had been asked to be present.

*curae*] may be either genitive or dative. Cicero uses both cases with *locus* in the sense of 'room for.'

*quid esset*] 'the contents,' 'the substance,' sc. *scriptum in testamento*.

*Num . . . fuit?*] 'Surely there was not the same (sense of) danger in my case' (i.e. I did not refuse to summon witnesses from any such fear). For *id . . . periculi* cp. such phrases as *hoc praemi*, Vatin. 11.

meum testamentum legendum cui voluerit, intellegit non potuisse honorificentius a me fieri de nepote quam fecerim. Nam quod non advocavi ad obsignandum, primum mihi non venit in mentem deinde ea re non venit, quia nihil attinuit. Tute scis, si modo meministi, me tibi tum dixisse ut de tuis aliquos adduceres: quid enim opus erat multis? Equidem domesticos iusseram. Tum tibi placuit ut mitterem ad Silium; inde est natum ut ad Publilium. Sed necesse neutrum fuit. Hoc tu tractabis ut tibi videbitur.

## 552. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 19).

ASTURA; MARCH 14; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De loco fani Tulliae condendi, de Cocceio et Libone, de sponsione sua pro Cornificio, de litteris Balbi et Oppii ad se de Antonio datis, de Pansae protectione, de adventu Bruti, de negotio cum Terentia transigendo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Est hic quidem locus amoenus et in mari ipso qui et Antio et Circeis aspici possit, sed ineunda nobis ratio est quemadmodum

*advocari ad obsignandum*] *advocare* means 'to call in' anyone to give assistance in any respect, e.g. as a witness (Plaut. Bacch. 261), to seal a will (Quintilian Declam., p. 53, 15 ed. Ritter), or the like. It is used absolutely in Cluent. 54: Seneca De Brev. Vitae ii. 4 *hic advocat, hic adest*. Yet in a special individual case it seems a little strange to have no accusative. Boot desires to add *alios*. Could the reading have been *advocatos advocavi*, as in Plaut. Cas. 570?

*nihil attinuit*] 'it was of no consequence' (that they should be summoned). The inf. *advocari* is to be supplied, cp. Quintil. x. 1. 105.

*aliquos*] 'a few.' For the antithesis with *multus* cp. Fam. iv. 3. 1 (494) *sed aliquid atque adeo multa addunt*.

*domesticos*] It looks as if Cicero's law was at fault here. We are told that *domestici testes non adhibendi sunt* (Ulpian Reg. xx. 3, p. 594, Husehke); and *domestici* are said to be those who are in the power of the testator. These latter were certainly ineligible as witnesses: cp. Gaius ii. 105. *In testibus autem non debet is esse qui in potestate est aut familiae emptoris aut ipsius testatoris . . . itaque reprobatur est in ea re domesticum testimonium*: cp. Justinian Inst. ii. 10. 9.

Mr. Roby (*Roman Private Law*, i. 179, note 1) says that Cicero here "does not appear to have had any witnesses who were within Gaius' prohibition." Then we take it the word *domestici* in our passage has a wider meaning than that used in the law-books, and means those living in his household, whether they were under his power or not. For example, the learned men who were often in the house of Cicero, Dionysius, Nicias, and the like, if they had obtained Roman citizenship, may have been called in. Or could it be that the practice of calling in as witnesses those who were in the power of the testator was undesirable (*non debet: reprobatur est*) but not strictly illegal? It might have been better to get in outsiders, but not strictly necessary (*necesse*) to do so. We hardly think so, and believe that *domestici* here means 'members of my household,' i.e. staying in my house, though not strictly in Cicero's power.

*est natum*] 'it came about,' cp. Fin. iii. 63.

*neutrum*] either for Atticus to bring strangers or for Cicero to send for Silius.

1. *Antio et Circeis*] 'is within view both from Antium and Circeii.' Cicero



in omni mutatione dominorum, quae innumerabiles fieri possunt in infinita posteritate, si modo haec stabunt, illud quasi consecratum remanere possit. Equidem iam nihil egeo vectigalibus et parvo contentus esse possum. Cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare et quidem ob hanc causam maxime: nihil enim video quod tam celebre esse possit, sed quos, coram videbimus, ita tamen ut hac aestate fanum absolutum sit. Tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. 2. De Cocceio et Libone quae scribis approbo, maxime quod de iudicatu meo. De sponsu, si quid perspexeris et tamen quid procuratores Cornifici dicant velim scire, ita ut in ea re te, cum tam occupatus sis, non multum operae velim ponere. De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit, idque tibi placuisse, ne perturbarer. Illis egi

indicates the relations of place by case alone without prepositions. We have a characteristic passage in Att. ix. 5, 1 (359), *iter ad superum, navigatio infero, discessus Arpinum, mansio Formiis*.

*si modo haec stabunt*] 'as long as Rome is Rome.' Cicero sometimes uses *haec* for 'the present constitution of things,' 'the Roman Republic': cp. Reid on Sull. 32. Boot quotes Sull. 76, where Cicero says of persons like Catiline, Cethegus, Autronius, Lentulus, *neque enim est quisquam qui arbitretur, illis inclusis in rep. pestibus, diutius haec stare potuisse*. Again in Flacc. 104, *liceat iis qui haec salva esse voluerunt ipsis esse salvis*: cp. Cat. iv. 7: Cael. 39.

*vectigalibus*] 'income from various sources' (the idea of 'large' is implied in the plural): cp. 561. 1.

*hortos*] We think the principal idea of this word in the plural is a suburban building site where a villa residence with some ground about it either was or could be built: but the condition of its being in reasonable proximity to a city is essential.

*celebre*] 'I do not think there is any other position so frequented.' Cicero was desirous that the shrine dedicated to his daughter should be in a frequented site, where there would be many passers-by to see the shrine.

*sed quos*] 'what particular pleasure-ground I shall purchase there, we shall settle when we meet, only keeping this before us, that the monument must be completed this summer.'

*Apella Chio*] The marble of the columns was to be Chian.

2. *De Cocceio*] cp. 549. 3.

*iudicatu meo*] Cicero was desirous of avoiding the duty of serving on juries. It was a moot point whether augurs were liable to be called on. We read in Brut. 117 that Q. Aelius Tubero decided, against the testimony of his uncle the younger Scipio, that augurs did not possess this privilege of exemption: cp. 554. 3 *iudiciali molestia*. The word *iudicatus* is rare. Dr. Reid thinks that in this passage the reference is not to criminal juries, but to the private office of iudex, a complimentary, not obligatory, office. For the general exemption of priests from *militia* and *munera publica* cp. Marquardt iii, 216, note 5 (ed. 1878): Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 429 (ed. 1902).

*De sponsu*] See Adn. Crit. For Cicero's suretyship in this case cp. 546. 2: 550.

*tamen*] 'at any rate.'

*ita ut . . ponere*] 'only I would not wish to spend much time in the matter.' For *ita ut* cp. Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 84.

*De Antonio*] cp. 551. 1.

*conscripsit*] Boot rightly warns us that *conscripsit* does not necessarily imply joint authorship of the letter. *Conscribere* is often used just like *scribere* in the letters. But probably the letter was a joint one, like Ep. 357.

*idque*] 'and they said that you approved of their writing, to save me from being frightened.'

gratias. Te tamen, ut iam ante ad te scripsi, scire volo me neque isto nuntio esse perturbatum nec iam ullo perturbatum iri. 3. Pansa si hodie, ut putabas, profectus est, posthac iam incipito scribere ad me de Bruti adventu quid exspectes, id est, quos ad dies. Id, si scies ubi iam sit, facile coniectura adsequere. 4. Quod ad Tironem de Terentia scribis, obsecro te, mi Attice, suscipe totum negotium. Vides et officium agi meum quoddam, cui tu es conscius, et, ut nonnulli putant, Ciceronis rem. Me quidem id multo magis movet, quod mihi est et sanctius et antiquius, praesertim cum hoc alterum neque sincerum neque firmum putem fore.

### 553. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 20).

ASTURA; MARCH 15; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Antonio, de Terentia, tum de dolore suo dissimulando, quod hortatus erat Atticus, se litteras de fano et de Terentia ab Attico exspectasse, denique de rebus historicis quibusdam ab Attico certior fieri vult.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nondum videris perspicere quam me nec Antonius commoverit nec quidquam iam eiusmodi possit commovere. De Terentia autem scripsi ad te iis litteris quas dederam pridie. Quod me hortaris, idque a ceteris desiderari scribis, ut dissimulem me tam graviter dolere, possumne magis quam quod totos dies consumo in litteris? Quod etsi non dissimulationis sed potius leniendi et sanandi animi causa facio, tamen, si mihi minus proficio, simulationi certe facio satis. 2. Minus multa ad te scripsi, quod

3. *quos ad dies*] 'about what day?'

4. *de Terentia*] This refers to the payment of her dower. Cicero says, 'you see it is a question involving my character as an upright man—and of this you are cognizant—and involving further, in the opinion of some, the pecuniary interests of my son.' Terentia had possibly undertaken to make an allowance to young Cicero, if the portion were refunded. Cicero says this latter consideration has much less weight with him than his regard for his own character (cp. 557. 4), for he does not think Terentia's feeling towards Marcus is either sincere

(*sincerum*) or deeply rooted (*firmum*). He thinks she possibly does not mean to keep her promise, and, even if she does now mean it, she will probably change her mind soon.

1. *quod*] So M. No doubt *quom* of Gronovius would be more strictly accurate; but the inaccuracy is slight. No one would feel any difficulty in an unstudied composition in English in saying 'Can I do so more than that (i.e. the fact that) I spend whole days in writing?'

*proficio . . . simulationi*] 'if I am not doing much good to myself, surely I

exspectabam tuas litteras ad eas quas ad te pridie dederam. Exspectabam autem maxime de fano, non nihil etiam de Terentia. Velim me facias certiore proximis litteris, Cn. Caepio, Serviliae Claudi pater, vivone patre suo naufragio perierit an mortuo, item Rutilia vivone C. Cotta filio suo mortua sit an mortuo. Pertinent ad eum librum quem 'de luctu minuendo' scripsimus.

## 554. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 6, §§ 1-3).

ASTURA; MIDDLE OF MARCH; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De aquae ductu, de columnario, de Pisone et hereditate Herenniana, de epistula sua ad Brutum data.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De aquae ductu probe fecisti. Columnarium vide ne nullum debeamus. Quamquam mihi videor audisse e Camillo

am doing enough to keep up appearances.'

2. Cn. Caepio . . . mortuo] Servilia was the wife of Claudius. We have no data to settle the question whether Caepio died during the life, or after the death, of his father; but that Rutilia (sister of Rutilius mentioned by Cicero, Brut. 110) survived her son Cotta is made certain by a passage in Seneca (Consol. ad Helviam 16, 7), *nec quisquam lacrimas eius post elatum filium notavit*. Atticus was not able to answer Cicero's question at once: cp. 558. 2. C. Cotta is one of the interlocutors in the *De Natura Deorum*.

de luctu minuendo] This is the same treatise as that usually called *De Consolatione*, cp. 549. 3, note.

1. aquae ductu] We have no data to guide us to the subject here mentioned, unless it is the same as that mentioned in Att. v. 12, 3 (202). Boot remarks that Cicero tells us, *De Leg. Agr.* iii. 9, that he paid a tax to the town of Tusculum (cp. 692. 3) for the use, for his private grounds, of the *Aqua Crabra*, an aqueduct which supplied Tusculum. Cicero at times seems to have taken counsel's opinion as to his use of the *Aqua Crabra* (Balb. 45).

Columnarium] a tax on pillars imposed (possibly) by Julius Caesar among his sumptuary laws (Suet. Caes. 43), to check extravagance in the architecture of private houses. Cicero's question was probably connected with some building he was engaged on at Tusculum. The word *columnarium* is also found applied to an extra tax imposed on the province of Asia by the Pompeians in 48 (Caes. B. C. iii. 22).

vide ne nullum] literally, 'take care do I owe no tax,' that is, 'perhaps we are not liable for the tax at all': cp. 549. 4, and Roby, § 1656. Cicero had heard a rumour of a modification of the act which would render him liable; hence *quamquam*. *Vide* is used like *vereor* in the letters; cp. Fam. xvi. 26 (814), where *vide ut probare possit* means 'take care will he be able to prove,' literally 'take care about his being able.' Just as *vereor ut veniat* is 'I have my fears about his coming,' that is, 'I fear he will not come,' so *vide ut possit* in some cases is 'take care about his being able,' that is, 'take care that he does not prove unable,' which might also be expressed *vide ne non possit*, as here. But *vide ut* in 814 might also possibly be = *cura ut*, as in Fam. xvi. 1. 2 (285): 'see that he is able to prove,' 'see that he succeeds in proving.'

commutatam esse legem. 2. Pisoni quid est quod honestius respondere possimus quam solitudinem Catonis? Nec coheredibus solum Herennianis, sed etiam, ut scis—tu enim mecum egisti—de puero Lucullo, quam pecuniam tutor—nam hoc quoque ad rem pertinet—in Achaia sumpserat. Sed agit liberaliter, quoniam negat se quidquam facturum contra nostram voluntatem. Coram igitur, ut scribis, constituemus quem ad modum rem explicemus. Quod reliquos coheredes convenisti, plane bene. 3. Quod epistulam meam ad Brutum poscis, non habeo eius exemplum, sed tamen salvum est et ait Tiro te habere oportere et, ut recorder, una cum illius obiurgatoria tibi meam quoque quam ad eum rescripseram misi. Iudiciali molestia ut caream videbis.

2. *solitudinem*] 'the unprotected condition of young Cato,' that is, 'the absence of his guardians.' Piso seems to have applied to young Cato for money owed by his father to the heirs of Herennius.

*Nec coheredibus*] Wes. proposes to add *de*, but it is hardly necessary. 'Our excuse is the unprotected position of young Cato, not only to the heirs of Herennius, but also, as you know, in the matter of young Lucullus, in respect of the money which the tutor of Lucullus (i.e., Cato, the father, who was tutor of young Lucullus, Fin. iii. 8: Varro R. R. iii. 2. 17, *M. Cato nuper cum Luculli accepit tutelam*) took when he was in Asia.' The expression is slightly irregular for *de pecunia puero Lucullo debita quam*, but the sense is plain. Boot ingeniously suggests that we should read *debet* for *de*. At one time we thought that possibly *de* stood for *DC* (i.e., *sexcenta millia sester-tium*), in order to get an antecedent for *quam pecuniam*—the word *debet* being easily understood from the context. But

it is hardly necessary. It would seem from *tu enim mecum egisti* that Cicero and Atticus were joint guardians of the young Lucullus.

*agit liberaliter*] sc. Piso.

*convenisti*] After this word the old editors supplied *fecisti*. But the word can be understood, cp. 635. 4, *Attributos quod appellas, valde probe*, sc. *fecisti*.

3. *Tiro*] This passage shows that Tiro used to keep copies of Cicero's letters.

*obiurgatoria*] Brutus remonstrated with Cic. for 'persevering in obstinate condolence' for the loss of Tullia. The letter is referred to 545. 1 : 546. 4 : 547 : 549. 2. This matter about the correspondence with Brutus and the reference to exemption from serving as a *iudex* seem to place this letter in March and not in June: for further considerations see O. E. Schmidt, pp. 311-312.

*misi*] He did so on March 11th, cp. 549. 2.

*Iudiciali molestia*] 'the annoyance of serving on a jury': cp. 552. 2.

## 555. SERVIUS SULPICIUS TO CICERO (FAM. IV. 5).

ATHENS; MIDDLE OF MARCH; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Servius Sulpicius Achaiae praefectus, consolatur M. Ciceronem afflictum obitu liae.

## SERVIUS CICERONI S.

1. Postea quam mihi renuntiatus est de obitu Tulliae, filiae tuae, sane quam pro eo ac debui graviter molesteque tui communemque eam calamitatem existimavi, qui, si istic adfuissem, neque tibi defuissem coramque meum dolorem tibi declarassem. Etsi genus hoc consolationis miserum atque acerbum est, propterea quia, per quos ea confieri debet propinquos ac familiares, ii ipsi pari molestia adficiuntur neque sine lacrimis multis id conari possunt, uti magis ipsi videantur aliorum consolatione indigere quam aliis posse suum officium praestare, tamen quae in praesentia in mentem mihi venerunt decrevi brevi ad te perscribere, non quod ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan dolore impeditus minus

There is a learned discussion on the language of Sulpicius by J. H. Schmalz in the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen* xxv. pp. 87-126. He points out that Sulpicius studied to improve his style by turning poetry into prose (Quintil. x. 5, 4), and that he probably used for that purpose Ennius, Terence, and Plautus, who were authors eminently adapted for his purpose, and also popular. We are further told (Phil. ix. 13) that Sulpicius was fond of what was old, largely owing no doubt to his legal studies (cp. vol. iv, p. lxxix; cp. Top. 36); so that it is natural that his language should be sometimes archaic.

1. *renuntiatus*] 'news had duly (re-) reached me,' cp. Mayor on *reddere* in Juv. i. 93.

*sane quam*] 'I was indeed, as in duty bound, most deeply and grievously moved.' For *sane quam* see on Att. i. 11, 3 (7).

*pro eo ac debui*] cp. Cat. iv. 3. *Nam primum debeo sperare omnis deos qui huic urbi praesident pro eo mihi ac mereor relicturos gratiam esse.* Cicero more commonly uses *pro eo quod*. Schmalz (p. 122) says *pro eo ac debeo* is a legal phrase, and that

Cicero would probably have said *ut debeo*, Fam. i. 9, 2 (153), Att. xiii. 1, 3 (601).  
*neque tibi defuissem*] 'I should have been with you.'

*genus hoc consolationis*] 'consolation generally,' 'consolation in the abstract,' 'consolation *per se*.' In Fam. v. 12, 1 (109) *genus scriptorum tuorum* means 'the general character of your work,' and in Fam. vii. 23, 2 (126) *genus signorum omnium* means 'all the statues in the world.'

*miserum atque acerbum est*] 'is sad and heart-rending.'

*propterea quia*] *Quia* is often thus used in Cicero's philosophical works, never in his orations.

*confieri*] Not found in Cicero, but used by Plaut. Trin. 408; Lucr. iv. 291; Caesar B. G. vii. 58, 2, and *confieret* by Balbus ap. Att. viii. 15a, 3 (346): ix. 7a, 1 (351); and Liv. v. 50, 7. Cicero always uses *confici*, cp. Boot on Att. ii. 16, 2 (43).

*propinquos ac familiares*] Schmalz (p. 117) refuses to eject these words (which many editors consider to be a gloss) on the ground that diffusiveness is a characteristic of the style of Sulpicius, e.g. in this section alone *propterea quia* for *quia*; *si istic adfuissem* for *si adfuissem*.

ea perspicias. 2. Quid est quod tanto opere te commoveat tuus dolor intestinus? Cogita quem ad modum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit: ea nobis erepta esse quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnis. Hoc uno incommodo addito quid ad dolorem adiungi potuit? Aut qui non in illis rebus exercitatus animus callere iam debet atque omnia minoris existimare? 3. An illius vicem, cedo, doles? Quotiens in eam cogitationem necesse est et tu veneris et nos saepe incidimus, hisce temporibus non pessime

*perspicias*] If *forsitan* did not intervene, we should have had the indicative *perspicias* after *quod*.

2. *Quid est quod . . . commoveat*] Usually the indicative follows a question expressed in this form: cp. Plaut. Epid. 560, *Quid est quod voltu turbatust tuus*; Rud. 414, *Quis est qui nostris tam proterve foribus facit iniuriam*.

*intestinus*] 'private,' 'personal,' often united with *domesticum*, cp. 2 Verr. i. 39, *intestinum ac domesticum malum*.

*Aut qui non*] 'or what heart, trained in the school of present events, must not have become hardened, and think all else of slighter value.' For *callere* cp. the joke in Plaut. Pers. 305, *magis calleo quam aprugnum callum callet*. Dr. Reid thinks (perhaps rightly), and so does the Thesaurus, that in our passage *callere* means 'to be wise.' It has been noticed that *existimare* with a genitive of price, though found in Plaut. Capt. 682, Mostell. 73; Nepos Cato 1, 2; Suet. Oct. 40, is not Ciceronian. In Att. i. 20, 2 (26), Leg. Agr. ii. 40, Muren. 34, there is a variant *aestimare*, which is generally read. See Schmalz, p. 99.

3. *An illius vicem, cedo, doles?*] So we read for *credo* of the mss. Cp., for *cedo* used in questions, Naev. ap. De Sen. 20, *Cedo qui vestram rempublicam tantam amisisistis tam cito?*: Cato ap. Quintil. ix. 2, 21, *Cedo, si vos in eo loco essetis quid aliud fecissetis?* The change to *credo* is just the kind of change which would be made by a copyist; cp. Rab. Post. 38, where *cedo* is corrupted into *accedo* and *accedo* (Mr. Clark reads *age, cedo*); and by reading *cedo* we can retain *An*, which is almost certainly right. Manutius and Lambinus alter *An* to *At*, a possible, but too facile, proceeding. If we retain *credo*, as Mendelssohn does, it must be interpreted as having

a slight shade of irony which, at least to modern ideas, is sadly out of place, 'or is it for her sake (I suppose it is) that you are grieving?' For this parenthetic and ironical sense of *credo*, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1. 7 (30): 587. 3; Reid on Arch. 10, and Lucr. v. 174, *at, credo, in tenebris vita ac maerore iacebat Donec diluxit rerum genitalis origo*, 'or was it (I presume it was) that life long lay prostrate,' &c. In our passage Munro wished to read *Cicero* for *credo*, and in the passage from Lucretius to alter *credo* to *crepera*, 'wavering' or 'in darkness'—both of which alterations, however striking, are most unconvincing. There is no doubt, however, that *credo* parenthetic in an interrogative sentence is almost unprecedented. Leg. Agr. i. 19 is not a case.

*illius vicem*] *vicem* is very common in the Epp. with verbs and phrases expressing emotion: cp. Fam. xii. 23, 3 (792), *tuam vicem saepe doleo*: i. 9, 2 (153); Att. iv. 6, 1 (110); vi. 3, 4 (264); viii. 2, 2 (332); 15, 3 (350); ad Brut. i. 10, 5 (897).

*et tu veneris et nos saepe incidimus*] There is a slight anacoluthon; for *incidimus* is co-ordinate with *necesse est*, whereas it ought to be co-ordinate with *veneris*. 'How often must you have arrived at the same conclusion, and it occurred to me too': for the displacement of *et* cp. note on 785. 8, and Reid on Acad. ii. 12; 69. In order partly to avoid this anacoluthon, Lambinus read *ut tu veneris*. But the translation given above shows the force of the double *et*.

For the difference between *venire in cogitationem*, 'to arrive at a conclusion' by previous thought, and *incidere in cogitationem*, 'to stumble upon a consideration' by mere chance, Watson excellently compares Fam. ii. 7, 2 (227), *quod in reipublicae tempus non incideris*

cum iis esse actum quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare? Quid autem fuit quod illam hoc tempore ad vivendum magno opere invitare posset? Quae res? Quae spes? Quod animi solacium? Ut cum aliquo adolescente primario coniuncta aetatem gereret? Licitum est tibi, credo, pro tua dignitate ex hac iuventute generum deligere cuius fidei liberos tuos te tuto committere putares! An ut ea liberos ex sese pareret quos cum florentis videret laetaretur? Qui rem a parente traditam per se tenere possent, honores ordinatim petiturae essent, in re publica, in amicorum negotiis libertate sua uti? Quid horum fuit quod non prius quam datum est ademptum sit? 'At vero malum est liberos amittere.' Malum: nisi hoc peius est, haec sufferre et perpeti. 4. Quae res mihi non mediocrem consolationem attulit volo tibi commemorare, si forte eadem res tibi dolorem

*sed veneris—iudicio enim tuo, non casu, in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum: add Petron. 107, hoc argumento incidisse videntur in navem, non venisse.*

*licitum est*] This (not *licuit*) is the perf. which was used in ordinary, unelaborated style. In Cicero it is found only in his earlier works and in his Epp.: cp. Schmalz, *Antib.* ii. 22.

*res . . . spes*] The alliteration caused by the juxtaposition of these words, which is so common in Latin (cp. Att. iii. 22, 4 (81); Fam. xii. 25, 2 (825); Sall. Cat. 21) can hardly be reproduced in English. 'What scope, what hope, what heart's solace?' (Shuckburgh): 'what hope? what fruition? what consolation for the soul?' (Jeans).

*aetatem gereret*] This is rare for the more usual *aetatem ageret*: cp. Petr. 63, *vitam Chiam gessi*: Suet. Vesp. 24, Dom. 1; Val. Flacc. vi. 695, *semivir impubemque gerens sterilemque iuventam*.

*liberos*] The plural is often used for a single child: cp. Prov. Cons. 35; Tac. Ann. i. 42; also Gell. ii. 13, *Antiqui oratores historiaeque aut carminum scriptores etiam unum filium filiamve liberos multitudinis numero appellarunt*.

*ordinatim*] 'in regular course' according to the *Lex Annalis*, from which, says Watson, Caesar had departed in favour of his friends. For the adverb, cp. Dec. Brut. ap. Fam. xi. 13, 2 (859); Cicero would have said *ordine*.

*uti*] So the mss; supply *possent*. Guelicinius and Wesenberg (*Em.* 57) read

*usuri*. Inferior mss give *uterentur*. Hofmann suggests *usi*.

*At vero*] almost = *at enim*, as Watson says, comparing Phil. ii. 33, *At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea*.

*Malum: nisi*] The sense is, 'a misfortune, true (and so to be deplored), only (lit. "were it not that") this is a greater misfortune' (and ordinary ills seem trifling in presence of a grave calamity). For this elliptico-adversative sense of *nisi* = 'only' after a negative or virtual negative, cp. Madv. 442, c. obs. 3, and note on Att. xi. 23, 1 (437). To the exx. there given add Ter. Eun. 548; Phorm. 475. The ellipse is sometimes expressed: cp. Phorm. 953, *Nescio, nisi me dixisse nemini certo scio*. See a good note on this usage by Kritze on Sall. Jug. 24, 5; cp. ib. 67. 3.

4. *Quae res . . . attulit*] Wes. reads *attulerit*. Schmalz (p. 124) argues that the indicative of the mss is to be retained (1) as usual in the old poets, e.g. Plaut. Cist. 65, *unde est tibi cor commemora*, cp. Dräger ii. p. 462; (2) and in the old orators, e.g. Cato ap. Gell. vi. 3, 16, *cogitate quanto nos inter nos privatim cautius facimus*; (3) and in ordinary language, e.g. Petron. 76, 84, 100, &c. The polemic of Madvig on Fin. iv. 67, is, perhaps, too sweeping. Schmalz retains the indicative in Cornif. ad Herenn. iv. 13 (*gerimus*), Verr. ii. 131 (*sunt*): Att. xiii. 18 (630), *vides propinquitatis quid habet*; but we can hardly think rightly.

*volo tibi commemorare*] = *commemorabo*.

minuere possit. Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere: post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus; quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: 'hem! nos humunculi indignamur si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera proiecta iacent? Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum?' Crede mihi, cogitatione ea non mediocriter

*Ex Asia rediens*] A fine passage imitated by St. Ambrose (see *Addenda to the Comment.*) and referred to by Byron (Childe Harold, iv. 44). Too much stress must not be laid on Roman rhetoric in reference to this topic; and some deduction must be made before we can use it as evidence of the condition of Hellas at this time. On the exaggeration of Roman writers about the decay of Greece, cp. Dr. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, pp. 405 f. It was a good theme for pathetic rhetoric, in competition with which truth is at times obscured. For example, Seneca, in Ep. 91, is certainly guilty in this respect. However, Megara had never wholly recovered its destruction by Demetrius Poliorcetes (307 B.C.): Piraeus had been recently burned by Sulla in the Mithridatic war; Corinth had not yet been restored by Julius Caesar, and become the Laus Julia; cp. Leg. Agr. ii. 87, *Corinthis vestigium vix relictum est*. For the singular *Megaram*, cp. De Div. i. 57.

*regiones circumcirca*] This adverb, as most compound adverbs, is rare; and it is not used by Cicero. For the adverb used as an adjective, cp. Liv. xxii. 23, 4, *omnibus circa solo aequalis*; Cic. N. D. ii. 166, *ipsorum decorum saepe praesentiae*, where Mayor compares Ter. Andr. 175, *eri semper lenitas*; Plaut. Pers. 385, *non tu nunc hominum mores vides*. Add St. Paul, 1 Timothy v. 23, 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' Sometimes whole phrases are used as adjectives, e.g. De Orat. iii. 10, *Carbonis eodem illo die mors*: De Orat. ii. 20, *tot locis sessiones*.

*hem!*] 'Ah!' cp. for its use in cases of reflection, Ter. Heaut. 128: *ubi video haec coepi cogitare, 'hem, tot mea solius solliciti sint causa?'*

*indignamur si*] cp. Val. Max. iii. 8,

7, *Non indignabuntur lumina Urbis nostrae si . . . centurionum quoque virtus spectandam se obtulerit*. Often after verbs expressing emotion (e.g. *mirari*) *si* is thus used, as *ei* in Greek, e.g. Lael. 54.

*oppidum cadavera*] This contracted genitive plural (-*um* for -*orum*) is very rare in neuters; cp. Neue i<sup>3</sup> 181. For the sentiment Böckel compares, in addition to Cat. iv. 11, lines from the Anthol. Lat. iii. 2, 8 (ed. Burmann), *Hae sunt quas merito quondam mirata vetustas, Magnarum rerum magna sepulcra vides*: Rutil. i. 413, *Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori*; Byron, Childe Harold ii. 3, 'Look on this spot—a nation's sepulchre.'

*Visne tu?*] According to Bentley on Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 92, *visne tu*, or *vin tu*, simply asks a question, while *vis tu*, 'can't you,' 'won't you,' is a strong exhortation. If this is true, it would appear that we ought to read *vis tu* here. Bentley has fallen into an error as regards his own rule on Hor. Sat. i. 9, 69, on which see Palmer's critical note.

*hominem*] and so liable to the changes and chances of this mortal life: see note on Q. Fr. ii. 9, 4 (132); Fam. v. 16, 2 (529).

*Crede mihi*] Schmalz (p. 115) lays down that *crede mihi* belongs to common language, *mihi crede* to more polished style; and gives the following conclusions as the result of an extended induction:—(1) In Cicero's speeches and philosophical works only *mihi crede*; (2) *crede mihi* by preference in Att., but only once in Fam.; (3) in Cicero's correspondents only *c. m.*, never *m. c.*; (4) in Ovid Pont. c. m. 9 times, *m. c.* once: just the reverse proportion in Met.; (5) in Horace, Sat. and Epp. only *m. c.*; (6) the plebeian language of Varro's Menippeans and Petronius has only *c. m.*; (7) if the words



sum confirmatus. Hoc, idem si tibi videtur, fac ante oculos tibi proponas: modo uno tempore tot viri clarissimi interierunt; de imperio populi Romani tanta deminutio facta est; omnes provinciae conquassatae sunt: in unius mulierculae animula si iactura facta est, tanto opere commoveris? Quae si hoc tempore non diem suum obisset, paucis post annis tamen ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat. 5. Etiam tu ab hisce rebus animum ac cogitationem tuam avoca atque ea potius reminiscere quae digna tua persona sunt: illam quam diu ei opus fuerit vixisse; una cum re publica fuisse; te, patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse; adolescentibus primariis nuptam fuisse; omnibus bonis

are separated, *crede* always precedes *mihi*.

*Hoc, idem si tibi videtur*] So Mendelssohn punctuates; usually the comma is placed after *idem*. In either case take that word as neuter. Schmalz (p. 113) says that it is a mark of more elegant style to omit *tibi*. In the Epp. we have *si tibi videtur* 18 times, *si videtur* only once (Fam. iv. 2, 43 Ep. 389): conversely in the De Legibus *si placet* 7 times, while *si tibi placet* does not occur at all.

*modo . . . interierunt*] Melmoth quotes the reflections of Addison in Westminster Abbey (*Spectator*, No. 26): "When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies within me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries and make our appearance together."

*deminutio*] i.e. in prestige and moral influence, not in territory.

*conquassatae*] 'convulsed,' cp. Sest. 56, *etiam exterarum nationum illius anni furore conquassatas videbamus*.

*in unius . . . animula*] 'in the frail life of one feeble woman.' The diminutives express pity. *Animula* recalls Hadrian's celebrated address to his soul: *Animula vagula blandula Hospes comesque corporis Quae nunc abibis in loca* (Spartian. Hadr. 25). Schmalz (p. 114) says that almost always in Cicero and Caesar *iactura* and similar words are used with the genitive of the thing lost; *in* with ablative belongs to a less elegant style, though it occurs in Fam. x. 28, 3 (819), *magnum damnum factum est in Servio*; cp. Quintil. x. 1, 89: Curt. iv. 14, 17, *semper gravior in paucitate iactura est*. In 565. 2, *iactura in repraesentando* is somewhat different.

*diem suum obisset*] cp. Serv. ap. Fam. iv. 12, 2 (613), *Marcellum diem suum obisse*; Plaut. Cist. 175, *Ea diem suum obiit, facta morigera est viro*; Poen. 904. The classical phrase is *obire mortem*. We do not find *obire* by itself meaning 'to die' in Cicero, but he uses *obitus* for 'death' in Rep. ii. 52.

5. *ac cogitationem*] Cicero does not use *ac* before *e*, *g*, *q*.

*tua persona*] 'the character you bear,' 'the position you hold': cp. note to Fam. vi. 6. 10 (488).

*una . . . fuisse*] cp. Att. vii. 10 (303), Lael. 2. An old alteration approved by Weiske and Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 156, note) is *floruisse*.

*primariis*] sc. Cn. Piso, Crassipes, Dolabella.

prope perfunctam esse: cum res publica occideret, vita excessisse. Quid est quod tu aut illa cum fortuna hoc nomine queri possitis? Denique noli te oblivisci Ciceronem esse et eum qui aliis consueris praecipere et dare consilium, neque imitare malos medicos qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt; sed potius quae aliis tute praecipere soles ea tute tibi subice atque apud animum propone. 6. Nullus dolor est quem non longinquitas temporis minuatur ac molliat: hoc te exspectare tempus tibi turpe est ac non ei rei sapientia tua te occurrere. Quod si qui etiam inferis sensus est,

*perfunctam esse*] *Perfungi*, 'to pass through,' is generally used of evil fortune, but sometimes we find it applied to a course of honours and good fortune, e.g. Fam. i. 8. 3 (119), *cum et honoribus amplissimis et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus*; De Orat. iii. 7, *ab honorum perfuntione*: Brut. 8, *aetas nostra perfuncta rebus amplissimis*; Ter. Hec. 594.

*cum res publica occideret*] cp. De Orat. iii. 10 of M. Antonius, the orator, *ut ille et vixisse cum republica pariter et cum illa simul exstinctus esse videatur*.

*hoc nomine*] 'on this account,' originally a book-keeping term, cp. note to Fam. ii. 1, 1 (166). To the exx. there given add Sull. 21; Muren. 82; Phil. xiv. 29.

*imitare*] So all the mss. Schmalz (p. 126) rightly says that this is to be taken as the archaic infinitive of the active form, and not as the imperative of the deponent; comparing Liv. Andr. 1 (Ribb.), *Si malos imitabo*. Varro ap. Non. 473, 20, *tuum opus nemo imitare potest*. He thinks Sulpicius may be imitating or quoting an old poet who said, *noli imitare malos medicos*. For a long list of verbs active in archaic Latin, but deponent in later times, cp. Dräger i. 150, 151. For the construction which supplies the affirmative *volueris* out of the negative *noli*, Hofmann compares Fam. xii. 30. 1 (899), *noli mihi impudens esse nec mihi molestiam exhibere*. Essentially similar are Hor. Sat. i. 1, 3 (where see Palmer); Cic. N. D. i. 17; Att. vii. 15, 3 (311): cp. Madv. 462 b.

*apud animum propone*] cp. Fam. ii. 3, 1 (169), *apud animum tuum relinquam*; Liv. xxxiv. 2. 4, *statuere apud animum meum*. In his exhaustive treatise on Greek and Roman *Consolationes* in the Leipziger Studien, ix. p. 99, Buresch

thinks that the verses of Sophocles (Frag. 666, ed. Nauck) were introduced into Tusc. iii. 71, owing to this rebuke of Sulpicius.

6. *longinquitas temporis*] cp. Soph. El. 179 *χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρὴς θεός* 'time is a comfortable god.'

*hoc te . . . tibi turpe est*] Cicero would have left out either *tibi* (cp. Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574), *turpe enim esse existimo me non ita ferre casum meum*, where he is perhaps tacitly correcting Sulpicius); or *te* (cp. Att. ix. 10, 6 (365), *turpe nobis puto esse de fuga cogitare*).

*ei rei . . . occurrere*] 'to anticipate this result,' lit. 'to go to meet': cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 4 (30), *contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis*. For the sentiment cp. Fam. v. 16, 5 (529), *Nam quod adlatura est ipsa diuturnitas quae maximos luctus vetustate tollit, id nos praecipere consilio prudentiaque debemus*; and especially Att. xii. 10 (651) *impetret ratio quod dies impetratura est*.

*Quod si qui . . . sensus est*] 'if the dead have any consciousness'—a sad *if*: cp. Tac. Agr. 46. 1. Our passage has been referred to by Archbishop Whately to show that a belief in a future life, though nominally professed, cannot be regarded as practically forming any part of the creed of the cultured Romans of Cicero's time. In a letter to Torquatus in the early part of this year Cicero speaks of death, if it should befall him in the troubles and tumults of the period, as *sine ullo sensu*, Fam. vi. 4. 4 (540). It should, however, be noticed that when Cicero, to beguile his grief, devoted himself to philosophical studies, one of the first results (some months later) was the Tusc. Disp., in the first book of which he has collected whatever his learning or reflections could contribute

qui illius in te amor fuit pietasque in omnis suos, hoc certe illa te facere non vult. Da hoc illi mortuae; da ceteris amicis ac familiaribus qui tuo dolore maerent; da patriae, ut, si qua in re opus sit, opera et consilio tuo uti possit. Denique, quoniam in eam fortunam devenimus ut etiam huic rei nobis serviendum sit, noli committere ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam quam rei publicae tempora et aliorum victoriam lugere. Plura me ad te de hac re scribere pudet ne videar prudentiae tuae diffidere; qua re, si hoc unum proposuero, finem faciam scribendi: vidimus aliquotiens secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam magnamque ex ea re te laudem apisci: fac aliquando intellegamus adversam quoque te aequae ferre posse neque id maius quam debeat tibi onus videri, ne ex omnibus virtutibus haec una tibi videatur deesse. Quod ad me attinet, cum te tranquilliores animo esse cognoro, de iis rebus quae hic geruntur quemadmodumque se provincia habeat certiores faciam. Vale.

to throw light on the condition of the soul after death. The received philosophical opinion on the subject seems to have been expressed by Seneca when he terms the belief in the immortality of the soul a beautiful dream (*bellum somnium*), and describes its adherents as asserting rather than proving a most acceptable doctrine. Friedländer (SG. iii<sup>6</sup> 735 ff.) has a learned discussion on the relation of a belief in a future life to ancient Roman speculation and conduct.

*qui illius*] cp. Fam. vii. 2, 1 (182). *Si mihi permisisses, qui meus amor in te est, confecissem.*

*Denique*] Watson points out that it is probable that Sulpicius intended to finish his letter with the words *uti possit*, when this new topic occurred to him.

*ut etiam . . . sit*] 'that even this consideration must be attended to.'

*aliorum*] perhaps not exactly 'the other side' (*alterorum*), but 'others' than we and the supporters of the republic.

*pulcherrime*] 'most nobly,' 'finely' (*καλῶς*).

*apisci*] For this form cp. note to Att. viii. 14. 3 (349). It is found in Livy and post-Augustan writers. To the exx. in the Dictt. add Cic. Leg. i. 52; Turpil. 10 (Ribb.), *apisci haud possem sine magna miseria*; Titin. 2. *purpuramque aptae sinus*.

*tranquilliores*] This reading of the mss is rightly defended by Lehmann (p. 83); cp. Att. xi. 12, 4 (427), *Quod me audis erectiores esse animo*; Fam. ii. 8, 2 (201), *et animo et consilio paratum*; v. 12, 9 (109), *alacres animo*; Tusc. iv. 37; Rep. i. 14.

*provincia*] Achaea: cp. Fam. iv. 4, 2 (495).

## 556. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 21).

ASTURA; MARCH 16; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De dote, de Balbi condicione, de loco fani Tulliae aedificandi et aliis rebus privatis.

1. De dote, tanto magis perpurga. Balbi regia condicio est delegandi. Quoquo modo confice. Turpe est rem impeditam

1. *De dote*] This must refer to the re-payment of her dower to Terentia, a matter frequently mentioned in the letters of this period.

*tanto magis perpurga*] sc. *quanto difficilius est*. Atticus had dwelt on the difficulty of coming to a settlement. *Perpurga* is a stronger expression than *explica* or *expedi* for winding up a business transaction. Translate 'make a clean settlement of it': cp. *purigare rationes*, Suet. Calig. 29. But perhaps it may mean something quite different, namely, 'make our apologies most amply.'

*delegandi*] The generally accepted view of this passage is that Terentia became desirous of getting the money due for her dowry without delay (she had been divorced for about a year), and Balbus advanced the money, as it were bought the debt from her, and then Terentia assigned (*delegare*) Balbus to Cicero as his creditor in the matter. She would appear to have done this without consulting Cicero, just notifying to him the transfer of his obligation. This conduct seemed to Cicero, and not unreasonably, to be 'lordly' (*regia*). Balbus may have had no desire to press Cicero hard; but Cicero naturally did not wish to be under an obligation to such an influential Caesarean as Balbus, and was accordingly insistent that Atticus should clear off the debt. The translation will, then, be: "Terentia's arrangement in assigning Balbus as my creditor is a very lordly proceeding." This is a somewhat rare use of *delegare*. It is generally used of assigning or deputing one's debtor to pay not oneself but a third person: cp. Ulpian's definition in Dig. xlv. 2. 11 *Delegare est vice sua alium reum dare creditori vel cui iusserit* ('or to his order'): Seneca Benef. iv. 11. 3 The shipwrecked mariner whom we have helped *nunquam amplius in con-*

*spectum nostrum reversurus debitores nobis deos delegat illi pro se gratiam reddant* (cp. Proverbs 19. 17): but it seems to be occasionally found in the sense of assigning one's creditor to become the creditor of one's debtor, as Terentia is held to have assigned her creditor Balbus to be the creditor of her debtor Cicero: cp. Seneca Epist. 18. 14 *Prius, inquis, redde quod debes. Delegabo te ad Epicurum: ab illo fiet numeratio: 'Immodica ira gignit insaniam.'* (In Digest xxiii. 3. 5. 8 *creditorem delegavit ut daret dotem*, the word only means 'ordered'). But allowing the possibility of this interpretation, the order of words is rather against taking Balbi and delegandi together. We rather think, with Dr. Reid (*Hermathena* x. (1898), pp. 132-3) that *delegandi* means *delegandi pecuniam*, and is used in a partially untechnical sense, meaning little more than 'making over,' 'paying over,' the money. Cicero may have approached Balbus with a proposal that he should advance the money to satisfy Terentia's claim, and Balbus was for exacting hard conditions. For this use of *delegare* cp. 663. 4 *Quinto delegabo* ('make over') *si quid acri meo alieno supererit*: Font. 18 *Quid si hoc crimen optimis nominibus delegare possumus* ('if we can shift (make over) the charge to men of excellent credit'): De Domo 16 *Delegavi* (sc. I transferred the claim the people made on me to lower the price of corn) *amico locupletiori* (sc. Pompeio). In Att. xii. 3. 2 (468) *delegationem a mancipe annua die* means 'transference of the debt [due to Cic. by the former owner of the confiscated estate] to the purchaser to be paid by him to me a year hence,' the phrase *delegatio a mancipe* being like *solvere ab Egnatio* Att. vii. 18. 4 (316): cp. Planc. 103 and Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 69 *Scribe decem a Nerio* (to be paid by Nerius). Perhaps, too, in the uncertain

iacere. Insula Arpinas habere potest germanam ἀποθέωσιν, sed vereor ne minorem τιμὴν habere videatur ἐκτοπισμός. Est igitur animus in hortis: quos tamen inspiciam, cum venero. 2. De Epicuro, ut voles, etsi μεθαρμοσόμαι in posterum genus hoc personarum. Incredibile est quam ea quidam requirant. Ad antiquos igitur: ἀνεμέσῃτον γάρ. Nihil habeo ad te quod scribam, sed tamen institui cotidie mittere ut eliciam tuas litteras, non quo aliquid ex his exspectem, sed nescio quo modo tamen exspecto. Qua re sive habes quid sive nil habes, scribe tamen aliquid teque cura.

passage of Cato 149. 2 *donicum pecuniam < solverit aut > satisfecerit aut delegarit*, the word *pecuniam* should be transposed to precede *delegarit*, and no addition should be made. Generally, however, the acc. of the thing after *delegare* signifies a sphere of duty: cp. Cael ap. Fam. viii. 1. 1 (192) *hunc laborem alteri delegavi*.

*Insula Arpinas*] Cicero says, 'It would be a perfect site for the deification, but I fear its out-of-the-way position would seem to diminish the token of respect' paid to the memory of the dead. The *Insula Arpinas* is generally supposed to be the island formed by the delta of the Fibrenus just before it flows into the Liris. O. E. Schmidt, in his charming and learned treatise on 'Cicero's Villas,' pp. 10 ff. (cp. p. 20), shows that that island was the spot in which Cicero's own villa, his '*Arpinas*,' lay; but that what he calls the *Insula Arpinas* here was an island formed about a mile and a half higher up the Fibrenus, and now called Carnello.

*sed vereor ne minorem τιμὴν*] These words are omitted by the Δ family of mss. See Adn. Crit.

*in hortis*] The trans-Tiberine villa of which he writes in Ep. 552. 1.

*tamen*] can only mean here 'be that as it may,' i.e. whether I buy them or not, I shall examine them. Perhaps we should read *tum*.

2. *μεθαρμοσόμαι*] 'I shall remodel.' Atticus had asked Cicero to give the statement of the Epicurean view in the 'De Finibus' to some friend of his, who had asked him to make interest with Cicero to procure him this honour. Cicero grants his request, but adds, 'In future I shall remodel my practice with regard to the persons in my dialogues. You would be surprised how some people covet a place among the interlocutors. I will have recourse only to the ancients. This causes no heart-burnings': cp. in another connexion, Juv. i. 170—

Experiar quid concedatur in illos,  
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

*ut eliciam*] 'to write with a view of drawing replies from you; *ut eliciam* follows *mittere* closely; if it went with *constitui*, it should of course in strict sequence be *elicere*: but *institui elicere* practically is the same as *missurus sum*.

## 557. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 21).

ASTURA; MARCH 17; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De epistula Bruti ad Atticum missa, de hortis emendis, de Terentia, de Oviae C. Lolliuxoris negotio, de se in forum non rursus vocando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Legi Bruti epistulam eamque tibi remisi, sane non prudenter rescriptam ad ea quae requisieras. Sed ipse viderit, quamquam illud turpiter ignorat: Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant praeter Caesarem; et cum ipsius Caesaris tam severa fuerit, qui tum praetorio loco dixerit, consularium putat leniores fuisse, Catuli, Servili, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gelli, Volcati, Figuli, Cottae, L. Caesaris, C. Pisonis, M'. Glabronis, etiam Silani, Murenæ, designatorum consulum. 'Cur ergo in sententiam Catonis?'

1. *Bruti ep.*] Brutus had written a *Cato* in which Cicero thinks that his own services as regards the Catilinarian conspiracy were underrated, and those of Cato exaggerated. Atticus had written to Brutus, pointing out some defects (mistakes) in the work, and Cicero condemns the ill-considered nature and general tone of Brutus' reply.

*prudenter*] 'a very ill-considered reply,' Watson, who compares *quam cuiquam* minus prudenti non satis gratus videri, Phil. ii. 5, where *minus prudenti* is translated by Mr. King, 'who does not look at the matter in the right light.' The tempting change to *pudenter* is therefore unnecessary.

*quae requisieras*] 'the mistakes you pointed out in the work': cp. Att. vi. 1, 8 (252), *e quibus unum ιστορικόν requiris*, 'in which you point out one mistake in history,' literally, 'you miss historical accuracy in one point.'

*animadversione*] 'the punishment' of Lentulus and his associates.

*quam omnes ante*] 'though the others had expressed this opinion before him.'

*severa*] Caesar was for punishing the conspirators by imprisonment for life, and confiscation of their property.

*fuerit . . . dixerit*] These are the reported views of Brutus, as expressed in

his letter; the verbs must therefore be in the subjunctive.

*praetorio*] Caesar was *praetor designatus* at the end of 63. The order in which Senators were usually asked their opinion was—consuls elect (this would only apply for the later months of the year), the *princeps senatus*, the consulares, the praetorii, the aedilicii, the tribunicii and the quaestoricii—in all these classes the magistrates elect (when members of the Senate) speaking before the ex-magistrates of the same class: cp. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 269 f.

*etiam*] After enumerating the consulars Cicero introduces, by *etiam*, the names of the consuls elect. The MSS place *etiam* wrongly before *M'. Glabronis*. The correction was made by Boot. Very nearly the same list of distinguished consulars who approved of Cicero's action during his consulship is found in Phil. ii. 12.

'Cur ergo . . . Catonis'] sc. *itum est*. This is supposed to be an objection raised by Brutus in defence of his statement. 'If all these had already given their opinion to that effect, why was it on the proposal of Cato, a tribune elect, that the house divided?' The answer of Cicero is, because it embodied the same proposal in more striking and detailed language.

Quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehenderat. Me autem hic laudat quod rettulerim, non quod patefecerim, quod cohortatus sim, quod denique ante quam consulerem ipse iudicaverim. Quae omnia quia Cato laudibus extulerat in caelum perscribendaque censuerat, idcirco in eius sententiam est facta discessio. Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit 'optimum consulem.' Quis enim ieiunius dixit inimicus? Ad cetera vero tibi quem ad modum rescripsit! Tantum rogat de senatus consulto ut corrigas. Hoc quidem fecisset, etiam si a librario admonitus esset. Sed haec iterum ipse viderit.

2. De hortis, quoniam probas, effice aliquid. Rationes meas nosti. Si vero etiam a Faberio aliquid recedit, nihil negoti est. Sed

hic] Brutus.

quod] 'for bringing the matter before the senate, not for disclosing the plot.' In Att. i. 14, 5 (20) he complains that Clodius spoke of him as 'the mere discoverer' of the conspiracy *me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur*.

consulerem . . . iudicaverim] 'for having formed my own opinion before I asked that of the Senate.' *iudicare* is generally 'to pronounce an opinion,' but it sometimes means 'to form' one. Good examples of the latter are in De Or. i. 118, *in artibus . . . fastidiose iudicamus*: ii. 178, *plura iudicant homines odio aut amore . . . quam veritate*.

Cato] He spoke as tribune elect.

perscribendaque]. There were special senators appointed by Cicero to take accurate account of the whole of this important debate (Cic. Sull. 41-42). The president of the senate could have a record of the discussion made, and when it was made and approved by him it had a semi-official character, but was left in the keeping of the president (Willems *Le Sénat*, ii. 205). Cato proposed, that is, we gather, suggested to the president, Cicero, that his motion should be so recorded; and as the motion was highly laudatory of Cicero, his suggestions were adopted (Sull. l. c.).

idcirco] Cicero now ascribes the adoption of Cato's proposal, as the one on which to divide the house, not so much to its greater fulness and clearness, as to the praises of himself which it contained.

enim] 'why, who ever spoke more grudgingly, even though a personal enemy?' lit. (But he is wrong), 'for

what enemy,' &c. For *enim*, referring to an ellipse, cp. Juv. vii. 158, *mercedem appellas? quid enim scio*, and Dougan on Tusc. i. 11.

de senatus consulto] Brutus acknowledged some one mistake made about the decree of the senate, and merely asked Atticus to correct it. But this, says Cicero, does not show any respect for the criticisms of Atticus. He would have done the same, even if the error had been pointed out to him by a copying clerk. Hofmann suggests *Salvio*, one of the copyists of Atticus: cp. 646. 3. But he appears to have been one of the more important of the copyists of Atticus (cp. 772. 6), so Cicero would hardly have chosen his name in this connexion.

2. recedit] This is the mss reading, and is defended by Dr. Reid (*op. cit.* p. 134), who says that when property or money passed over from one person to another it was said *recedere*, and he compares Pro Quinct. 38, *cum res ab eo, quicum contraxisset, recessisset et ad heredem pervenisset*. The word is, however, somewhat unusual, 'if any money has passed from Faberius.' Faberius was a secretary of Caesar, and owed Cicero money, which he found hard to recover. It would be attractive if we could read *Sin Eroti* (Hofmann had suggested *Eros* for *vero*) *iam a Faberio aliquid recedit*, 'if any money has by now reverted to Eros from Faberius': but that would be rather bold. For Eros, the accountant of Atticus, often mentioned in the correspondence of the years 46 to 44, see Index. He had all particulars of the debt due by Faberius to Cicero, cp. 606. 1.

etiam sine eo posse videor contendere. Venales certe sunt Drusi, fortasse etiam Lamiani et Cassiani: sed coram. 3. De Terentia non possum commodius scribere quam tu scribis. Officium sit nobis antiquissimum: si quid nos fefellerit, illius malo me quam mei paenitere. 4. Oviae C. Lolli curanda sunt HS c̄. Negat Eros posse sine me, credo, quod accipienda aliqua sit et danda aestimatio. Vellem tibi dixisset. Si enim res est, ut mihi scribit, parata nec in eo ipso mentitur, per te confici potuit. Id cognoscas et conficias velim. 5. Quod me in forum vocas, eo vocas unde etiam bonis meis rebus fugiebam. Quid enim mihi foro, sine iudiciis, sine curia, in oculos incurrentibus iis quos aequo animo videre non possum? Quod autem homines a me postulare scribis, *ut Romae sim, neque mihi ut absim concedere*, aut quadamtenus eos mihi concedere, iam pridem scito esse cum unum te pluris quam omnis illos putem. Ne me quidem contemno meoque iudicio multo stare malo quam omnium reliquorum. Neque tamen progredior longius quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt, quorum scripta omnia, quaecumque sunt in eam sententiam, non legi solum, quod ipsum erat fortis aegroti accipere medicinam, sed

The usual emendation is that of Klotz (also found in *s*) *accedit* (cp. *recepti* in M in Att. xii. 37, 1 (579) for *accepi* of CZ). Boot conjectures *redit* or *redierit*. The latter is adopted by Andresen.

*contendere*] 'make a push for it' (Jeans); that is, for the effecting of a purchase of some building-ground on which to erect the monument to Tullia.

*Lamiani*] belonging to L. Aelius Lamia: cp. Fam. xi. 16 (888). It was probably his son who was addressed by Horace in Carm. i. 26; iii. 17.

3. *De Terentia*] The business is that referred to at the end of Ep. 552.

*si quid nos fefellerit*] 'If I prove to have made a mistake in the matter [that is, not to have consulted my own interests], I would rather have to feel dissatisfied with her [for taking advantage of me] than with myself for any failure in my own conduct.' This is a fine sentiment, which has sometimes been obscured by careless or inadequate translation.

4. *Oviae C. Lolli*] sc. *uxoris*.  
*aestimatio*] See on Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472).

5. *bonis meis rebus*] 'when I was a happy man.' This use of abl. absol. has

been frequently commented on, e.g. 131. 4.

*ut . . . concedere*] omitted in the mss, but found in I and the edition of Ascensius. See Adn. Crit.

*aut quadamtenus*] So Lamb. for *aut quatenus* of the mss. Andresen, omitting the words *ut Romae . . . concedere*, reads *scribis, aliquatenus eos mihi concedere*, which seems to mean, 'As to the demand you say that people make of me, that it is only up to a certain point that they grant indulgence to me (and do not tolerate my long-continued grief).' But the expression is unnatural, and the addition given above is a decided improvement: 'they require my presence in Rome, and do not tolerate my absence, or tolerate it only up to a certain point.'

*iam pridem . . . cum*] 'it is long since.' This is the only instance of *iam pridem est cum* in Cicero, though he uses *multi anni sunt cum* and like phrases often enough; Fam. xv. 14. 1 (241); Att. ix. 11a. 2. (366): ep. *iam diut cum*, Plaut. Amph. 302; *iam diut factum cum*, as in 251.

*tamen*] 'all the same' (though this seems to be a self-willed and arrogant opinion).

*accipere medicinam*] 'that is, taking my



in mea etiam scripta transtuli, quod certe afflicti et fracti animi non fuit. Ab his me remediis noli in istam turbam vocare, ne recidam.

## 558. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 22.)

ASTURA; MARCH 18; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Terentia, tum requirit ab Attico quo tempore Rutilia et Clodia mortuae sint, de hortis emendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Terentia, quod mihi omne onus imponis, non cognosco tuam in me indulgentiam. Ista enim sunt ipsa vulnera quae non possum tractare sine maximo gemitu. Moderare igitur, quaeso, ut potes. Neque enim a te plus quam potes postulo: potes autem quid veri sit perspicere tu unus. 2. De Rutilia, quoniam videris dubitare, scribes ad me cum scies, sed quam primum, et num Clodia D. Bruto consulari, filio suo, mortuo vixerit. Id de Marcello aut certe de Postumia sciri potest, illud autem de M. Cotta aut de Syro aut de Satyro. 3. De hortis etiam atque etiam te rogo. Omnibus meis eorumque quos scio mihi non defuturos facultatibus—sed potero meis—enitendum mihi est. Sunt etiam quae vendere facile possim. Sed, ut non vendam

medicine.' Perhaps these words are a gloss, but the expression is correct enough, and not superfluous.

*recidam*] 'lest I may have a relapse.' *Recidere* is a technical word, cp. Liv. xxiv. 29. 3. We find *febres recidivae* in Plin. H. N. xxx. 104.

1. *cognosco*] 'I do not see your usual thoughtfulness for me in throwing the whole weight of this matter [about the refunding of Terentia's portion] on me. The parts of the business you leave to me are just the sore spots which I cannot touch without great distress.' Probably Atticus had suggested an interview with Terentia, with a view to inducing her to moderate her demands. Cicero wishes to do what is right. Terentia seems to have tried to get more, under a promise of making advances to young Marcus, which promises Cicero does not think quite sincere or likely to be carried out. There-

fore what he asks of Atticus is to consider 'what is fair' (*quid veri sit*). For *cognosco* = *agnosco* cp. Plaut. Pseud. 988: Cic. Brut. 313: Verg. Æn. 6. 340, and often: also Madv. Fin. ii. 82.

2. *De Rutilia*] cp. 553. 2.

*Id*] 'the latter.'

*illud*] 'the former' question, whether Rutilia survived Cotta. In this sentence *de* in all the five places means 'from.' We do not know which of the Marcelli is referred to. Postumia was wife of Servius Sulpicius. M. Cotta was governor of Sardinia at the beginning of the Civil War, cp. Att. x. 16. 3. (402). Syrus and Satyrus were probably literary slaves belonging to Atticus.

3. *ut non vendam*] 'supposing I do not sell [to provide money for the purchase], but pay rent to the person from whom I shall purchase the property, but not more than for one year.' The ellipse of *quam* after *plus* has been illustrated on Att. v. 1. 1 (184), and is common enough.

eique usuram pendam a quo emero non plus annum, possum adsequi quod volo, si tu me adiuvas. Paratissimi sunt Drusiani: cupit enim vendere. Proximos puto Lamiae, sed abest. Tu tamen, si quid potes, odorare. Ne Silius quidem quidquam utitur *suis*, et is usuris facillime sustentabitur. Habe tuum negotium, nec quid res mea familiaris postulet, quam ego non curo, sed quid velim et cur velim existima.

## 559. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 23).

ASTURA; MARCH 19; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De dolore suo et solitudinis amore, de Terentia, de Carneadis legatione Romana, de valetudine Atticae, de Gamala, de Drusi hortis a se emendis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Putaram te aliquid novi, quod eius modi fuerat initium litterarum, quamvis non curarem quid in Hispania fieret, tamen te scripturum, sed videlicet meis litteris respondisti, ut de foro et de curia. 'Sed domus est' ut ais 'forum.' Quid ipsa domo mihi opus est carenti foro? Occidimus, occidimus, Attice, iam pridem nos quidem, sed nunc fatemur, postea quam unum quo tenebamur

*Proximos*] 'next most desirable.'

*utitur*] 'Silius does not, any more than Drusus or Lamia, make any use of his pleasure grounds.' We have adopted *suis* with Wes., and read *is* for *iis* with Lipsius. Btr. simply omits *iis*: but it is awkward having no object to follow *utitur*. Could *iis* possibly be a corruption of *IIS* = *duabus centesimis et semissibus*  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (per month = 30 p. c. per annum)? But that would be an immense interest.

*et is*] Silius, like Drusus and Lamia, makes no use of his gardens, but, unlike them, being a rich man he will be content with the interest. Then *sustentabitur* means 'will be staved off': cp. Fam. xiii. 64, 1 (235).

*Habe*] 'regard it as if it were your own business.' Boot compares Att. xiii. 49, 2 (666), *habuit suum negotium Gallus*. Slightly different is *a te habebo*, 'I shall owe to you,' 601, 2.

1. *Putaram te*] 'I thought you were going to tell me some news, as you began your letter by saying that, though I had no interest in Spain, yet you would tell me what was going on there.'

*ut de foro*] 'apparently you have answered my letter, for example, in writing about (my frequenting) the forum and senate,' *videlicet* = 'as I perceive.' Dr. Reid suggests *et for ut*.

*domus est . . . forum*] So great will be the number of Cicero's visitors that Atticus says his house will be a sort of forum. This must have been urged by Atticus as a reason why Cicero should come to Rome. Cicero naturally asks what purpose would be served by his living in Rome in such privacy as his house could afford him. If he lives in Rome, he must court publicity, and be seen in the forum and the senate: cp. 557, 5.

*unum quo tenebamur*] 'the only link that bound me to life.'

amisimus. Itaque solitudinem sequor, et tamen, si qua me res isto adduxerit, nitari, si quo modo potero—potero autem—ut praeter te nemo dolorem meum sentiat, si ullo modo poterit, ne tu quidem. Atque etiam illa causa est non veniendi. Meministi quid ex te Aledius quaesierit: qui etiam nunc molesti sunt, quid existimas, si venero? 2. De Terentia ita cura ut scribis, meque hac ad maximas aegritudines accessione non maxima libera. Et, ut scias me ita dolere ut non iaceam, quibus consulibus Carneades et ea legatio Romam venerit scriptum est in tuo annali. Haec nunc quaero, qua causa fuerit; de Oropo, opinor, sed certum nescio: et si ita est, quae controversiae? Praeterea, qui eo tempore nobilis Epicureus fuerit Athenisque praefuerit hortis? qui etiam Athenis πολιτικοὶ fuerint illustres? Quae te etiam ex Apollodori puto posse invenire. 3. De Attica molestum, sed quoniam leviter, recte esse confido. De Gamala dubium mihi non erat. Unde enim tam felix Ligus pater? Nam quid de me dicam,

*solitudinem*] We agree with Boot that we should rather read *solitudinem* with ΣΔ than *solitudines* with C: cp. 629. 1. Cic. constantly speaks of *solitudo* in this book, and he means by it 'the life of a recluse' which he could not pursue at Rome. By *solitudines* he indicates rather 'out-of-the-way places,' as in Fam. ii. 16, 2 (394). Translate 'What I want is loneliness'; cp. 545. 1: 547. Cp. for the contrary *sequor celebritatem*, 563. 1.

*poterit*] 'shall be possible,' impers., as often in the letters; see Index.

*Aledius*] a Caesarean: cp. 469. 2; 560. 1; 563. 2; 564. 3. The form varies in mss: in inscriptions it is always Alledius. 'If they can be so annoying to me,' says Cicero, 'when I am here, what do you think they would be if I were to come to you in Rome?'

2. *ita dolere ut non*] 'that my grief is not prostration': cp. 584. 2.

*quibus consulibus*] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and M. Claudius Marcellus, consuls in 155.

*ea*] 'that embassy,' not quite so strong as would be *illa*, 'that famous embassy.'

*Haec*] He asks for several details: hence the plural.

*Oropo*] Cicero's memory was not at fault. The envoys came to seek the remission of the fine imposed on Athens for the devastation of Oropus. This is the

first hint that Cicero was engaged on the *Academica*: cp. Dr. Reid, *Academica*, p. 29. *certum nescio*] 'I do not know for certain': cp. Sull. 38.

*Apollodori*] The ellipse is probably *annali*: cp. above in *tuos annali*. It is not quite so harsh as the ellipse of *oratione* in Orat. 233 *sume de Gracchi* (sc. *oratione*) *apud censores*, to which passage Dr. Reid has referred us, as *oratio* is not in the context. See also Dr. Reid on Acad. i. 13. In 610. 3 *libro* may have fallen out before *Libonis*.

3. *leviter*] 'since her attack is trifling.' The ellipse is probably *est*, the verb substantive being used, as in *recte esse*.

*De Gamala*] Atticus had questioned some statement made by Cicero in his work *De Luctu Minuendo*. What the statement was and who Gamala was we are unable to say. The context would lead us to infer that he was the son (more probably than the daughter) of Ligus. It is probable, further, that he had died during his father's lifetime. Cicero may have ascribed to him good qualities to a degree which led Atticus to question his statement. Cicero declares that he was right, and appeals to the happiness or luck generally attributed to Ligus, adding that no amount of prosperity could alleviate his own grief. For the name Gamala cp. C.I.L. xiv. 373.

cui ut omnia contingant quae volo, levare non possum? De Drusi hortis, quanti licuisse tu scribis, id ego quoque audieram et, ut opinor, heri ad te scripseram, sed quanti quanti, bene emitur quod necesse est. Mihi quoquo modo tu existimas—scio enim ego ipse quid de me existimem—levatio quaedam est, si minus doloris, at officii debiti. Ad Siccam scripsi, quod utitur L. Cotta. Si nihil conficietur de Transtiberinis, habet in Ostiensi Cotta celeberrimo loco, sed pusillum loci: ad hanc rem tamen plus etiam quam satis. Id velim cogites. Nec tamen ista pretia hortorum pertinueris. Nec mihi iam argento nec veste opus est nec quibusdam amoenis locis: hoc opus est. Video etiam a quibus adiuvari possim. Sed loquere cum Silio. Nihil enim est melius. Mandavi etiam Siccae. Rescripsit constitutum se cum eo habere. Scribet igitur ad me quid egerit et tu videbis.

*licuisse* 'the price put on Drusus' gardens.' *Licere* is 'to be valued at,' *liceri* 'to bid for.'

*ut opinor, heri*] Cicero's memory has failed him here. He did not say anything in his letter of the day before (§ 4) about the price; but the addition of *ut opinor* shows that he did not feel quite certain on the point.

*quanti quanti*] 'be the price what it may': cp. Munro on Lucr. v. 584.

*levatio*] 'it is a discharge of my bounden duty, if it is not an alleviation of my grief.' The word is zeugmatic, or perhaps one should rather say carelessly used; for *levare officium*, 'to discharge one's duty,' is hardly possible, though *levare dolorem* is quite regular.

*utitur*] 'he is a friend of': cp. *bruti qui hoc utatur*, Att. vi. 1, 25 (252).

*habet*] 'has a property': cp. 786.7. *celeberrimo loco*] 'in a frequented situation, but cramped for room.'

*Nec . . . quibusdam amoenis locis*] If the text is sound, the meaning must be that Cicero can spare some of his picturesque

retreats, and by their sale raise the money for the site of the monument. But the suggestion of Pluygers mentioned by Boot is very ingenious, and worthy of that acute scholar. He thinks he has detected in the passage a hexameter verse and the beginning of a second (with the words of Cicero *quam amoenis locis* coming in between the two verses) which he would add to the fragments of Lucilius. He would read—

*Nec mihi tam argento nec veste opus est  
neque bubus.*

*quam amoenis locis:*

*Hoc opus est—*

'I care not so much for plate, raiment, or herds' as for picturesque sites for my girl's monument:

*That's what I want.'*

Marx, however, does not seem to acknowledge them.

*constitutum*] 'has made an appointment' to talk the matter over: cp. Fam. vii. 4 (503); Att. xii. 1. 1 (505).

## 560. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 24).

ASTURA ; MARCH 20 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De A. Silio, de Ovia, de Cicerone Athenis sustentando, de Publiliū itinere in Africam, de morte P. Crassi Venuleiae filii et Regilli Lepidi filii.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Bene fecit A. Silius qui transegerit: neque enim ei deesse volebam et quid possem timebam. De Ovia confice, ut scribis. De Cicerone tempus esse iam videtur, sed quaero, quod illi opus erit, Athenis permutarine possit an ipsi ferendum sit, de totaque re quem ad modum et quando placeat velim consideres. Publilius iturusne sit in Africam et quando ex Aledio scire poteris: quaeras et ad me scribas velim. 2. Et, ut ad meas ineptias redeam, velim me certiore facias, P. Crassus, Venuleiae filius, vivone P. Crasso consulari, patre suo, mortuus sit, ut ego meminisse videor, an postea. Item quaero de Regillo, Lepidi filio, rectene meminerim patre vivo mortuum. 3. Cispiana explicabis itemque Preciana. De Attica optime: et ei salutem dices et Piliae.

## 561. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 25).

ASTURA ; MARCH 21 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De hortis emendis et pecunia pro iis solvenda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Scripsit ad me diligenter Sicca de Silio, seque ad te rem detulisse, quod tu idem scribis. Mihi et res et condicio placet, sed

1. *A. Silius*] apparently different from the Silius from whom Cic. wished to purchase *horti*, who seems to be generally mentioned without a prenomē: yet cp. 562. 1.

*qui transegerit*] 'in having come to an agreement,' 'having settled the matter out of court.' This refers to some case he had with another man.

*Ovia*] cp. 557. 4.

*Athenis*] 'whether his allowance can be made to him by a draft on Athens or must be made over to him here.' Possibly we should read *Athenas*, as in 748. 4.

*Aledio*] cp. 559. 1.

2. *ad meas ineptias*] 'to my scribbling,' his *Consolatio*.

*P. Crassus*] consul in 97, father of the Triumvir: cp. De Off. ii. 57.

*Regillo*] It is not clearly known who this man was. He may have been a son of the consul of 78 (Klebs in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Aemilii No. 84).

3. *Cispiana*] Cispus and Precius possibly owed money to Cicero. We hear of a Precius in Att. vi. 9. 2 (282) who had left a legacy to Cicero. For Cispus cp. 616. 2.

ita ut numerato malim quam aestimatione. Voluptarias enim possessiones nolet Silius. Vectigalibus autem ut his possum esse contentus quae habeo, sic vix minoribus. Unde ergo numerato? HS  $\overline{\text{DC}}$ . exprimes ab Hermogene, cum praesertim necesse erit, et domi video esse HS  $\overline{\text{DC}}$ . Reliquae pecuniae vel usuram Silio pendemus, dum a Faberio vel cum aliquo qui Faberio debet repraesentabimus. Erit etiam aliquid alicunde. Sed totam rem tu gubernabis. 2. Drusianis vero hortis multo *hos* antepono: neque sunt umquam comparati. Mihi crede, una me causa movet, in qua scio me  $\tau\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\tilde{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . Sed, ut facis, obsequere huic errori meo. Nam quod scribis  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\mu\alpha$ , actum iam de isto est: alia magis quaero.

1. *Voluptarias*] 'show-places.' Cicero would rather give Silius ready money; for if he assigned to him some property of his own at a valuation, that valuation should be very high, and Silius would not be very likely to accept it, as he was understood not to be desirous of acquiring 'show-places,' *loci amoeni*, as Cicero calls them elsewhere. Cicero's property would be a *voluptaria possessio*, not a mere farm.

*Vectigalibus*] 'income.'

*numerato*] 'how, then, by cash down?' (sc. can I pay), referring to *numerato*, above.

HS  $\overline{\text{DC}}$ .] This number is probably erroneous; 600,000 sesterces would be more than £5000, far too large a sum to represent a small part of the purchase price. Numbers are very easily corrupted.

*Hermogene*] cp. 569. 2. Hermogenes owed money to Cicero. He may possibly be the same as Hermogenes Clodius (640. 1 cp. 567. 1). Corradus supposes that he was the wild son of the actor Aesopus (cp. *Aesopi filius* Att. xi. 15. 3 (430), and Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 239), but there is no evidence that he was called Hermogenes, though he adopted the gentile name *Clodius* (Pliny H. N. ix. 122).

*cum . . . erit*] For *cum* causal with fut. cp. Madv. Fin. v. 28.

*vel usuram*] 'I will even pay interest on the rest of the purchase-money, until I can get cash from Faberius or from some debtor of his. Besides there will be something from other quarters.'

2. *hos*] We have added this with Lamb.

*comparati*] 'the property of Drusus was never put on the same level as this.' We might have expected *comparandi* or *comparabiles* rather than *comparati*. But *umquam* virtually gives *comparati* this sense. Dr. Reid compares Nepos Timol. 3. 6 *nullius umquam consilium non modo antelatum sed ne comparatum quidem est*.

$\tau\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\tilde{\omega}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .] 'I am *entélé*,' 'I am foolish (daft) over' this scheme of dedicating a shrine to Tullia.

$\epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\mu\alpha$ ] 'as to your advice that I should die in harness, that is all up: I think of other things now.' He refers to Atticus' advice to resort to the forum and Senate, and to make politics 'the employment of his old age.' The word literally means 'an employment (or position) to grow old in.' With this passage must be compared Att. xii. 29, 2 (565) *vel tu illud  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\mu\alpha$  vel  $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omicron\nu$  putato*, where it is clear (as Boot has pointed out) that Cicero refers to the story which we find in Plutarch's *Cato* 24, that even as Dionysius was advised by a friend to look on the throne as the best position to die in ( $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omicron\nu$ ), so Cato the censor thought the service of the state the best place to grow old in ( $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\mu\alpha$ )—'as there is no bed for a dying man like the throne, so there is no armchair for old age like politics.' So Cicero says to his friend, concerning the monument, 'you may look on it either as the fad of my old age or the solace of my deathbed.'

## 562. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 26).

ASTURA; MARCH 22; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Siliano negotio, de occupationibus Attici et studio una cum Cicerone vivendi, de Nicia.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Sicca, ut scribit, etiam si nihil confecerit cum A. Silio, tamen se scribit x. Kal. esse venturum. Tuis occupationibus ignosco, eaeque mihi sunt notae. De voluntate tua ut simul simus, vel studio potius et cupiditate non dubito. 2. De Nicia quod scribis, si ita me haberem ut eius humanitate frui possem, in primis vellem illum mecum habere. Sed mihi solitudo et recessus provincia est. Quod quia facile ferebat Sicca, eo magis illum desidero. Praeterea nosti Niciae nostri imbecillitatem, mollitiam, consuetudinem victus. Cur ergo illi molestus esse velim, cum mihi ille iucundus esse non possit? Voluntas tamen eius mihi grata est. Unam rem ad me scripsisti, de qua decrevi nihil tibi rescribere. Spero enim me a te impetrasse ut privares me ista molestia. Piliae et Atticae salutem.

1. *ut scribit*] These words are generally bracketed by editors as spurious because *scribit* follows. But to weed out such slips from the letters is to rob them of a characteristic feature.

2. *Nicia*] Nicias of Cos is mentioned in an interesting passage in Att. vii. 3, 10 (294). See also Index. Suetonius De Gramm. 14 tells us that Nicias carried a love-letter from C. Memmius to the wife of Pompey, and for this reason lost the friendship of Pompey. Also that Nicias wrote a book on Lucilius of which Santra approved: cp. also 537.1.

*solitudo . . . est*] 'the solitary life of a recluse is my sphere of action.' This whole passage down to *grata* (quoted by Suet. De Gramm. 14) expresses very ap-

positely and elegantly a state of feeling which is very widely experienced but very rarely expressed in words.

*imbecillitatem, mollitiam*] 'how feeble and delicate he is, how he orders his life by rule.' These express physical disabilities on the part of Nicias. Cicero felt that his way of life would prove a constraint on Nicias, and did not see that there were any counterbalancing advantages accruing to himself from Nicias.

*Unam rem*] He refers to the difficulty with Terentia from which he has already (558. 1) begged Atticus to deliver him.

*privares*] 'rid me'; *privare*, unlike our 'deprive,' often refers to the removal of undesirable things, states, &c.: cp. Fin. i. 37; Lucr. ii. 649, iii. 905.

## 563. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 27).

ASTURA; MARCH 23; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Siliano negotio, de Cottae villula, de Cicerone suo, de Aledio, de litterarum commercio, de Bruti adventu expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Siliano negotio, etsi mihi non est ignota condicio, tamen hodie me ex Sicca arbitror omnia cogniturum. Cottae, quod negas te nosse, ultra Silianam villam est, quam puto tibi notam esse, villula sordida et valde pusilla, nil agri, ad nullam rem loci satis nisi ad eam quam quaero. Sequor celebritatem. Sed, si perficitur de hortis Sili, hoc est, si perficis—est enim totum positum in te—nihil est scilicet quod de Cotta cogitemus. 2. De Cicerone, ut scribis, ita faciam: ipsi permittam de tempore: nummorum quantum opus erit ut permutetur tu videbis. Ex Aledio, quod scribis, si quid inveneris scribes. Et ego ex tuis animadverto litteris et profecto tu ex meis nihil habere nos quod scribamus: eadem quotidie quae iam iamque ipsa contrita sunt, tamen facere non possum quin quotidie ad te mittam ut tuas accipiam. 3. De Bruto tamen, si quid habebis. Scire te enim iam puto ubi Pansa exspectet. Si, ut consuetudo est, in prima provincia, circiter Kal. adfuturus videtur. Vellem tardius; valde enim urbem fugio

1. *pusilla*] 'very mean little farmstead.' *Pusilla* sometimes means 'miniature.' We have *Roma pusilla*, 'the city on a small scale,' in Att. v. 2, 2 (185).

*Sequor celebritatem*] 'what I aim at is a frequented position.'

*scilicet*] 'of course.'

2. *ut permutetur*] 'that a bill of exchange be drawn for the amount necessary.'

*Aledio*] cp. 559. 1.

*scribis*] Wes. reads *scribas*, which might be somewhat more elegant than *scribis* of the mss.; but the latter is quite plain.

*contrita*] 'worn threadbare': cp. Att. ix. 4. 1 (361) *quae sunt horum temporum ea iam contrivimus*.

3. *De Bruto*] (sc. *scribe*, cp. 590. 4 and often) that is, about the day of his probable arrival in Rome on his return from his Gallic province.

*Scire te enim*] 'I think you must know by this time where he is waiting for Pansa.' The mss. omit *te*. We do not think that the subject, other than the reflexive pronoun, can be understood with the verb: so we must either alter to *sciri* with Baier: or better read *scire <te>* according to a conj. of Wesenberg.

*prima provincia*] 'at the very threshold of his province,' that is, the border nearest Rome: cp. Fam. iii. 6, 2 (213), where see note; *ultima prov.* Att. v. 16, 4 (208); *primus digitus*, Catull. ii. 3; *digitulis primoribus*, Plaut. Bacch. 675.



multas ob causas. Itaque id ipsum dubito an excusationem aliquam ad illum parem : quod quidem video facile esse. Sed habemus satis temporis ad cogitandum. Piliae, Atticae salutem.

## 564. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 28).

ASTURA ; MARCH 24 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotio Siliano, de dolore suo et aliorum sermone non curando, de Triario, de Castriciano negotio, de Publilii protectione, de Lentulo puero.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Silio nilo plura cognovi ex praesente Sicca quam ex litteris eius. Scripserat enim diligenter. Si igitur tu illum conveneris, scribes ad me, si quid videbitur. De quo putas ad me missum esse, sit missum necne nescio ; dictum quidem mihi certe nihil est. Tu igitur, ut coepisti, et, si quid ita conficies, quod quidem non arbitror fieri posse, ut illi probetur, Ciceronem, si tibi placebit, adhibebis. Eius aliquid interest videri illius causa voluisse, mea quidem nihil nisi id, quod tu scis, quod ego magni aestimo. 2. Quod me ad meam consuetudinem revocas, fuit meum quidem iam pridem rempublicam lugere, quod faciebam, sed mitius. Erat enim ubi acquiescerem. Nunc plane nec ego victum nec vitam illam colere possum, nec in ea re quid aliis videatur

*excusationem . . . parem*] For the custom of going to meet governors returning home from their provinces cp. Fam. xvi. 11. 2 (301).

*Piliae, Atticae salutem*] cp. 550 fin. ; 562 fin. and often. The ellipse is *dices* : cp. 560. 3. For the asyndeton of two proper names Heidemann (p. 81) compares Att. iv. 17. 5 (149) : vi. 1. 13 init. (252) : vii. 21. 3 (321).

1. *De quo putas*] 'as to that subject on which you think a message has been sent to me.' This was the affair of Terentia's dower and her possible allowance to young Marcus, in view of which Cicero suggests that the latter should have an interview with his mother (*Ciceronem adhibebis*).

*dictum*] 'told,' i.e. by letter. We should say 'reached me.'

*conficies*] Observe that this future is used in apparently quite the same way as

*conveneris* above. This is one of the passages to which Munro appeals (on Lucr. i. 1114) to show that there is often practically no difference between the first and second futures : cp. Roby, § 1485, Madv. Opusc. Acad. 463 note 1 (ed. 1887).

*ut illi probetur*] sc. *Terentiae*.

*Eius aliquid interest*] 'it will do Marcus good to seem to have studied her interests ; I have no concern in the matter but that which you know of.' He refers to his anxiety to take the course which honour points out in the whole transaction.

*illius causa voluisse*] cp. 571. 3 ; 653. 2 ; 666. 1 ; 767. 6, and often.

2. *mitius*] 'less violently.'

*Erat . . . ubi*] He refers to his love for Tullia.

*vitam illam colere*] This expression, which seemed incorrect to Ernesti, is

mihi puto curandum. Mea mihi conscientia pluris est quam omnium sermo. Quod me ipse per litteras consolatus sum, non paenitet me quantum profecerim. Maerorem minui: dolorem nec potui nec, si possem, vellem. 3. De Triario, bene interpretaris voluntatem meam. Tu vero nihil, nisi ut illi volent. Amo illum mortuum, tutor sum liberis, totam domum diligo. De Castriciano negotio, si Castricius pro Mancipiis pecuniam accipere volet eamque ita solvi ut nunc solvitur, certe nihil est commodius. Sin autem ita actum est ut ipsa Mancipia abduceret, non mihi videtur esse aequum—rogas enim me ut tibi scribam quid mihi videatur—: nolo enim negoti Quintum fratrem quidquam habere, quod videor mihi intellexisse tibi videri idem. Publilius, si aequinoctium exspectat, ut scribis Aledium dicere, navigaturus videtur. Mihi autem dixerat per Siciliam. Utrum et quando velim scire. Et velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum visas eique de Mancipiis quae tibi videbitur attribuas. Piliae, Atticae salutem.

sufficiently defended by the Plautine parallel, *equidem vix vitam colo*, Rud. 283, adduced by Boot, and Ter. Heaut. 136: cp. Cic. Fam. iii. 13. 2 (277); Lucr. iv. 1260 *quo victu vita colatur*, and often. 'I cannot now maintain that style of living and manner of life.' For *vita* and *victus* cp. note to 261. 9, and Lucr. v. 804. Generally the order is *vita et victus*, but cp. Plaut. Capt. 493 *victu et vita*. For *colere victum* cp. Cic. Hortensius Frag. 43 (ed. Müller), *lautum victum et elegantem magnifice . . . colere*.

*me ipse . . . consolatus sum*] cp. 546. 3.

*Maerorem . . . vellem*] 'The sadness of look I have lessened: the sadness of heart I could not, and, if I could, I would not.' *Maeror* is the outward manifestation, *dolor* the inward feeling, of grief. See on Att. i. 16, 3 (22): cp. the touching line in Hor. Epist. i. 14, 7, *fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis*.

3. *De Triario*] Triarius is one of the interlocutors in Fin. i. He commanded the fleet of Pompey off Asia in 49-48 (cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 51), and fell in the war (Cic. Brut. 266).

*illi*] the family of Triarius.

*Castriciano negotio*] cp. 567. 2, 'As to that transaction with Castricius, if C. will take money for the slaves on the present

terms [*ut nunc solvitur*, that is by *aestimatio*], of course nothing could be better. But if things have gone so far that he has actually conveyed the slaves away, I do not think it is fair' on Castricius' part. Q. Cicero had made over certain slaves to Castricius in liquidation of a debt. He afterwards changed his mind about parting with them. This Castricius is perhaps the same mentioned in Att. ii. 7, 5 (34). *ita solvi*] The mss read *ei*, which could not here take the place of *sibi*: the simplest correction is *ita* (*i* for *e*). Qu. *dissolvi*?

*navigaturus*] 'seems likely to go to Africa (cp. 560, 1) by long sea; now he had told me he was going overland through Sicily.' He mentions the equinox, as it was a little before this period of the year (about March 5th) that navigation commenced after the winter.

*Lentulum*] son of Dolabella and Tullia. For some time Dolabella seems to have borne the name of Lentulus: cp. Macrobi. Sat. ii. 3. 3 *idem* (Cicero) *cum Lentulum generum suum . . . vidisset*; Ascon. 5 (4 KS) *Cicero filiam post mortem Pisonis generi P. Lentulo collocavit*: Plut. Cic. 41. 5. Dolabella was probably adopted by a Lentulus when he became a plebeian: though this is not quite certain, as plebeian Lentuli are hard to find.

## 565. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 29).

ASTURA ; MARCH 25 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotio Siliano, de Bruto, de hortis emendis et de se ab Oppio et Balbo in hac re adiuvando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Silius, ut scribis, hodie. Cras igitur tu vel potius cum poteris scribes, si quid erit, cum videris. Nec ego Brutum vito nec tamen ab eo levationem ullam exspecto, sed erant causae cur hoc tempore istic esse nollem, quae si manebunt, quaerenda erit excusatio ad Brutum et, ut nunc est, mansurae videntur. 2. De hortis, quaeso, explica ; caput illud est quod scis. Sequitur ut etiam mihi ipsi quiddam opus sit : nec enim esse in turba possum nec a vobis abesse. Huic meo consilio nihil reperio isto loco aptius, et de hac re quid tui consili sit. Mihi persuasum est et eo magis quod idem intellexi tibi videri, me ab Oppio et Balbo valde diligi. Cum his communices quanto opere et qua re velim hortos, sed id ita posse si expediatur illud Faberianum ; sintne igitur auctores futuri. Si qua etiam iactura facienda sit in

1. *hodie*] sc. *te conveniet* or *videbit* : cp. 660. 1 *sed ubi eos* ? : 752. 3 *Quando enim illum* ? : 770. 4 *Utinam te illic* !

*ad Brutum*] cp. note to 546. 1.

*ut nunc est*] 'for the present' : cp. Fam. x. 31, 6 (824). Also 721, 3 *quomodo nunc est* : 737. 3 : Hor. Sat. i. 9. 5.

2. *caput*] 'the chief thing is' : cp. Att. i. 17. 4 (23), and often.

*Sequitur*] 'A further consideration is that I want something of the sort for myself. I cannot endure the turmoil of Rome, nor [on the other hand] to be away from you.' For *quiddam* Boot conjectured *quiete iam*. For *turba* cp. 557. 5.

*de hac re . . . sit*] sc. *scribes* or *dices*. The ellipse of these words is common, but the run of the sentence is a little strange if some such word is not expressed. So Moser suggested *mihi <perscribes>* ; and Müller *re <velim scire> quid*. But cp. 640 init. *Quid est quod Hermogenes mihi Clodius* [sc. *scripsit*] *Andromenem sibi dixisse* : 631. 3 *sed quia* [sc. *scribis*, added by the edd.] *et desiderari a Varrone*. We once thought we should read *at de hac re*

*quid tui consilist* (= *consili est*) ? but it is not necessary.

*ita . . . si*] 'only if.'

*communices*] This use of the pres. subj. for imperative is rare in the Letters. ; but cp. Att. i. 17. 11 (23) and note to iv. 4a (101). Müller says "Nam *communices* Ciceronem non scripsisse potius quam *communica*, *communicabis*, *velim fac* vel sim. *communices*, *communices quaeso* (conj. Boot) certissimum est." He compares 580. 4 *scribas igitur si quid erit certius*, where he thinks we must alter to the more usual *scribes*. However, such variations of expression must, we think, be allowed in Cicero's unstudied writings.

*sintne igitur auctores*] 'ask them therefore if they will guarantee the payment of that debt.' Some such word as *roges* must be inferred from *communices*. Boot and Schmidt alter to *suntne*. Oppius and Balbus were managing the affairs of Faberius (whom Appian calls τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος) during his absence with Caesar.

*iactura*] Cicero is willing to relinquish

repraesentando, quoad possunt adducito—totum enim illud desperatum : denique intelliges ecquid inclinent ad hoc meum consilium adiuvandum. Si quid erit, magnum est adiuumentum : si minus, quacumque ratione contendamus. Vel tu illud ἐγγήραμα, quemadmodum scripsisti, vel ἐντάφιον putato. De illo Ostiensi nihil est cogitandum. Si hoc non adsequimur—a Lamia non puto posse—Damasippi experiendum est.

## 566. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 33).

ASTURA ; MARCH 26 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De hortis emendis, si non Silii aut Drusi, at Damasippi, de valetudine Atticae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego, ut heri ad te scripsi, si et Silius is fuerit quem tu putas, nec Drusus facilem se praebuerit, Damasippum velim aggrediare. Is, opinor, ita partis fecit in ripa nescio quotenorum iugerum ut certa pretia constitueret, quae mihi nota non sunt. Scribes ad me igitur quidquid egeris. 2. Vehementer me sollicitat Atticae nostrae valetudo, ut verear etiam ne quae culpa sit. Sed et paedagogi probitas et medici adsiduitas et tota domus in omni genere diligens me rursus id suspicari vetat. Cura igitur : plura enim non possum.

part of his claim on prompt payment of the remainder. He despairs of payment in full.

quoad possunt] sc. adduci. 'Draw them on as far as you can,' that is, 'get as much of the debt as you can from them.'

contendamus] 'we must make a push somehow or other' to carry our point. Cicero and Caesar hardly ever use *quicumque* indefinite without a verb except in the abl. in such expressions as *quacumque ratione*, *quocumque modo*. A rare exception is Att. iii. 21 (80) *quamecunque in partem*, which shows that the transition towards the latter usage had already begun in Cicero's time.

ἐγγήραμα] See on Ep. 561 *ad fin.*  
De illo Ostiensi] 559. 3 For Lamia's horti ep. 557. 2 ; 588. 3. After *posse* supply *hortos suos adsequi*.

Damasippi] 'those of Damasippus': ep.

566. 1 and Fam. vii. 23. 3 (126). We must not suppose that this genitive is a Graecism like the genitive found after *πειρᾶσθαι*, as is suggested in Archiv. ix. 608, quoted by Dr. Reid.

1. *partis fecit*] 'he has distributed his property on the banks of the Tiber into certain lots, each of a certain number of iugera (I know not how many), at fixed prices for each, with which I am not acquainted.

2. *culpa*] 'some one is to blame,' i.e. has been careless and let her get a chill or something that brought on the fever from which she frequently suffered.

paedagogi] Caecilia, the daughter of Atticus, often called *Attica* and *Atticula* in the Letters, was at this time about six years old and under the care of a *paedagogus*. Suetonius in a passage referred

## 567. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 30).

ASTURA; MARCH 27; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Lentulo, de negotio Siliano, de mancipiis Castricianis, de Oviae negotio.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quaero quod ad te scribam, sed nihil est. Eadem cotidie. Quod Lentulum invisis, valde gratum. Pueros attribue ei quot et quos videbitur. De Sili voluntate vendendi et de eo, quanti, tu vereri videris, primum ne nolit, deinde ne tanti. Sicca aliter, sed tibi assentior. Quare, ut ei placuit, scripsi ad Egnatium. Quod Silius te cum Clodio loqui vult, potes id mea voluntate facere, commodiusque est quam quod ille a me petit, me ipsum scribere ad Clodium, 2. De mancipiis Castricianis, commodissimum esse credo transigere Egnatium: quod scribis te ita futurum putare. Cum Ovia, quaeso, vide ut conficiatur. Quoniam, ut scribis, nox erat, in hodierna epistula plura exspecto.

to by Boot (*De grammaticis*, 16) tells us that subsequently, when married to Agrippa, Attica studied under one Caecilius, an Epirote, but there is no reference to him here.

1. *Quaero quod*] 'I am searching for something to write to you': *quod* is the emendation of Wes. for *quid* of M., which would mean 'I am thinking on what I shall write to you,' as in Fam. iv. 13. 1 (483) *Quaerenti mihi iamdiu quid ad te potissimum scriberem*, where the addition of *potissimum* requires *quid*.

*Lentulum*] Cicero's grandson, son of Tullia and Dolabella; cp. 564. 3. He tells Atticus to assign him whatever slaves he needs.

*De Sili*] 'as to Silius and the questions whether he will sell, and for how much, on the first you seem to fear he will not, and secondly that he will not take our price.'

*de eo, quanti*] lit. 'and this fact, viz.

the price.' For this use of *eo* cp. Planc. 93 *in eo, si semper cum eis . . . depugnemus*, 'upon this, viz. my continuing to fight,' quoted by Lebreton, p. 89, who gives other examples. So Ernesti is wrong in deleting *de eo*.

*Egnatium*] cp. 568, init. Probably l. Egnatius Rufus: cp. Fam. xiii. 43. 1 (918) note, and not Egnatius Maximus, Ep. 647. Cp. Pauly-Wissowa v. 1999, No. 35, and 1997, Nos. 26, 27.

*cum Clodio*] Boot infers from 640 that this Clodius is the same person who is there called Hermogenes Clodius: cp. note to 561. 1.

2. *manipiis Castricianis*] See Ep. 564. 3.

*Ovia*] cp. 557. 4.

*vide*] See Adn. Crit. M gives *quidem*. If it were not that Zb and v. c. give *vide*, we would conjecture *quiddam*.

*Quoniam, . . . nox erat*] 'since you state it was night-time when you wrote it, I expect a fuller communication to-day.'

## 568. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 31, § 3, AND 32).

ASTURA ; MARCH 28 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De Egnatio, de Publilia, quae cum matre sua ad se venire velit, retinenda, de sumptibus Ciceronis sui moderandis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

[31], 3. Egnatius mihi scripsit. Is si quid tecum locutus erit —commodissime enim per eum agi potest—ad me scribes, et id agendum puto. Nam cum Silio non video confici posse. Piliae et Atticae salutem. Haec ad te mea manu. Vide, quaeso, quid agendum sit. [32], 1. Publilia ad me scripsit matrem suam,† cum Publilio loqueretur, ad me cum illo venturam et se una, si ego paterer: orat multis et supplicibus verbis ut liceat et ut sibi rescribam. Res quam molesta sit vides. Rescripsi mi etiam gravius esse quam tum cum illi dixissem me solum esse velle; quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire. Putabam, si nihil rescripsissem, illam cum matre venturam: nunc non puto. Apparebat enim illas litteras non esse ipsius. Illud autem, quod fore video, ipsum volo vitare, ne illae ad me veniant. Et

[31]. 3 *Egnatius*] 567. 1.

*salutem*] cp. note to 563 fin.

*Haec*] refers to what follows.

[32]. 1. *Publilia*] Cicero was now married to Publilia. He writes to his friend Plancius (Fam. iv. 14, 3 = Ep. 535) that he married her only to repair his shattered fortunes by means of her ample dower. He divorced her not long after this time, we are told, because she did not seem to feel the death of Tullia. He seems to have had some trouble about refunding her dower to her brother Publilius (cp. 647 and 654. 2). Even now he refuses to see her in his affliction.

†*loqueretur*] We can offer no sure correction of this. That of Schmidt seems the most plausible, *ut cum Publilio loqueretur*. The reading of Klotz *cum Publilio videtur*, which we read in ed. 1 is too violent. Dr. Reid suggests *quae cum P. loqueretur* 'in consequence of a conversation with Publilius.' Boot alters *suam* into *quasi*, and supposes the meaning to be 'Publilia

writes that "mother" (she fancies she is talking to her brother) will come to her.' His view is that Publilia used *matrem* and not *mea mater* in her letter; the former would have been appropriate only if she were writing to one of her brothers or sisters. This is far-fetched.

*mi etiam gravius esse*] M has *me etiam gravius esse*, and many edd. preserve this reading, adding *affectum*. But Orelli's change of *me* to *mi* is far simpler. *Graviter est mihi* is a very good phrase for 'it goes ill with me,' that is, 'I am in great distress of mind': cf. *fuit pericunde*, 'I enjoyed myself greatly,' 679. 1 and note there. The mss often give *mi* for *mihi* in the Letters. It may have been a habitual form in familiar communication.

*non esse ipsius*] Publilia had written the letter at her mother's dictation. She would not come when Cicero forbade her, but she might have done so if Cicero had left the letter unanswered. He did not want the two women to come near him.

una est vitatio ut ego *avolem*. Nollem, sed necesse est. Te hoc nunc rogo ut explores ad quam diem hic ita possim esse ut ne opprimar. Ages, ut scribis, temperate. 2. Ciceroni velim hoc proponas, ita tamen, si tibi non iniquum videbitur, ut sumptus huius peregrinationis, quibus, si Romae esset domumque conducirer, quod facere cogitabat, facile contentus futurus erat, accomodet ad mercedes Argileti et Aventini, et cum ei proposueris, ipse velim reliqua moderere, quemadmodum ex iis mercedibus suppeditemus ei quod opus sit. Praestabo nec Bibulum nec Acidinum nec Messallam, quos Athenis futuros audio, maiores sumptus facturos quam quod ex eis mercedibus recipietur. Itaque velim videas, primum conductores qui sint et quanti, deinde ut sint qui ad diem solvant, et quid viatici, quid instrumenti satis sit. Iumento certe Athenis nihil opus est. Quibus autem in via utatur domi sunt plura quam opus erit, quod etiam tu animadvertis.

*una vitatio*] See Reid on Acad. ii. 51.  
*avolem*] This word has been inserted by Madvig. It would have easily fallen out before *Nollem*. Dr. Reid (p. 136) wishes to leave an aposiopesis after *ego*, leaving the unpleasant word to be supplied (cp. 581. 2): or else to read ut *<hinc> ego*. Perhaps ut *ego <nolle me dicam>*. *Nollem, sed*: cp. *nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire*. Cicero knew this reply was rather brusque, but could not think of any other reason to give.

*ut scribis*] Atticus had probably recommended gentleness in the treatment of Publilia in a former letter. We need not suppose that he had discussed this very incident with Cicero before, for in that case Cicero would not now have written in such detail.

2. *Ciceroni velim hoc proponas*] 'I wish you would make this suggestion to my son—that is, if you think it fair—that in this sojourn of his at Athens he should keep his expenses within the sum which the rents of my property in the Argiletum and the Aventine will yield; he would have been quite satisfied with that allowance if he had rented a house in Rome, as he had intended. And, further, I should be obliged if you would so arrange that out of these rents I may be able to supply him with what is necessary.' The *Argiletum* was the booksellers' street in Rome. Martial directs thither a friend who asks

him for a copy of his book. 'No doubt,' he writes, 'you often go down the Argiletum.' *Argi nempe soles subire letum*, i. 117, 9. The *tnesis* is nearly as bad as the Ennian *cere comminuit brum* for *comminuit cerebrum*, inasmuch as the *Argiletum* no doubt meant 'Clay St.,' and was derived from *argilla*, and had no reference whatever to the 'death of Argus.' This etymology was, however, the popular one at Rome: cp. Verg. Aen. viii. 346. A similar modern instance is Brasenose College, which true etymology derives, we believe, from a *brasen-hus*, or brew-house.

*quibus . . . Aventini*] The antecedent to *quibus* is *mercedes*. The order of words is so unusual that Madvig (A.C. iii. p. 189) wishes to transpose *quibus . . . futurus erat* to follow *Aventini*.

*Praestabo*] 'I will guarantee that none of the other young Romans who are going to study at Athens will have a better allowance.'

*quanti*] This is the genitive of price, 'and what their rent is.'

*ut sint qui ad diem solvant*] The mss. give *sit* and *solvat*, but we must alter (with Lambinus) to *sint* and *solvant* on account of the plural *conductores*. 'You must see that the tenants are men who will pay punctually.'

*instrumenti*] 'outfit.'

*Iumento*] 'an equipage.'

*animadvertis*] Wes. conj. *animadvertes*.

## 569. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 31, §§ 1, 2).

ASTURA; MARCH 29; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De mutata Silii sententia, de hortis Drusi, de villa Coponiana, de repraesentandis ad emptionem nummis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Silium mutasse sententiam Sicca mirabatur. Equidem magis miror quod, cum in filium causam conferret, quæ mihi non iniusta videtur—habet enim qualem vult—, ais te putare, si addiderimus aliud a quo refugiat, cum ab ipso id fuerit destinatum, venditurum. 2. Quaeris a me quod summum pretium

1. *destinatum*] This is a difficult passage. One explanation is that suggested by Gronovius, and may be paraphrased thus:—‘Sicca expresses surprise that Silius should have changed his mind about selling his property. I am more surprised at this, namely, that though he accounts for his unwillingness to sell by deference to his son’s wishes (rightly, o, for he is an ideal youth), yet you tell me you think, if we included in the transaction the purchase of another property which he is extremely anxious to get rid of, on its being purchased by us, he would sell also the one which we desire.’ The objections to this are (1) that Silius, so far from wishing to sell more than Cicero wants, appears to wish to reserve a portion of the property, cp. 570 [35], 1; (2) *destinare* may mean ‘to buy’ or ‘intend to buy’: cp. Fam. vii. 23. 3 (126): 616. 2: Plaut. Most. 643, 974, and often in Plautus: but then there is no reason for the emphatic *ab ipso*; of course it was purchased from him. We might, however, interpret *destinatum* in its natural way, seeing that this (viz., to sell the other property with the one we want) had been his fixed determination’: or possibly *id* might mean ‘since he is determined that we shall make this offer’; *id* = *ut nos illud aliud addamus*. Another interpretation might possibly be this:—‘If we make a further addition, which he shrinks from [suggesting], inasmuch as he has set his heart on the thing, you say you think he will sell.’ Atticus had spoken vaguely about a possible offer, which, if made, might overcome the

objections of Silius to part with his property: for Silius was very anxious to get this thing, but shrank from asking for it. Then we must take *a quo* = *a quo postulando*, which is difficult. Shuckburgh (iii. p. 226) supposes *id* to be ‘a refusal to sell,’ *se non venditurum*. He translates, ‘He makes his son the excuse . . . Accordingly, I am more surprised at your saying that you think he will sell, if we would include something else which he is anxious to get rid of, as he had of his own accord determined not to do so.’ But it is not apparent where the idea of unwillingness to sell is so indicated that *id* can have this sense; and the meaning is not satisfactory. A man may have determined not to sell on any terms which he thinks likely to be offered; but if better terms than he expected are offered, may change his mind: so there would be nothing for Cicero to wonder at. Dr. Reid, noticing that Silius desired to reserve a portion of his land (see next letter), says Silius may have desired a considerable alteration of boundaries, and suggests that something may have fallen out, e.g., *si addiderimus aliud, < detraxerimus aliud > a quo refugiat*, ‘and withdraw the portion which he is reluctant to sell,’ which is ingenious, but attributes rather too pregnant a sense to *a quo* = *a quo vendendo*. Possibly *aliud* is not ‘another property’ but ‘another condition,’ and may refer to some such condition as taking some property of Cicero’s at a valuation (cp. 561. 1), or being content with instalments of payment, or the like, some condition which Cicero knew he would ‘shy



constituam et quantum anteire istos hortos Drusi. Accessi numquam: Coponianam villam et veterem et non magnam novi, silvam nobilem, fructum autem neutrius, quod tamen puto nos scire oportere. Sed mihi utrivis istorum tempore magis meo quam ratione aestimandi sunt. Possim autem adsequi neene tu velim cogites. Si enim Faberianum venderem, explicare vel repraesentatione non dubitarem de Silianis, si modo adduceretur ut venderet: si venalis non haberet, transirem ad Drusum vel tanti quanti Egnatius illum velle tibi dixit. Magno etiam adiumento nobis Hermogenes potest esse in repraesentando. At tu concede mihi, quaeso, ut eo animo sim quo is debeat esse qui emere cupiat, et tamen ita servio cupiditati et dolori meo ut a te regi velim.

at,' i.e., be unwilling to accept; then *cum id . . . destinatum* will mean 'when his determination was quite fixed on that point,' i.e., to reject any such condition, *id = fore ut ab eo refugiat*. Cicero may have known less than Atticus of the value to be set on the assertions of people who are making a bargain. But the number of possible interpretations of the passage only serves to show that it still awaits definite explanation.

2. *anteire*] 'you ask me how much superior do I think those grounds of Drusus.' *Anteire* depends on some such word as *existimem* inferred from *constituam*.

*Coponianam villam*] Probably a part of the property of Drusus.

*silvam*] 'a famous plantation.' Wesenberg would read *Silianam nobilem*.

*fructum*] 'the produce' which he thinks he ought to ascertain.

*utrivis*] 'either of the two owes its value rather to my circumstances than to any computation of its real worth.'

*Faberianum venderem*] 'if I should turn into money my lien on Faberius, I should not hesitate to settle even by cash payment for Silius's place.' O. E. Schmidt (p. 290) supposes that *explicare vel repraesentatione* is a learned gloss on *venderem*. This is possible; but Schmidt's other view is more probable, viz. that the words are out of order, and we should read *venderem vel explicarem repraesentatione*, though there is little difference between the two expressions. We often hear of Cicero's attempt to get cash for the Faberian debt by *repraesentatio*. Still the matter is too uncertain to justify an alteration in the text. *Repraesentare* generally means 'to pay ready money for a debt due some time hence': in these letters it more frequently means 'to receive ready money,' 'to discount a debt.' 561. 1. 565. 2.

*Hermogenes*] See on 561. 1.

*ita servio . . . ut*] 'I am a slave to my hobby and to my grief, but not so much so as not to be willing to be guided by you.'

## 570. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 34, AND 35, § 1).

ASTURA; MARCH 30; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De profectione sua et de ratione itineris sui cum grata collaudatione benevolentiae, diligentiae, prudentiae Attici, de re Siliana.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego hic vel sine Sicca—Tironi enim melius est—facillime possem esse, ut in malis, sed, cum scribas videndum mihi esse ne opprimar, ex quo intellegam te certum diem illius profectionis non habere, putavi esse commodius me istuc venire, quod idem video tibi placere. Cras igitur in Siccae suburbano: inde, quem ad modum suades, puto me in Ficulensi fore. 2. Quibus de rebus ad me scripsisti, quoniam ipse venio, coram videbimus. Tuam quidem et in agendis nostris rebus et in consiliis ineundis mihi que dandis et in ipsis litteris quas mittis benevolentiam, diligentiam, prudentiam mirifice diligo. [35], 1. Tu tamen, si quid cum Silio, vel illo ipso die quo ad Siccam venturus ero certiore me velim facias, et maxime cuius loci detractorem fieri velit. Quod enim scribis 'extremi,' vide ne is ipse locus sit cuius causa de tota re, ut scis, est a nobis cogitatum. Hirti epistulam tibi misi et recentem et benevole scriptam.

1. *melius est*] 'Tiro is better.' Cp. *mi gravius esse*, Ep. 568 [32]. 1. Cicero was probably aided by Sicca as well as Tiro in his literary projects. As long as Tiro was laid up he had only Sicca to help him.

*facillime . . . ut in malis*] 'as cheerfully as my affliction permits.'

*ne opprimar*] 'surprised by a sudden visit' from Publius and his mother.

*ex quo intellegam*] 'by which you mean me to gather'; the change to *intellegebam* is unnecessary.

*istuc*] to Rome.

*Ficulensi*] a villa belonging to Atticus near both Ficulea and Nomentum, and

therefore sometimes called *Nomentanum*. Cicero remained there the whole of April. His correspondence with Atticus is renewed in Ep. 577 on May 1, when he is returning back to Astura, and again stopping for the night in Sicca's suburban villa.

[35], 1. *detractorem*] 'which part of the property he wishes to make reservation of (and keep in his own hands); when you say *the extremity of it* take care that that is not the very part of the property which induced me to think of the purchase at all.'

*Hirti epistulam*] Probably consolatory for the death of Tullia.

## 571. CICERO TO CAESAR (FAM. XIII. 15).

ASTURA; MARCH (END); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero C. Precilium adulescentem Caesari commendat novo genere litterarum.

CICERO CAESARI IMP. SAL.

1. Precilium tibi commendo unice, tui necessari, mei familiarissimi, viri optimi, filium; quem cum adulescentem ipsum propter eius modestiam, humanitatem, animum et amorem erga me singularem mirifice diligo, tum patrem eius re doctus intellexi et didici mihi fuisse semper amicissimum. Em, hic ille est [de illis] maxime qui inridere atque obiurgare me solitus est quod me non tecum, praesertim cum abs te honorificentissime invitarer, coniungerem:

Ἄλλ' ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν.

Audiebam enim nostros procures clamitantis

Ἄλκιμος ἔσσι', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐν εἴπῃ.

Ὡς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

[IMP.] Caesar was saluted Imperator by his soldiers on February 19th after the capture of Ategua (Bell. Hisp. 19, 6). News of that event might reach Rome towards the end of March. Schmidt argues (p. 275) that this letter was written about December or January, at all events before Tullia's death, as shortly after that event Cicero would not have written in a sportive strain. Schmidt's view is of course quite possible. But two months after Tullia's death he may well have omitted to refer to his loss, especially when he was attempting a literary *tour de force* in endeavouring to exhibit originality in a letter of introduction. The letter appears to us to have a strained and unnatural tone of gaiety, such as might well have been assumed with an aching heart. Besides, it is very unlikely that in a new campaign Cicero would style Caesar Imperator before he was certain that some success had been attained in that

campaign deserving the title; though no doubt elsewhere he thus addresses Caesar, e.g. Att. ix. 11A (366).

1. *de illis*] These words are omitted in H Pal., and as they mar the sentence we have bracketed them. They probably are due to a conjectural alteration of *ille*. Wesenberg (E.A. 43) wishes to read *de tuis* (cp. *tui necessari*): Orelli, *unus hic ille est de illis*. For *hic est ille* cp. Tusc. v. 103, *hic est ille Demosthenes*: iii. 31.

*invitarer*] cp. vol. iv, pp. xxx ff.

Ἄλλ' ἐμὸν] Hom. Od. vii. 258 (Calypso fails to persuade Ulysses to stay with her).

Ἄλκιμος ἔσσι'] ib. i. 302 (Athena to Telemachus).

Ὡς φάτο] ib. xxiv. 315 (of Laertes). The chiefs cried to Cicero, 'Be brave,' whereupon a cloud of woe fell upon him, i.e. he bitterly repented having exhibited his valour in opposition to Caesar.

2. Sed tamen idem me consolantur etiam: hominem perustum etiam nunc gloria volunt incendere atque ita loquuntur:

Μὴ μὰν ἀσπυδεῖ γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοιμν,  
Ἄλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

Sed me minus iam movent, ut vides. Itaque ab Homeri magniloquentia confero me ad vera praecepta Εὐριπίδου.

Μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός,

quem versum senex Precilius laudat egregie et ait posse eundem et ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω videre et tamen nihilo minus

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

3. Sed, ut redeam ad id unde coepi, vehementer mihi gratum feceris si hunc adulescentem humanitate tua, quae est singularis, comprehenderis et ad id, quod ipsorum Preciliorum causa te velle arbitror, addideris cumulum commendationis meae. Genere novum litterarum ad te usus ut intellegeres non vulgarem esse commendationem.

2. *perustum*] We have retained the reading of M with the punctuation of Wesenberg: 'one who has had his wings scorched they wish even now to inflame with glory.' *Perustum*, like *ambustus*, 2 Verr. i. 70: Mil. 12: Att. v. 20, 8 (228), is here used of one who has suffered injury and loss in public life, the reference usually being to condemnation in the courts. For *etiamnum* many mss have *et inanem* or *inani*; the latter would make excellent sense. The exhortation was that Cicero should go to Rome and mix in politics. Though almost certainly an emendation, yet it is worth mentioning that one of Mr. Allen's Codices has the following reading: *Sed tamen idem me consolatur et hominem pervetustum etiam* (§ *iām* = perhaps *et inani*) *gloria volunt incendere*. But *vestustus* is very rarely used of men (cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 17, 1), and Cicero would hardly describe himself as 'very old.'

Μὴ μὰν] Hom. Il. xxii. 304-5 (Hector encourages himself in his combat with Achilles): cp. Att. x. 1, 1 (378).

*vera praecepta Εὐριπίδου*] cp. Q. Cic. ap. Fam. xvi. 8, 2 (314), (*Euripides*) *cui tu quantum credas nescio*. *Ego certe singulos eius versus singula testimonia puto*.

Μισῶ σοφιστήν] Eurip. Incert. Frag. 905 ed. Nauck (p. 652). Ennius adapts the line thus (Ribbeck, p. 50): *Qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit nequiquam sapit*: cp. Fam. vii. 6, 2 (136); Off. iii. 62.

ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω] Hom. Il. i. 343: Od. xxiv. 452.

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν] Hom. Il. vi. 208 (Hippolochus to Glaucus): xi. 784 (Peleus to Achilles).

3. *si hunc adulescentem*] 'if you show this young man your usual remarkable kindness, and add my recommendation as a supplement to the goodwill which I think you bear to the Precilii themselves.'

*Genere novo*] 'a new style of letter,' i.e. not the formal cut-and-dried letter of commendation, but one like the present, full of references to literature.

## 572. CICERO TO LUCCEIUS (FAM. V. 13).

ASTURA; MARCH; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

L. Lucceius M. Ciceronem et de obitu Tulliae et de statu reip. paene desperato consolatus erat litteris. Cui iam ita agit gratias Cicero ut eius fortitudinem, etiam si ipse prorsus de salute reip. desperet, cum Lucceius aliqua spe futuri temporis teneatur, sese imitari velle scribat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

1. Quamquam ipsa consolatio litterarum tuarum mihi gratissima est—declarat enim summam benevolentiam coniunctam pari prudentia—tamen illum fructum ex iis litteris vel maximum cepi, quod te praeclare res humanas contemnentem et optime contra fortunam paratum armatumque cognovi; quam quidem laudem sapientiae autumo esse maximam, non aliunde pendere nec extrinsecus aut bene aut male vivendi suspensas habere rationes. 2. Quae cogitatio cum mihi non omnino excidisset—etenim penitus inderat—vi tamen tempestatum et concursu calamitatum erat aliquantum labefactata atque convulsa; cui te opitulari et video et id fecisse etiam proximis litteris multumque profecisse sentio. Itaque hoc saepius dicendum tibi non significandum solum sed etiam declarandum arbitror, nihil mihi esse potuisse tuis litteris gratius. 3. Ad consolandum autem cum illa valent quae eleganter copioseque collegisti, tum nihil plus quam quod firmitudinem

1. *vel maximum*] ‘quite the greatest.’  
*sapientiae autumo*] So we venture to read with GR, though we do not know any other passage in Cicero where the word is used. The word *autumo* is too rare (outside the Comic writers) to allow us to suppose that it would have occurred to a copyist. M has *sapientia est atuo* = *sapientia statuo*, a reading which Mendelssohn retains with some hesitation. For the sentiment he compares Plat. Menex. 247E-248A, translated by Cic. Tusc. v. 36; *Quid vero? in Epitaphio quomodo idem? Nam cui viro, inquit, ex se ipso apta sunt omnia quae ad beate vivendum ferunt, nec suspensa aliorum aut bono casu aut contrario pendere ex alterius eventis et errare coguntur—huic optime vivendi ratio comparata est.*

*non aliunde . . . rationes*] ‘to need no

support other than oneself, and to have the reasons why one’s life is happy or unhappy independent of external considerations.’

2. *labefactata atque convulsa*] ‘shaken and uprooted,’ a metaphor from trees after a storm: cp. Ramsay on Clu. 6, who notices that the idea in *labefactare* is to shake an object backwards and forwards in order to try to uproot it; whereas *convellere* is to tear it up by a single effort.

*opitulari*] cp. Clark on Mil. 94, who says that Cicero gave this archaic word a short vogue. It is rarely used after his time.

*multumque profecisse*] ‘that I have benefited much.’

3. *eleganter copioseque*] ‘with such grace and wealth of illustration.’

gravitatemque animi tui perspexi, quam non imitari turpissimum existimo. Itaque hoc etiam fortiolem me puto quam te ipsum, praeceptorem fortitudinis, quod tu mihi videre spem non nullam habere haec aliquando futura meliora; casus enim gladiatorii similitudinesque eae, tum rationes in ea disputatione a te collectae vebant me rei publicae penitus diffidere. Itaque alterum minus mirum, fortiolem te esse cum aliquid speres, alterum mirum, spe ulla teneri: quid est enim non ita adfectum ut id non deletum extinctumque esse fateare? Circumspice omnia membra rei publicae quae notissima sunt tibi: nullum reperies profecto quod non fractum debilitatumve sit; quae persequeris, si aut melius ea viderem quam tu vides aut commemorare possem sine dolore: quamquam tuis monitis praeceptisque omnis est abiciendus dolor.

4. Ergo et domestica feremus ut censes, et publica paulo etiam fortius fortasse quam tu ipse qui praecipis; te enim aliqua spes consolatur, ut scribis, nos erimus etiam in omnium desperatione fortes, ut tu tamen idem et hortaris et praecipis: das enim mihi iucundas recordationes conscientiae nostrae rerumque earum quas te in primis auctore gessimus; praestitimus enim patriae non minus certe quam debuimus, plus profecto quam est ab animo cuiusquam aut consilio hominis postulatam. 5. Ignosces mihi de me ipso

*Itaque*] So the mss. Many edd. alter to *atque*, needlessly. The reasoning is, 'As I think it would be disgraceful not to take you as my model and be brave, I will be brave, ay, and braver than yourself.' Of course *atque* would make very good sense.

*casus . . . diffidere*] 'for the changes and chances of gladiatorial combats and all those illustrations, and further the arguments put together by you in that dissertation, forbid me utterly to lose confidence in the state': *reip. diffidere* means 'to fail to have confidence that the state will be able to recover herself.' This is the reading of M. In GR we find *de rep.*, a common construction after *desperare*, but rare (cp. 589. 2) after *diffidere*: the ablative without a preposition is occasionally found. In exhorting Cicero to have courage and hope, Lucceius had used as illustrations the varying fortunes of gladiatorial combats: cp. Mil. 56.

*quid est enim . . . sit*] 'for what part of the state is there that has not been so grievously stricken that you can say of it

that it is not destroyed or paralysed? Look around at all its limbs which you know so well; no single one, assuredly, will you find which is not broken or maimed': cp. Juv. iii. 48, *mancus et extinctae corpus non utile dextrae*.

*persequer*] 'and I should continue the subject.'

4. *in omnium desperatione*] So one ms, according to Graevius, 'we shall be brave amidst the despair of all, as you notwithstanding (that despair) exhort and enjoin this course on me': *tamen*, 'notwithstanding,' though everything is ruined and all are despairing. The best mss give *omnibus*, which has been corrected to *omni* and *omnium*, or *omnium rerum*. Streicher (p. 201) alters largely *nos erimus etiam in omni desperatione fortes. Tu me idem et hortaris et das mihi iucundas*, &c. This simply omits the troublesome *tamen. conscientiae nostrae*] 'of the good conscience I can enjoy': cp. Fam. iv. 3, 1 (494), *multa iam consolantur maximeque conscientia consiliorum meorum*.

*postulatam*] This reading of the mss

aliquid praedicanti; quarum enim tu rerum cogitatione nos levare aegritudine voluisti, earum etiam commemoratione lenimur. Itaque, ut mones, quantum potero me ab omnibus molestiis et angoribus abducam transferamque animum ad ea quibus secundae res ornantur, adversae adiuvantur, tecumque et ero tantum quantum patietur utriusque aetas et valetudo, et, si esse una minus poterimus quam volumus, animorum tamen coniunctione isdemque studiis ita fruemur ut numquam non una esse videamur.

## 573. CICERO TO TORANIUS (FAM. VI. 21).

FICULEA; APRIL; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Cicero Toranium Corcyrae exsulantem consolatur suo ipsius exemplo, ostendens quantum in malis adiumenti sit recte vereque sensisse, denique admonet ut nihil timeat nisi communem reipublicae calamitatem.

## CICERO TORANIO.

1. Etsi, cum haec ad te scribebam, aut adpropinquare exitus huius calamitosissimi belli aut iam aliquid actum et confectum

is to be retained, as Lehmann (p. 126) has shown, and is not to be altered to *postulandum*: cp. Att. ii. 9, 3 (36), *habet (patria) a nobis etiam si non plus quam debitum est, plus certe quam postulat est*; we may compare *comparati*, in 561. 2. Nor is *unquam* to be inserted as Orelli has suggested: cp. Att. v. 18, 2 (218) *sociis multo fidelioribus utimur quam quisquam usus est*. Translate, 'than was required from the heart or brain of any man.'

5. *quarum enim*] 'for you wished me to call to mind my exploits, and thus to gain a respite from my sorrow; the mention of them too (as well as the calling them to mind) gives me relief.'

*ornantur . . . adiuvantur*] 'enhanced,' . . . 'alleviated.' Cicero of course alludes to literary studies: cp. the celebrated passage in Arch. 16, *at haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur*.

*animorum . . . videamur*] 'we shall enjoy a sympathy of disposition and an identity of pursuits so complete as to

prevent our ever appearing to be absent from one another.'

C. Toranius was probably the quaestor of Varinius during the revolt of Spartacus: cp. Sall. Frag. iii. 77, v. 251, Kritz. He was not the same man as the Toranius who was the quaestor of Q. Metellus (Plut. Sert. 12), and of course was different from the slave-dealer (Suet. Aug. 69). He had been colleague in the aedileship with the father of Octavian, who made him guardian of his son. Afterwards he obtained the praetorship. Octavian consented, at the request of Antony, that Toranius 'should be pricked to die in their black sentence and proscription,' and he was betrayed by his son to the murderers (Suet. Aug. 27; App. B. C. iv. 12, 18; Val. Max. ix. 11, 5; Oros. vi. 18). From Sallust and Plutarch it would appear that *Thoranius* was the correct spelling; but as our MSS give *Toranio* in Fam. vi. 20 (645), another letter to Toranius, it is best to retain that form, which is also found in an inscription (Wilmanns, 611 g).

1. *adpropinquare*] The news of the

videbatur, tamen cotidie commemorabam te unum in tanto exercitu mihi fuisse adsensorem et me tibi, solosque nos vidisse quantum esset in eo bello mali, in quo spe pacis exclusa ipsa victoria futura esset acerbissima, quae aut interitum adlatura esset, si victus esses, aut, si vicisses, servitutem. Itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri et sapientes, Domitii et Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant—eram plane; timebam enim ne evenirent ea quae acciderunt—idem nunc nihil timeo et ad omnem eventum paratus sum. Cum aliquid videbatur caveri posse, tum id neglegi dolebam; nunc vero eversis omnibus rebus, cum consilio profici nihil possit, una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, praesertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum et mihi sim conscius me, quoad licuerit, dignitati rei publicae consuluisse et hac amissa salutem retinere voluisse.

2. Haec scripsi, non ut de me ipse dicerem, sed ut tu, qui coniunctissima fuisti mecum et sententia et voluntate, eadem cogitares; magna enim consolatio est cum recordare, etiam si secus acciderit, te tamen recte vereque sensisse. Atque utinam liceat aliquando aliquo rei publicae statu nos frui inter nosque conferre sollicitudines nostras, quas pertulimus tum cum timidi putabamur quia dicebamus ea futura quae facta sunt.

3. De tuis rebus nihil esse quod timeas praeter universae rei publicae interitum tibi confirmo;

battle of Munda (fought March 17) probably had not yet reached Rome: but news of a decisive battle was daily expected. Schmidt (p. 275) thinks that this letter was written before Tullia's death, for otherwise Cicero would have referred to his own present sorrow. But though some news was expected from Spain in January—cp. Fam. vi. 4, 1 (540)—yet at that time it was not supposed that anything decisive was about to happen immediately. And Cicero need not be supposed to have written to all and every acquaintance about his private grief; probably he only wrote of it to his very intimate friends, and to those who addressed to him letters of condolence.

*unum . . . adsensorem*] 'the one person who agreed with me.' When he was in the Pompeian camp, Cicero censured the whole conduct of the war so sarcastically that Pompey is said to have wished that Cicero would desert to the enemy. See Macrob. Sat. ii. 3. 7-8 and Plut. Cic. 38, cp. Phil. ii. 39. This passage is, as Dr. Reid notes, an interesting incidental testi-

mony to the feeling against Cicero in the Pompeian camp, when he and Toranius were there together.

2. *et sententia et voluntate*] 'in principles and desires.'

*magna enim consolatio*] A very common sentiment of Cicero's at this time: cp. Fam. vi. 4, 2 (540), *conscientiam rectae voluntatis maximam consolationem esse rerum incommodarum nec esse ullum magnum malum praeter culpam*.

*cum timidi putabamur*] cp. § 1. This probably refers to the time immediately before and immediately after the outbreak of the war between Pompey and Caesar, when Cicero advocated the policy of peace at any price: cp. Fam. vi. 4, 4 (540), v. 21, 2 (458); Phil. ii. 37, *quamvis iniqua condicione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—remp. hodie teneremus*: Att. viii. 3, 3 (333), *Quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? Male condiciones erant. Fateor: sed numquid hoc peius?* See also vol. iii. (ed. 2), p. xciii.



de me autem sic velim iudices, quantum ego possim, me tibi, salutituae liberisque tuis summo cum studio praesto semper futurum. Vale.

## 574. CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

(FAM. IV. 6).

FIGULEA; APRIL (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Ser. Sulpicii litteris (Ep. 555) respondet quas ait sibi magno solacio fuisse: quam ob rem quamquam nemini quam sibi iustiores dolendi causas fuisse dicit, maximam tamen sibi sperat levationem reditu et Servii consuetudine fore.

## M. CICERO S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. Ego vero, Servi, vellem, ut scribis, in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses: quantum enim praesens me adjuvare potueris et consolando et prope aeque dolendo, facile ex eo intellego, quod litteris lectis aliquantum adquievi; nam et ea scripsisti quae levare luctum possent, et in me consolando non mediocrem ipse animi dolorem adhibuisti. Servius tamen tuus omnibus officiis quae illi tempori tribui potuerunt declaravit et quanti ipse me faceret et quam suum talem erga me animum tibi gratum putaret fore; cuius officia iucundiora scilicet saepe mihi fuerunt, numquam tamen gratiora.

1. *Ego vero*] 'Yes, I could wish, Servius, that, as you write, you had been with me in my sore calamity.' *Vero* is thus used with personal pronouns in answers to express willingness to adopt a proposal which has been made: cp. Fam. vii. 30, 1 (694). See a fine section in Nägelsbach's *Stilistik*, § 197. 2, p. 630. He quotes Brut. 20, 21: *Quare, si tibi est commodum, ede illa quae coeperas et Bruto et mihi. Ego vero, inquam, si potuero faciam vobis satis*. Liv. xxviii. 9, 7; xxvii. 13, 8; x. 18, 12, *quae (litterae) si falsae fuerint nec usus sui sit, in Etruria extemplo conversis signis abiturum. Tu vero abeas, inquit. Add Att. xiii. 41, 1 (661), Ego vero Quinto epistulam ad sororem misi*: cp. also note on ep. 62, 1.

*prope aeque dolendo*] 'by well-nigh perfect sympathy': *aliquantum adquievi*, 'I have become considerably calmer.'

*adhibuisti*] 'you have shown': cp. Rabir. 5, *oro atque obsecro . . . adhibeat*

*in hominis fortunis misericordiam, in reip. salute sapientiam quam soletis.*

*tamen*] '(though you were not here) your son, however.'

*quae . . . potuerunt*] 'which could be exhibited on such an occasion,' literally 'assigned to that time.' *Tempus* and *tempora* are used frequently by Cicero of certain crises in his life, especially of his banishment: cp. Fam. i. 6, 2 (104); *Sest.* 123; and *Holden* on *Planc.* 1 and 96.

*et quam . . . fore*] 'and the pleasure which he thought you would feel at such an evidence of sympathy on his part towards me.'

*iucundiora . . . gratiora*] 'pleasant,' . . . 'acceptable.' *Gratus* may be applied to that which one welcomes and approves of, *iucundus* being reserved for that which produces an actual emotion of delight: cp. Fam. v. 15, 1 (587), *Att.* iii. 24, 2 (85), *ista veritas, etiam si iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est.* As Cicero's recent

Me autem non oratio tua solum et societas paene aegritudinis, sed etiam auctoritas consolatur; turpe enim esse existimo me non ita ferre casum meum ut tu tali sapientia praeditus ferendum putas. Sed opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori, quod ea me solacia deficiunt quae ceteris, quorum mihi exempla propono, simili in fortuna non defuerunt. Nam et Q. Maximus, qui filium consularem, clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis, amisit, et L. Paullus, qui duo septem diebus, et vester Gallus et M. Cato, qui summo ingenio, summa virtute filium perdidit, iis temporibus fuerunt, ut eorum luctum ipsorum dignitas consolaretur ea quam ex re publica consequabantur. 2. Mihi autem, amissis ornamentis iis quae ipse commemoras quaeque eram maximis laboribus adeptus, unum manebat illud solacium quod ereptum est. Non amicorum negotiis, non rei publicae procuracione impediabantur cogitationes meae; nihil in foro agere libebat; aspicere curiam non poteram; existimabam, id quod erat, omnis me et industriae meae fructus et

loss precluded emotions of actual delight, he uses *scilicet*, 'of course.'

*societas paene aegritudinis*] 'not only your language and your (I might almost say) fellowship in sorrow, but also your weighty judgment brings me consolation.'

*opprimor*] cp. Lactantius Inst. Div. iii. 28, 9, *M. Tullius in sua Consolatione pugnasse se semper contra fortunam loquitur eamque a se esse superatam cum fortiter inimicorum impetus retulisset: ne tum quidem se ab ea fractum cum domo pulsus patria caruerit: tum autem, cum amiserit carissimam filiam, victum se a fortuna turpiter confitetur. Cedo, inquit, et manum tollo.*

*Q. Maximus*] the Cunctator: cp. De Sen. 12; Tusc. iii. 70. His son was consul in 213 with Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, and recovered Arpi (Liv. xxiv. 45ff.). When young Fabius died, his father spoke the funeral oration, and afterwards published it (Plut. Fab. 24).

*clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis*] For the ablative of quality put in conjunction with adjectives, Hofmann compares Fam. iv. 13, 3 (483), *P. Nigidio, uni omnium doctissimo et sanctissimo et maxima quondam gratia et mihi certe amicissimo*; Fam. xvi. 4, 2 (288); Att. viii. 11 B. 1 (327), *virum fortem et cum auctoritate*. For similar 'enthetic' ablatives, without any appellatives, see

Holden on Planc. 52, and Public School Latin Grammar, p. 415.

*L. Paullus*] defeated Perseus at Pydna. He lost his two sons just at the time of his triumph. See the dramatic story in Vell. i. 10.

*vester Gallus*] Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. p. 119) reads *Galus*, but see Reid's critical note on Lael. 9. C. Sulpicius Gallus commanded in the war against Perseus (Off. i. 19, and Holden's note), and foretold an eclipse of the moon. He is also mentioned with Paullus in Lael. 9, as having lost a son in a tragic manner. Cicero says *vester* because Gallus belonged to the gens *Sulpicia*.

*filium*] M. Cato lost his son Cato Licinianus in 152, the year in which the latter was praetor designatus: Tusc. iii. 70; Lael. 9; De Sen. 84.

*ipsorum*] 'their personal grief was assuaged by the dignity they obtained in public life.'

*2. ornamentis*] cp. Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555), *te, patrem suum, praetorem consulem augurum vidisse*.

*impediabantur*] 'were diverted,' 'diverted.'

*nihil in foro agere libebat*] 'I did not care to practise in the courts.' For *foro* and *curiam*, the two chief branches of public life for Cicero, cp. 587. 4.

*id quod erat*] 'as was the case,' cp.

fortunae perdidisse. Sed, cum cogitarem haec mihi tecum et cum quibusdam esse communia, et cum frangerem iam ipse me cogeremque illa ferre toleranter, habebam quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cuius in sermone et suavitate omnis curas doloresque deponerem: nunc autem hoc tam gravi vulnere etiam illa quae consanuisse videbantur recrudescent; non enim, ut tum me a re publica maestum domus excipiebat quae levaret, sic nunc domo maerens ad rem publicam confugere possum ut in eius bonis adquiescam. Itaque et domo absum et foro, quod nec eum dolorem quem de re publica capio domus iam consolari potest nec domesticum res publica. 3. Quo magis te exspecto teque videre quam primum cupio. Maius mihi solacium adferre ratio nulla potest quam coniunctio consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum; quamquam sperabam tuum adventum—sic enim audiebam—adpropinquare. Ego autem cum multis de causis te exopto quam primum videre, tum etiam ut ante commentemur inter nos qua ratione nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus, quod est totum ad unius voluntatem accommodandum et prudentis et liberalis et, ut perspexisse videor, nec a me alieni et tibi amicissimi. Quod

Catull. x. 9, *Respondi id quod erat, nihil neque ipsis | nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti*, where Ellis compares Caes. B.G. iv. 32, 2.

*frangerem . . . me*] 'was crushing down my sorrow.' This use of *frangere* = 'to conquer' is quite common: cp. Cat. i. 22; as we talk of *breaking* a person's spirit, *breaking* in a horse.

*toleranter*] 'patiently': Tusc. ii. 43.

*habebam . . . deponerem*] 'I had a refuge and a resting-place by the side of one under the influence of whose gentle words and sweet nature I used to lay aside all my cares and griefs.'

*recrudescent*] 'begin to smart afresh,' 'begin again to rankle': *vulnere* abl. of cause. For *vulnus* applied to the death of Tullia cp. Acad. i. 11.

*non enim . . . adquiescam*] 'For all is changed: then when I came back sad from affairs of state, a home used to welcome me—a home that could comfort me: but in my present sorrow I cannot thus fly for refuge from my home to public affairs with the prospect of attaining to calmness in their prosperous course.' For the subj. *levaret* cp. note to 587. 4. For a *rep. maestum*. cp. Hor.

Sat. ii. 2. 10, *equove lassus ab indomito*, where Palmer quotes Ov. Heroid. x. 138, *et tunicas lacrimis, sicut ab imbre, graves*.

*de re publica*] So GR. See Adn. Crit.

3. *Maius solacium adferre ratio nulla potest*] So GR. This reading is rightly defended by Streicher (pp. 150–1). 'No philosophical system can bring me greater comfort than the interchange of friendly intercourse and conversation.' From the corrupt reading of M, *maior mihi vatio mihi adferre*, the ordinary reading, *maior mihi levatio adferri*, has been deduced. See Adn. Crit.

*quamquam*] 'and yet (though I say I am expecting you), I am hoping that your arrival is, as I am informed it is, in the near future.' For this use of *quamquam*, cp. Fam. i. 7, 7 (114); Att. ii. 1, 2 (27), and Dr. Reid on Mil. 6, who notices that *etsi* is used at the beginning of a sentence in a similar sense, but not *quamvis*.

*a me alieni*] *alienus* in Cicero, when it means 'hostile to' (of persons), takes *a* with abl.: when 'adverse to' (of things) the dat.; Att. i. 1, 1 (10). If it means

cum ita sit, magnae tamen est deliberationis quae ratio sit ineunda nobis non agendi aliquid, sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi. Vale.

## 575. CICERO TO AULUS TORQUATUS (FAM. VI. 2).

FICULEA; APRIL; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero se excusat quod rarius scripserit et A. Torquatum consolatur eo quod eum aut meliora tempora expectare iubet aut communem omnium calamitatem aequo animo ferre.

### M. CICERO S. D. A. TORQUATO.

I. Peto a te ne me putes oblivione tui rarius ad te scribere quam solebam, sed aut gravitate valetudinis, qua tamen iam paulum videor levare, aut quod absim ab urbe, ut qui ad te proficiscantur scire non possim; qua re velim ita statutum habeas me tui memoriam cum summa benevolentia tenere tuasque omnis res non minori mihi curae quam meas esse. 2. Quod maiore in varietate versata est adhuc tua causa quam homines aut volebant aut opinabantur, mihi crede, non est pro malis temporum quod moleste feras; necesse est enim aut armis urgeri rem publicam sempiternis

'alien from,' 'contradictory to,' and is used of things, it generally takes the simple abl., sometimes the genit. (e.g. Acad. i. 42; Fin. i. 11), rarely *a* with abl. as in Att. xvi. 3, 4 (773).

*agendi aliquid*] Dr. Reid, on De Sen. 26, has the following valuable note:—"As Cicero very rarely uses absolutely (like our phrase 'to act') the finite tenses and infinitives of the verb *agere*, so with the participles active and the gerund an accusative (often *aliquid*) is generally added: cp. Acad. i. 23, ii. 25, 37; Off. iii. 102; Fam. iv. 6, 3; Liv. i. 21, 1. It is omitted in N. D. ii. 132; Off. i. 157, ii. 3; De Orat. iii. 118; Acad. ii. 22; Vell. ii. 88, 2. Sometimes as in Off. i. 160 (*agere considerate*), an adverb supplies the place of the accusative." Translate, 'how we should order, I do not say our action, but the course of that leisure which his kind permission allows us.'

1. *valetudinis*] An illness caused by his grief for Tullia.

*absim*] The subjunctive, as Watson points out, is used because the absence of Cicero from Rome is represented as a supposition in the mind of Torquatus, not as an actual fact.

2. *in varietate*] 'that your case has been, and still is, subject to greater fluctuations of treatment.' Caesar did not grant complete pardon to Torquatus all at once. About this time he allowed him to return to Italy (cp. *a quibus reciperis*, below), but not to Rome: cp. § 3, *quo veniam*; also Att. xiii. 9. 1 (623), compared with 20, 1 (634), 21, 2 (652). Manutius interprets 'that your position is very different from what the public wish and think it should be.'

*non est pro malis*] 'There is no reason, considering the sad state of public affairs, for you to be distressed.'

aut his positis recreari aliquando aut funditus interire. Si arma valebunt, nec eos a quibus reciperis vereri debes nec eos quos adiuvisti; si armis aut condicione positis aut defetigatione abiectis aut victoria detractis civitas respiraverit, et dignitate tua frui tibi et fortunis licebit; sin omnino interierint omnia fueritque is exitus quem vir prudentissimus, M. Antonius, iam tum timebat cum tantum instare malorum suspicabatur, misera est illa quidem consolatio, tali praesertim civi et viro, sed tamen necessaria, nihil esse praecipue cuiquam dolendum in eo quod accidat universis.

3. Quae vis insit in his paucis verbis—plura enim committenda epistulae non erant—si attendes, quod facis, profecto etiam sine meis litteris intelleges te aliquid habere quod speres, nihil quod aut hoc aut aliquo rei publicae statu timeas; omnia si interierint, cum superstitem te esse rei publicae ne si liceat quidem velis, ferendam esse fortunam, praesertim quae absit a culpa. Sed haec hactenus. Tu velim scribas ad me quid agas et ubi futurus sis, ut aut quo scribam aut quo veniam scire possim.

*recreari*] 'gain new life.'

*Si arma valebunt*] 'If the war shall continue to prevail, you ought not to fear those by whom you are being received into favour [sc. the Caesarians], nor those to whom you have lent aid' [sc. the Pompeians]. It is highly questionable, as Watson says, whether the Pompeians would, if victorious, regard Torquatus with favour, as he had made overtures to, and received favours from, the Caesarians.

*condicione*] 'on terms' cp. Att. xi. 12, 3 (427), *quam (Africam) quidem tu scribis confirmari cotidie magis ad condicionis spem quam victoriae*

*et dignitate*] Watson quotes Fam. vi. 1, 6 (538), *nec dubitare quin aut reparata aliqua re publica sis is futurus qui esse debes, aut perdita non adflictioe condicione quam ceteri*.

*M. Antonius*] the orator: cp. De Orat. i. 26, *Quo quidem sermone multa divinitus a tribus illis consularibus* (sc. L. Crassus, Q. Mucius, M. Antonius) *Cotta deplorata et commemorata narrabat ut nihil incidisset postea civitati mali quod non impendere illi tanto ante vidissent*.

3. *ferendam esse*] sc. *intelleges*. *praesertim quae*] It is rare to find *quae* instead of *cum* after *praesertim*: cp. Sull. 6. *Nemo, ne hic quidem Hortensius, praesertim qui illum solus antea de ambitu defendisset*: Fam. vi. 19, 2 (648), *praesertim qui nihil adferat*.

*culpa*] a stock form of consolation, cp. 573. 2: 645. 3, also Fam. vi. 1, 4 (538), *nihil in vita nobis praestandum praeter culpam*, and elsewhere.

## 576. CICERO TO DOLABELLA (FAM. IX. 11).

FICULEA; END OF APRIL; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero, acceptis post mortem Tulliae a P. Dolabella litteris, respondet amanter et spem significat fore ut Dolabellam mox convenire eiusque consuetudine ipse se confirmare possit.

## CICERO DOLABELLAE S.

1. Vel meo ipsius interitu mallem litteras meas desiderares quam eo casu quo sum gravissime afflictus; quem ferrem certe moderatius, si te haberem; nam et oratio tua prudens et amor erga me singularis multum levaret. Sed quoniam brevi tempore, ut opinio nostra est, te sum visurus, ita me adfectum offendes ut multum a te possim iuvare, non quo ita sim fractus ut aut hominem me esse oblitus sim aut fortunae succumbendum putem, sed tamen hilaritas illa nostra et suavitas quae te praeter ceteros delectabat erepta mihi omnis est; firmitatem tamen et constantiam, si modo fuit aliquando in nobis, eandem cognosces quam reliquisti. 2. Quod scribis proelia te mea causa sustinere, non tam id laboro ut si qui mihi obtrectent a te refutentur quam intellegi cupio, quod certe intellegitur, me a te amari. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo ignoscasque brevitati litterarum mearum; nam et celeriter una futuros nos arbitror et nondum satis sum confirmatus ad scribendum.

This letter is a striking proof that a divorce did not necessarily cause a breach of friendship between families. Dolabella was at this time with Caesar in Spain. As Cicero says that he expects to see Dolabella soon, it is probable that this letter was written after the news of the battle of Munda had reached Rome, that is, after the day before the Parilia, viz. April 20 (Dio Cass. xliii. 42, 3).

1. *eo casu*] i.e. the death of Tullia.  
*levaret*] 'would have given much relief.' No accusative is required: cp. Lebreton, p. 161 fin. For *levare* cp. 575. 1.  
*ita me adfectum*] 'in such a state of mind as to admit of my receiving much assistance from you.'

*hominem*] cp. 555. 4 fin. and note to 132. 4.

*hilaritas . . . suavitas*] 'gaiety,' . . .  
 'pleasantness,' 'charm.'

*firmitatem . . . et constantiam*] 'fortitude and resolution': cp. Att. xii. 40, 3 (584), *hilaritatem illam qua hanc tristitiam temporum condiebam in perpetuum amisi: constantia et firmitas nec animi nec orationis requiretur*.

2. *Quod . . . amari*] 'As to your remark that you have to do battle on my behalf, my feelings are not so much those of anxiety that my detractors may be crushed by you as desire that men may observe, as they do observe, that you feel affection for me.' Dolabella had to defend Cicero against the attacks of young Quintus: cp. 581. 2, *Asinius Pollio ad me scripsit de impuro nostro cognato; quod Balbus minor nuper satis plane, Dolabella obscure, hic apertissime*. For *proelia* in this sense Böckel compares Att. i. 16, 1 (22), *vehementer proeliatum sum*.

## 577. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 35, § 2).

SICCA'S SUBURBAN VILLA ; MAY 1 (EVENING), OR MAY 2  
(MORNING) ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De fano Tulliae aedificando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. Ante quam a te proxime discessi, numquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus insumptum in monumentum esset quam nescio quid quod lege conceditur, tantumdem populo dandum esse : quod non magno opere moveret, nisi nescio quo modo, ἀλόγως fortasse, nollem illud ullo nomine nisi fani appellari. Quod si volumus, vereor ne adsequi non possimus nisi mutato loco. Hoc quale sit, quaeso, considera. Nam etsi minus urgeor meque ipse prope-modum collegi, tamen indigeo tui consili. Itaque te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo, magis quam a me vis aut pateris te rogari, ut hanc cogitationem toto pectore amplectare.

Cicero was now on his way back to Astura, where he remained till May 16.

2. *quod lege conceditur*] This was a sumptuary law limiting the expenditure on obsequies, by an enactment that a sum equal to the excess over the prescribed limit (if exceeded) should be presented as a donation to the people. Whether this was one of Caesar's laws is uncertain. Boot and Holden are disposed to refer it to Sulla, because Plutarch (Sulla, c. 35) says that, on the death of his wife, Metella, Sulla 'broke his own law limiting the expenditure on funerals,' τὸν δὲ τῆς ταφῆς δρίζοντα τὴν δαπάνην νόμον αὐτὸς εἰσενηνοχῶς παρέβη.

*moveret, nisi . . . nollem*] There seems to be a difficulty here which editors have not noticed. Cicero's meaning here is that which is more clearly expressed in the next letter. He does not wish the structure to be regarded as a monument, a mausoleum. He desires it to be considered a shrine in honour of his dead daughter, whom he wishes to deify as much as may be (*ut quam maxime adsequar ἀποθέωσιν*). He would rather avoid the appearance of a tomb or sepulchral monument, not in order to evade

the tax imposed by the sumptuary law, but to prevent its being regarded as a mausoleum rather than a shrine or chapel. He fears that his desire to make the monument a shrine rather than a mausoleum will be misconstrued as an attempt to evade the tax; cp. note to 578. 1 fin. There is no need to add *me* before *moveret*: cp. Att. ix. 5. 2 (359), and Lebreton, p. 162 : also *levaret* 576. 1.

*nisi mutato loco*] In the transtiberine gardens, where he now thought of erecting the fane, there were already many monuments. The shrine would then come to be looked on as a monument or cenotaph, not as a shrine.

*urgeor*] 'I feel less the burden of grief, and have nearly regained my composure' (pulled myself together): cp. De Orat. i. 260 *orator in hoc uno opere, ut ita dicam, noctis et dies urgeatur*, feel, 'if I may so say, the burden of this work.'

*magis quam . . . rogari*] Atticus had, no doubt, written to Cicero that he thought such emphasis in urging on him the consideration of his affairs almost amounted to a charge of indifference; hence 'more earnestly than you wish or permit me to beseech you.' Boot refers to Fam. iii.

## 578. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 36).

ASTURA ; MAY 3 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De fano aedificando et de lege sumptuaria de sepulcris, de Bruto qui in Cumano esse noluerit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Fanum fieri volo, neque hoc mihi erui potest. Sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter poenam legis studeo quam ut maxime adsequar ἀποθέωσιν : quod poteram, si in ipsa villa facerem, sed, ut saepe locuti sumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. In agro ubicumque fecero, mihi videor adsequi posse ut posteritas habeat religionem. Hae meae tibi ineptiae—fateor enim—ferendae sunt. Nam habeo ne me quidem ipsum quicum tam audacter communicem quam te. Sin tibi res, si locus, si institutum placet, lege, quaeso, legem mihiue eam mitte. Si quid in mentem veniet quo modo eam effugere possimus, utemur. 2. Ad Brutum si quid scribes, nisi alienum putabis, obiurgato eum quod in Cumano esse noluerit propter eam causam quam tibi dixit. Cogitanti enim mihi nihil tam videtur potuisse facere rustice. 3. Et, si tibi placebit sic agere de fano ut

10, 2 (261), where Cicero makes a similar remark to Appius, *Q. Servilius perbrevis mihi a te litteras reddidit, quae mihi tamen nimis longae visae sunt, iniuriam enim mihi fieri putabam, cum rogabar. . . . Si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor.*

1. *erui*] *Eruere* in Cicero invariably means to 'dig out,' 'dig up,' as, for instance, some hidden piece of knowledge or information. Here, if it is sound, it must mean 'to eradicate.' It is easy to read *eripi* or *exui*, which have been suggested: but it is, on the other hand, quite possible that Cicero here, in a letter, used the verb in a sense not elsewhere found in his works, but nearly, if not exactly, paralleled in the usage of other writers.

ἀποθέωσιν] See on last letter.

in ipsa villa] the Tusculan villa where Tullia died.

habeat religionem] 'shall regard it as hallowed,' 'maintain its sanctity.'

ineptiae] 'hobby,' 'fad.'

habeo ne me quidem ipsum] This would be a good motto for the whole of the letters to Atticus. It is quite true, and is that which constitutes their unrivalled value as materials for history and biography.

res, locus, institutum] 'the project (of erecting a shrine), the place (in which it is to be erected), and the plan (or model of the architect Cluavius)'. *Institutum* means much the same as *genus* in Ep. 549. 1.

effugere] In 577. 2 Cic. seems to have considered that the law did not apply to a shrine, but only to a mausoleum; and his wish to erect the former and not the latter would be put down to a desire to evade the tax. Here he seems to think that it is applicable even in the case of a shrine. If not, this can only mean that Att. is to try to think of some excuse when the charge of desire to evade the tax is made.

2. rustice] 'nothing could have been



coepimus, velim cohortere et exacuas Cluatium : nam, etiam si alio loco placebit, illius nobis opera consilioque utendum puto. Tu ad villam fortasse cras.

## 579. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 37, §§ 1-3).

ASTURA ; MAY 4 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De Attici epistulis a se acceptis, de litteris Bruti et suis ad eum scriptis, de hortis fani causa emendis, de Terentia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A te heri duas epistulas accepi, alteram pridie datam Hilario, alteram eodem die tabellario, accepique ab Aegypta liberto eodem die Piliam et Atticam plane belle se habere. Quod mihi Bruti litteras, gratum. Ad me quoque misit; quae litterae mihi redditae sunt tertio decimo die. Eam ipsam ad te epistulam misi et ad eam exemplum mearum litterarum. 2. De fano, si nihil mihi hortorum invenis, *qui* quidem tibi inveniendi sunt, si me tanti facis quanti certe facis, valde probo rationem tuam de Tusculano. Quamvis prudens ad cogitandum sis, sicut es, tamen, nisi magnae curae tibi esset ut ego consequerer id quod magno opere vellem, numquam ea res tibi tam belle in mentem venire potuisset. Sed nescio quo pacto celebritatem requiro. Itaque hortos mihi conficias necesse est. Maxima est in Scapulae celebritas, propinquitas praeterea urbis, ne totum diem in villa. Qua re, ante quam

ruder.' We have no indication in what the rudeness consisted. But Cic. and Brutus did not enjoy one another's company : cp. 637. 1.

3. *Cluatium*] Cp. 549. 1.

*ad villam*] some place in the neighbourhood of Rome. The words broadly mean, 'to the country' in the Letters.

*cras*] sc. *ibis*.

1. *litteras*] sc. *misisti*, a common ellipse: cp. 581. 1.

*tertio decimo die*] the 13th day after it was written. These words, which stand in the mss after *habere*, we have transposed with Schmidt (p. 280), so that they should refer to a letter from Brutus, who was at this time in Cisalpine Gaul. He supposes this letter of Brutus to be in answer

to the one Cicero wrote on March 11 (549. 2). Schiche leaves the words in their place, and alters *decimo* into *de Cumano*.

*ad te . . . misi*] These words go together.

*ad eam . . . litterarum*] 'a copy of my reply to it.'

2. *urbis*] So Fr. Schmidt for *ubi sis* of the mss. Dr. Reid (*Hermathena* x., p. 138) interprets the mss reading 'the nearness of your residence': noting that one of the advantages of the *horti* of Scapula was that Att. had a residence close by. But that is not dwelt on elsewhere: as regards 630. 2 (*propinquitas*), Cicero in Arpinum is complaining that he is so far from Atticus in Rome that he does not get as much information as he would wish.

*ne totum diem in villa*] sc. *sis* or *ponas*,

discedis, Othonem, si Romae est, convenias pervelim. Si nihil erit, etsi tu meam stultitiam consuesti ferre, eo tamen progrediar ut mi stomachere. Drusus enim certe vendere vult. Si ergo aliud erit, non mea erit culpa nisi emerò: qua in re ne labar, quaeso, provide. Providendi autem una ratio est, si quid de Scapulanis possumus. Et velim me certiore facias quam diu in suburbano sis futurus. 3. Apud Terentiam *tam* gratia opus est nobis tua quam auctoritate. Sed facies ut videbitur. Scio enim, si quid mea intersit, tibi maiori curae solere esse quam mihi.

## 580. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 37, § 4).

ASTURA; MAY 5; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Hirtii litteris, de rebus Hispanicis, de Caninii naufragio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

4. Hirtius ad me scripsit Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse et fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem, Gnaeum fugisse nescio quo:

'that you may not have to spend a whole day at the villa,' as he would be compelled to do if he had to go to Tusculum, fifteen miles away. A visit would cost him a whole day, for he would have to give his horses a rest. The mss give *villam*: but we doubt if such an ellipse as *eundo consumas* is possible. If it is, the sense is of course admirable, 'that I may not have to spend a whole day by going down to Tusculum.' The passage is to be compared with 590. 2, *sedere totos dies in villa!* where see note.

*Othonem*] one of the heirs of Scapula.  
*eo tamen . . . stomachere*] 'I shall be so insistent as to make you angry,' for Att. did not approve of Cicero buying the expensive (cp. 591. 1) gardens of Drusus, cp. 582. 4. Cic. was very urgent in this matter: cp. 588. 2, *incursabit in te dolor meus*.

*Si ergo aliud erit, non mea erit culpa*] i.e. it will be *your* fault if you do not secure that other property, cp. 582. 4, *De Drusi hortis, quamvis ab iis abhorreas, ut scribis, tamen eo confugiam, nisi quid inveneris*: cp. 591. 1. There is no need

for transposition of *non* so as to read *si ergo aliud non erit, mea erit culpa*.

*tam*] We have added this word, which might readily have fallen out after *Terentiam*. The mss reading is explained by Lehmann (p. 134), and Schmalz (Antib. ii. 311), by supposing an ellipse of *potius* before *quam*. But this usage is very questionable in Cic., though it is often found in the Comedies, e.g. Plaut. Men. 726: Bacch. 618: Rud. 684, and in other authors, e.g. Sall. Cat. 8: Tac. Ann. iii. 17. See Adn. Crit. For *auctoritas* and *gratia* found together (cp. 584. 2) Lehmann quotes Fam. vi. 12. 2 (490): ix. 25. 3 (246) *auctoritate tua nobis opus est et consilio et etiam gratia*.

4. Schmidt rightly makes this a new letter.

*Gnaeum*] The end of Gnaeus Pompeius is thus described by Appian (ii. 105): 'Pompeius fled with 150 horsemen from the battlefield where he was defeated (Munda) to Carteia, where he had a fleet. . . . When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety, he

neque enim curo. Nihil praeterea novi. Litteras Narbone dedit XIII. Kal. Mai. Tu mihi de Canini naufragio quasi dubia misisti. Scribas igitur, si quid erit certius. Quod me a maestitia avocas, multum levaris, si locum fano dederis. Multa mihi εἰς ἀποθέωσιν in mentem veniunt, sed loco valde opus est. Qua re etiam Othonem vide.

## 581. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 38, §§ 1, 2).

ASTURA; MAY 6; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Attici occupationibus, de Quinti filii scelere.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Non dubito quin occupatissimus fueris, qui ad me nihil litterarum: sed homo nequam, qui tuum commodum non expectarit, cum ob eam unam causam missus esset! Nunc quidem, nisi quid te tenuit, suspicor te esse in suburbano. At ego hic scribendo dies totos nihil equidem levor, sed tamen aberro. 2. Asinius Pollio ad me scripsit de impuro nostro cognato. Quod Balbus minor nuper satis plane, Dolabella obscure, hic apertissime.

feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot got entangled in a rope, and a man who made a stroke at the rope with a sword cut the sole of his foot instead of the rope. He sailed then to some place and got his wound treated. Being pursued even there, he fled by a rough and thorny road, inflaming his wound, until in weariness he sat down under a tree, and when his pursuers fell upon him he was cut down, after a brave resistance (οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτοὺς ἐμυνόμενος). Caesar ordered his head, when brought to him, to be buried": cp. Bell. Hisp. 39.

XIII. Kal. Mai] Narbo was about 900 Roman miles from Rome, and the journey involved a troublesome passage across the Alps. The average rate at which letters travelled was about 50 miles a day: so that the transmission must have been somewhat rapid which brought letters to Cicero at Astura 17 days after they were written at Narbo. Schmidt (p. 281) proposes xvii for xiii, i.e. April 15th.

Canini] cp. 590. 4. Caninius Rebilus, a lieutenant of Caesar's. The report was false: for Caninius was appointed consul on the last day of this year (694. 1).

Scribas] The subjunctive for the imperative is rare, but found elsewhere in the Letters, e.g. 565. 2 *communices*. Cp. Att. iv. 4a. (101) *sis*: iv. 19. 8 (158) *maneas*: Fam. ix. 26. 1 (479) *vivas* and Index. Orelli and Müller read *Scribes*.

1. *homo nequam*] He refers to some *tabellarius*.

*aberro*] 'Writing does not give me relief from my grief, but diverts my thoughts from it.' Cp. 582. 3.

2. *impuro nostro cognato*] 'our black-guard kinsman.' He refers to the younger Quintus, who was now in the camp of Caesar, and was speaking against his uncle Marcus. *Impurus* is a very strong expression like *μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ* in Greek.

*Balbus minor*] Cp. 657. 1.

*hic*] Asinius Pollio, sc. *nuntiavit*.

Ferrem graviter, si novae aegrimoniae locus esset. Sed tamen ecquid impurius? O hominem cavendum! quamquam mihi quidem——. Sed tenendus dolor est. Tu, quoniam necesse nihil est, sic scribes aliquid, si vacabis.

## 582. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 38, §§ 3, 4).

ASTURA; MAY 7; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De se non reprehendendo, qui in dolore suo scribendo aegritudinem lenire studeat, de hortis ad aedificandum fanum emendis et de ipsa aedificatione.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

3. Quod putas oportere pervideri iam animi mei firmitatem graviusque quosdam scribis de me loqui quam aut te scribere aut Brutum, si qui me fractum esse animo et debilitatum putant sciant quid litterarum et cuius generis conficiam, credo, si modo homines sint, existiment me, sive ita levatus sim ut animum vacuum ad res difficilis scribendas adferam, reprehendendum non esse, sive hanc aberrationem a dolore delegerim quae maxime liberalis sit doctoque homine dignissima, laudari me etiam oportere. 4. Sed, cum ego faciam omnia quae facere possim ad me adlevandum, tu effice id quod video te non minus quam me laborare. Hoc mihi debere videor neque levare posse, nisi solvero aut videro me posse solvere, id est locum qualem *volo* invenero. Heredes

*mihi quidem*] This is an aposiopesis. Those who suppose Cicero to use here the two first words of a Plautine verse (Trin. 319) quoted in Brut. i. 2. 5 (843), *mihi quidem aetas acta ferme est: tua istuc refert maxime*, must ascribe to Atticus an extraordinary familiarity with the plays of Plautus, as Boot remarks, if Cicero expects him to supply the whole verse from two such colourless words as *mihi quidem*. The words *to her* would hardly suggest even to the most constant reader of Tennyson,

'To her perpetual maidenhood,  
And unto me no second friend.'

*sic . . . si*] cp. Hor. Ep. i. 7, 69, *sic ignovisse putato me tibi, si coenas hodie mecum*.

3. *graviusque*] 'and that some speak of me more severely than you or Brutus (you say) report in your letters.' The use of the infinitive *scribere* is somewhat loose.

*litterarum*] 'literary works,' not 'epistles.'

*si modo homines sunt*] 'if they have any feeling for things,' 'if they are reasonable beings' (Shuckburgh): see note on Ep. 132 fin.

*levatus sim . . . aberrationem*] cp. 581. 1.

*maxime liberalis sit*] So Ursinus. The mss have *maxime liberalissima*. Dr. Reid suggests *maxima et liberalissima*, which may well be right.

4. *volo*] added in Ienson's edition.

Scapulae si istos hortos, ut scribis tibi Othonem dixisse, partibus quattuor factis liceri cogitant, nihil est scilicet emptori loci. Sin venibunt, quid fieri possit videbimus. Nam ille locus Publicianus, qui est Treboni et Cusini, erat ad me adlatus. Sed scis aream esse; nullo pacto probo. Clodiae sane placent, sed non puto esse venalis. De Drusi hortis, quamvis ab iis abhorreas, ut scribis, tamen eo confugiam, nisi quid inveneris. Aedificatio me non movet; nihil enim aliud aedificabo nisi id, quod etiam, si illos non habuero. 5. Κύρος δ, έ, mihi sic placuit, ut cetera Antisthenis, hominis acuti magis quam eruditi.

## 583. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 39).

ASTURA; MARCH 8; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De commercio litterarum Ciceronem inter et Atticum nunc paene intermisso.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tabellarius ad me cum sine litteris tuis venisset, existimavi tibi eam causam non scribendi fuisse quod pridie scripsisses ea ipsa ad quam rescripsi epistula. Exspectarem tamen aliquid de litteris Asini Pollionis. Sed nimium ex meo otium tuum specto. Quamquam tibi remitto, nisi quid necesse erit, necesse ne habeas

*liceri*] 'to bid for them' among themselves.

*nihil est scilicet emptori loci*] cp. 590. 2, *ut aditus sit emptori*.

*Sin venibunt*] cp. 584. 4, *ut praeconi subiciantur*.

*Publicianus*] 'which used to belong to Publicius, but is now in the hands of Trebonius and Cusinius,' cp. 588. 3.

*ad me adlatus*] 'has been brought under my notice.'

*aream*] a mere building site without any plantation.

*Clodiae*] sc. *horti*. 'Those of Clodia.' For Clodia cp. note to 710. 1.

*Drusi*] Cp. 579. 2.

*quod etiam*] sc. *aedificaturus sum*.

5. Κύρος δ, έ] This is the reading of Bosius for κυρσας of Z and M. Antisthenes, the Cynic, wrote a work in ten volumes, of which the 4th and 5th were entitled respectively *Cyrus* and *Hercules the greater*, or *Strength*; and *Cyrus*

or *Monarchy*. The fourth volume was directed to the proof that labour was in itself a good and desirable thing. The fifth was likely to be useful to Cicero for a συμβουλευτικόν or Essay on Government, which he was about to address to Caesar. Diog. Laert. vi. 1, 16. The words of Diog. Laert. are Τόμος δ' έν φ Κύρος, 'Ηρακλῆς δ μείζων ή Περὶ ισχύος [qu. Κύρος δ μείζων, 'Ηρακλῆς ή Περὶ ισχύος]. Τόμος έ έν φ Κύρος ή Περὶ βασιλείας, 'Ασπασία. Athenaeus quotes (220 c.) έν θατέρω τῶν Κύρων.

1. *ex meo otium tuum*] 'I judge too much of your leisure by my own.'

*Quamquam*] 'yet' or 'however' (though I am asking for letters): cp. note to 574. 3.

*remitto, . . . necesse ne habeas*] 'I let you off (save for some essential cause) regarding a letter as essential, unless you have abundant leisure.' Boot points out that Cicero

scribere, nisi eris valde otiosus. 2. De tabellariis facerem quod suades, si essent ullae necessariae litterae, ut erant olim, cum tamen brevioribus diebus quotidie respondebant tempori tabellarii et erat aliquid, Silius, Drusus, alia quaedam. Nunc, nisi Otho exstisset, quod scriberemus non erat. *Id* ipsum dilatum est, tamen adlevor, cum loquor tecum absens, multo etiam magis, cum tuas litteras lego. Sed quoniam et abes—sic enim arbitror—et scribendi necessitas nulla est, conquiescent litterae, nisi quid novi exstiterit.

### 584. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 40).

ASTURA; MAY 9; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Hirtii epistula et Caesaris 'Anticatone,' de *συμβουλευτικῇ* a se conscribendo, de maerore et recessu suo, de hortis Scapulanis, de Lentulo, de Faberiana ra, de commoratione sua Asturae, de Pilia et Attica.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Qualis futura sit Caesaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perspexi ex eo libro quem Hirtius ad me misit, in quo colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis. Itaque misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo enim eum

uses *necesse habeo* only in negative sentences, *non (minus) necesse habeo, ne necesse habueris*. Subsequent writers neglect this restriction.

2. *quod suades*] that is, that Cicero should keep regular letter-carriers, and not trust to chance.

*brevioribus diebus*] 'when the days were shorter.' It was in March that Cicero was at Astura before.

*respondebant tempori*] 'came up to time,' 'called regularly.'

*erat aliquid*] 'we had something to write about Silius, Drusus, &c.'; that is, we could write about their properties as sites for the shrine in honour of Tullia. *Otho* is so understood in the next sentence. He was one of the four co-heirs of Scapula. The others were Mustela, Crispus, Vergilius.

*dilatum est*] Atticus was not in Rome (at

least so Cicero surmised), but in one of his villas in the neighbourhood of the city. He could not therefore, without some inconvenience, have an interview with Otho in Rome.

*cum loquor tecum absens*] cp. Ep. 600. *novi*] But a new topic did turn up, viz., the 'Cato' of Hirtius: cp. 584. 1.

1. *vituperatio*] Caesar's *Anticato* in answer to Cicero's *Cato*.

*Hirtius*] In a subsequent letter (588. 4) he calls this *brochure* of Hirtius a letter. It seems to have been addressed to Cicero. It was a tirade against Cato, and Cicero says of it, in 595. 3, that its effect will be to reflect credit on the literary ability of Hirtius, but discredit on the attempt to blacken the character of Cato.

*Muscam*] Perhaps a foreman in Atticus' publishing department.

divulgari, quod quo facilius fiat imperabis tuis. 2. Συμβουλευτικὸν saepe conor: nihil reperio, et quidem mecum habeo et Ἀριστοτέλους et Θεοπόμπου libros πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον; sed quid simile? Illi et quae ipsis honesta essent scribebant et grata Alexandro. Ecquid tu eius modi reperis? Mihi quidem nihil in mentem venit. Quod scribis te vereri ne et gratia et auctoritas nostra hoc meo maerore minuatur, ego quid homines aut reprehendant aut postulent nescio. Ne doleam? Qui potest? Ne iaceam? Quis umquam minus? Dum tua me domus levabat, quis a me exclusus est, quis venit qui offenderet? Asturam sum a te profectus. Legere isti laeti qui me reprehendunt tam multa non possunt quam ego scripsi. Quam bene, nihil ad rem: sed genus scribendi id fuit quod nemo abiecto animo facere posset. Triginta dies in hortis fui. Quis aut congressum meum aut facilitatem sermonis desideravit? Nunc ipsum ea lego, ea scribo, ut ii qui mecum sunt difficilius otium ferant quam ego laborem. 3. Si quis requirit cur Romae non sim; 'quia discessus est': cur non sim in iis meis praediolis quae sunt huius temporis; 'quia frequentiam illam non facile ferrem.' Ibi

[*divulgari*] Cicero gives his own reason why he wishes the book to be widely distributed (590. 1) *ut ex istorum vituperatione sit illius* (Cato) *maior laudatio*. We presume (though there does not appear to be any mention of it) that Cicero had got the assent of Hirtius to the publication of this book. Possibly the book was already published, and, there being no copyright at Rome, anyone could then disseminate it.

2. Συμβουλευτικὸν] an Essay on Government addressed to Caesar. The disadvantage under which he labours, as compared with Aristotle and Theopompus, is that they could give advice which did honour to themselves and was at the same time acceptable to Alexander. 'Can you suggest,' he asks Atticus, 'any such advice to be given by me to Caesar? Nothing occurs to me.' Cp. 604. 2. The title of the work of Theopompus was συμβουλαὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, Athen. vi. 230 F.

*Qui potest?*] 'how is that possible?' *iaceam*] 'be prostrated' by my grief. cp. 559. 2.

*tua domus*] cp. 545. 1. This was during the latter part of February.

*offenderet*] 'took offence': cp. 585 fin.

and note: Mil. 99 *si in me aliquid offenditis*: Caes. B.C. ii. 32. 10 *si Caesarem probatis, in me offenditis*: and note on Att. vii. 14, 3 (310).

*isti laeti*] 'those cheerful friends of yours, who condemn me for my melancholy, could not read as much as I have written.'

*Quam bene, nihil ad rem*] Cicero laid no great store by these philosophical works of his: cp. 599. 3, *verba tantum adfero quibus abundo*: 624. 1, *ista nescio quae*. Yet their influence on mankind has been great.

*in hortis*] i.e. during April at the estate of Atticus near Ficulea and Nomentum. Here *horti* is not (as the word generally is) applied to a suburban villa. Zb has *horto*.

*Nunc ipsum*] cp. 548.

3. *discessus*] 'the vacation': cp. Fam. iii. 9, 4 (249). In 707. 2, the vacation is called *res prolatae*, which is the expression used by Plautus. 'After vacation' is *cum res rediissent* (Post Red. 27): cp. Lindsay on Plaut. Capt. 78.

*sunt huius temporis*] 'are suitable to this season of the year.' In Att. vii. 12. 2 (305) we have *Nec eum rerum*

sum igitur ubi is qui optimas Baias habebat quotannis hoc tempus consumere solebat. Cum Romam venero, nec vultu nec oratione reprehendar. Hilaritatem illam qua hanc tristitiam temporum condiebam in perpetuum amisi: constantia et firmitas nec animi nec orationis requiretur. 4. De hortis Scapulanis hoc videtur effici posse, aliud tua gratia, aliud nostra, ut praeconi subiciantur. Id nisi fit, excludemur. Sin ad tabulam venimus, vincemus facultates Othonis nostra cupiditate. Nam quod ad me de Lentulo scribis, non test in eo. Faberiana modo res certa sit tuque enitare, quod facis, quod volumus consequemur. 5. Quod quaeris quam diu hic, paucos dies. Sed certum non habeo. Simul atque constituero, ad te scribam, et tu ad me quam diu suburbano sis futurus. Quo die ego ad te haec misi, de Pilia et Attica mihi quoque eadem quae scribis et scribuntur et nuntiantur.

*prolatio nec senatus magistratuumque discessus nec aerarium clausum tardabit.*

*is qui]* Who is here referred to? Scipio Africanus (cp. Seneca, Ep. 51. 11: but Liternum was a long way from Astura), Lucullus, Pompey have been suggested.

*Baias]* 'villa at Baiae': cp. Cael. 38: Att. xi. 6. 6 (418); also *Caietam*, Att. i. 4. 3 (9) and *Misenum*, Phil. ii. 48: cp. Att. x. 8. 10 (392). The Thesaurus interprets the word here as 'appellative pro balneo,' which we doubt. Nor can we think that Shuckburgh is right in rendering 'who considered Baiae the queen of watering-places.'

*nec vultu]* 'there will be nothing to complain of either in my looks or my conversation.'

*condiebam]* 'used to mitigate': see on Att. x. 8, 5 (392). For the sentiment here expressed, cp. 576. 1 (to Dolabella).

*requiretur]* 'will be found wanting.'

4. *praeconi subiciantur]* 'that they shall be sold by public auction, not by a private arrangement between the co-heirs,' cp. *sin venibunt*, 582. 4.

*tabulam]* 'a public sale.'

*facultates]* 'my zeal will prevail over Otho's long purse.'

*non est in eo]* If this is sound, it would seem to mean 'he cannot pay his debt.' But we believe it to be corrupt. Dr. Reid suggests *aestimo*. Shuckburgh conjectures *non est solvendo*: cp. Phil. ii. 4; and supposes it to refer to some unknown Lentulus (of whom we do not hear elsewhere) who was anxious to buy the *horti* of Scapula. We cannot think that it means 'there is nothing in that'; we should expect *nihil* for *non*. But Madvig's *non extimesco* is very attractive: for Cicero's use of *timeo* and *extimesco* cp. Att. viii. 5, 1 (336); ix. 5, fin. (359). Perhaps *non ego timeo* would be better. We see no reason why he should not be the infant child of Dolabella and Tullia. Atticus may have suggested to Cicero the necessity of economy in view of the obligation he was under to provide for his grandson.

5. *Simul atque]* We have altered *ac* to *atque*, as Cic. did not write *ac* before a guttural: cp. Reid on Acad. ii. 34. Müller reads *simul aliquid*.

*quam diu hic]* sc. *futurus sim*.



## 585. L. LUCCEIUS TO CICERO (FAM. V. 14).

ROME; MAY 9; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Quaerit L. Lucceius cur tam diu absit ab urbe M. Cicero: si litterarum causa, laudat: non probat si propter maiorem ex morte filiae. Quem ut compescat, rationibus et precibus efficere studet.

L. LUCCEIUS Q. F. S. D. M. TULLIO M. F.

1. S. V. B. E. V., sicut soleo, paululo tamen etiam deterius quam soleo. Te requisivi saepius ut viderem: Romae quia postea non fuisti quam discesseram miratus sum; quod item nunc miror. Non habeo certum quae te res hinc maxime retrahat. Si solitudine delectare, cum scribas et aliquid agas eorum quorum consuesti, gaudeo neque reprehendo tuum consilium; nam nihil isto potest esse iucundius non modo miseris his temporibus et luctuosis, sed etiam tranquillis et optatis, praesertim vel animo defetigato

1. S. V. B. E. V., sicut soleo] = si vales, bene est, valeo sicut soleo. Note the formal commencement of a letter taken literally, and thus leading connectedly to the opening of the letter proper: cp. Fam. xvi. 18, 1 (692). Lucceius would appear to have been constantly in low health.

quia] Used for quod, as frequently in comedy after verbs of feeling, e.g. Plaut. Mil. 7, and Tyrrell's note there; cp. doleo quia in § 2, below. In Cic. Sull. 50, de Domo 9, it occurs after reprehendo.

discesseram] So Mendelssohn after GR, 'I wonder you did not remain in Rome after I had left.' Lucceius had no doubt heard from some friend that Cicero continued to bury himself in the country through his grief for Tullia. He had not returned to Rome after his stay at Ficulea, but had gone once more to Astura; and Lucceius is again astonished. M has discesserat, which Or. alters to decesserat, understanding Tullia. This is too strong an ellipse, as no reference to Tullia had preceded, even though we suppose that Lucceius had hesitated to use the name lest he should excite the grief of Cicero. Lambinus reads discesseras, which produces an inaccurate form of speech ('I wondered you were not at Rome after you had left') if it is intended to mean 'I wonder you did not remain at Rome longer than you did.' Streicher (p. 171) wishes to read

discesseram, 'we separated' from one another; but it will be hard to get an exact parallel for this usage. The nearest we know of is the senatus consultum in Q. Fr. ii. 3, 5 (102) ut sodalitates decur- atique discederent.

delectare] Such forms of the pres. indic. as this and angere (§ 2) are generally avoided as liable to confusion with the inf. They may be allowed in Lucceius. Dr. Reid on Sull., p. 170, lays down the rule for Cicero: "-e, not -is, in the second person singular present subjunctive deponent and passive: but -is, not -e, in the second person singular present indicative deponent and passive. The mss of this speech are singularly clear on this point." Cp. Roby 570.

eorum quorum] Note the attraction, a genuine Greek one: cp. Rhet. ad Herenn. i. 11, apertis rationibus quibus praescrip- simus, and Hor. Sat. i. 6, 14, notante iudice quo nosti populo (according to Bentley): Liv. xxxii. 10, 5, arbitro quo vellent populorum, and Weissenborn's note. Cp. also such attractions in Livy as iv. 39, 9, quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum: i. 29, 4, quibus quisque poterat elatis. Roby, § 1066. Riemann-Goelzer, § 693, p. 787.

optatis] 'desirable': cp. note to 587. 1. praesertim] 'especially if your mind

tuo, qui nunc requiem quaerat ex magnis occupationibus, vel erudito, qui semper aliquid ex se promat quod alios delectet, ipsum laudibus inlustret. 2. Sin autem, sicut indicas, lacrimis ac tristitiae te tradidisti, doleo quia doles et angere; non possum te non, si concedis quod sentimus ut liberius dicamus, accusare. Quid enim? Tu solus aperta non videbis, qui propter acumen occultissima perspicis? Tu non intelleges te querelis cotidianis nihil proficere? Non intelleges duplicari sollicitudines, quas elevare tua te prudentia postulat? 3. Quod si non possimus aliquid proficere suadendo, gratia contendimus et rogando, si quid nostra causa vis, ut istis te molestiis laxes et ad convictum nostrum redeas, *id est* ad consuetudinem vel nostram communem vel tuam solius ac propriam. Cupio non obtundere te, si non delectare nostro studio; cupio deterrere ne perman eas in incepto. Cum duae res istae contrariae me conturbant, ex quibus aut in altera mihi velim, si potes, obtemperes aut in altera non offendas—vale.

is so wearied out that it craves for some rest after your arduous labour, or so richly stored with learning that it is, as ever, drawing forth something to delight others and to cover yourself with glory': lit. 'is wearied so that' . . . 'is well stored with learning so that.' For *semper* = *ut semper fit*: cp. *saepe* = *ut saepe fit* in Verg. Aen. i. 148, *ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est seditio*. The forms *requiem* and *requietem* are both quite classical: cp. Neue, i<sup>3</sup> 848, 849.

2. *sicut indicas*] So GR: *sicut hinc dicas seras*, M, from which Man., Vict., and Lamb., aided by inferior mss, educed *sicut hic dum eras*. (This is one of Mr. Allen's codices.) Many other mss read, *sic ut hinc discesseras*, 'as when you left the city,' a reading towards which Mendelssohn inclines. But the reading of GR is quite plain, 'as you gave hints of,' &c., in letters to your other friends, and as we learn by report. If we might emend, perhaps we might read *indicaveras*, which would explain the reading of M, 'of which you gave indications before you left.' Dr. Reid thinks that the variants point to *sicut indicat res*. Streicher (p. 172) objects to *indicas*, that Cic. did not give any such hint to Luceius in Fam. v. 13 (572), and that his literary activity was a sign that he was not yielding to immoderate grief: he himself reads *sicut inclinatus eras*. But Cicero

had gone into retirement, and his friends at Rome were not satisfactorily informed of the manner in which he was spending his time: for Cicero's letters were very variable in tone, and reflected with the utmost fidelity every shifting mood of his impressionable nature: so that it may fairly be supposed that his friends were uncertain as to the general tenor of his life.

*elevare*] So GR, again rightly: cp. Tusc. iii. 34, *Nihil est enim quod tam obtundat elevetque aegritudinem quam perpetua in omni vita cogitatio nihil esse quod non accidere possit*. The acc. and inf. construction after *postulo* is frequent in the comedies (cp. Sonnenschein on Plaut. Rud. Prol. 17); but it is used by Cicero for the most part only in his earlier writings, e.g. Verr. iii. 138, 139; Div. in Caec. 34. In Caes. it occurs in B. G. iv. 16, 4.

3. *ad convictum nostrum*] 'return to live with us and to the normal mode of life, either that of all of us or that which you especially adopt as peculiarly your own' (i.e. the life of a student). After *redeas* there is a gap of five letters in M. We have adopted the suggestion of Dr. Reid, *id est*. Wes. suggested *atque*.

*obtundere*] 'pester': cp. Att. viii. 1, 4 (328), *Ego si somnum capere possem tam longis te epistulis non obtunderem*.

*Cum . . . vale*] We venture to adhere

## 586. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 42, §§ 1-3).

ASTURA; MAY 10; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De inanibus epistulis suis, de Clodiae hortis emendis, de itinere suo constituto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nullum a te desideravi diem litterarum: videbam enim quae scribis, et tamen suspicabar vel potius intellegebam nihil fuisse quod scriberes. A. d. VI. Idus vero et abesse te putabam et plane videbam nihil te habere. Ego tamen ad te fere cotidie mittam. Malo enim frustra quam te non habere cui des, si quid forte sit quod putes me scire oportere. Itaque accepi VI. Idus litteras tuas inanis. Quid enim habebas quod scriberes? Mi tamen illud, quidquid erat, non molestum fuit, *ut* nihil aliud, scire me novi te nihil habere. Scripsisti tamen nescio quid de Clodia. Ubi ergo ea est aut quando ventura? Placet mihi res sic, ut

with some hesitation to the mss reading *cum*, and to explain it by supposing that Luceius used the formal *vale* as part of the sentence, just as he used the introductory formal words of this letter in something more than a merely formal sense. 'And now that two contrary considerations are causing me perplexity, in respect of which I trust you will either in the one case follow my advice if you can see your way to do so, or at any rate in the other not be offended,—I will say good-bye.' If this does not commend itself, it is easy (we think too easy) to alter *cum* to *nunc* with Martyni-Laguna and subsequent edd. The two contrary considerations are, on the one hand, a desire that Cicero should not give himself up unreservedly to grief, but should again take part in social life; and on the other, a desire not to pester Cicero and importune him too much on the subject. For *offendas* used in a passive sense, 'be annoyed,' cp. 584. 2 and note there; and perhaps Q. Fr. i. 1, 14 (30), *Sed si quis est in quo iam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris*.

1. *diem litterarum*] 'I never wanted you to have a regular day for writing. For

I had grasped the fact which you mention in your letter [namely, that you were very busy], and in spite of that I suspected, or rather felt sure, that you had nothing to write about [and that that, not business, was the real reason why you did not write].' The sense of *enim* and *tamen* is generally neglected by the editors.

*frustra*] sc. *mittere*, without receiving a letter to bring back to Cicero.

*ut nihil aliud*] We have added *ut* with Müller, 'if nothing else.' He compares 745. 2 *alendus est et, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio seiungendus*: Att. xi. 14. 1 (429). *Ut* is more likely to have been lost after *fuit* than *si*, which is the addition of Madvig (A.C. ii. 239). Either is better than to add *nisi* before *novi* with Gronovius.

*Scripsisti*] Btr. conjectured *scripsisti* as M has *scripsi*. It must be confessed, however, that this contracted form of the second person singular of the perfect indic. is rather rare: cp. Neue-Wagener i<sup>3</sup> 500 ff.: so that we think Müller is right in regarding it as doubtful in Cicero, and reading the full form in every place. Cp. his note, Fam. p. 169. 26. The mistake is due to the copyist.

*ventura*] Cp. 593. 2.

secundum Othonem nihil magis. 2. Sed neque hanc vendituram puto—delectatur enim et copiosa est—et illud alterum quam sit difficile te non fugit. Sed, obsecro, enitatur ut aliquid ad id quod cupio excogitemus. 3. Ego me hinc postridie *Id.* exiturum puto, sed aut in Tusculanum aut domum, inde fortasse Arpinum. Cum certum sciero, scribam ad te.

## 587. CICERO TO LUCCEIUS (FAM. V. 15).

ASTURA; MAY 10–12; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Epistulae L. Luceii (Ep. 585) M. Cicero ita respondet, ut se non tam filiae obitum quam reip. condicionem lugere et ob eam rem ab urbe abesse dicat: ne litterarum quidem studio se admodum delectari aut a dolore abstrahi.

## M. CICERO S. D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

1. Omnis amor tuus ex omnibus partibus se ostendit in iis litteris quas a te proxime accepi, non ille quidem mihi ignotus, sed tamen gratus et optatus; dicerem ‘iucundus,’ nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem; neque ob eam unam causam quam tu suspicaris et in qua me lenissimis et amantissimis verbis utens re graviter accusas, sed quod illius tanti vulneris quae remedia esse debebant ea nulla sunt. 2. Quid enim? Ad amicosne confugiam? Quam multi sunt? Habuimus enim fere communis, quorum alii occiderunt, alii nescio quo pacto obdurerunt. Tecum

*seeundum Othonem*] Next to the property of Otho (i.e. the *horti* of Scapula) he likes that of Clodia.

2. *copiosa*] ‘She likes the place and has plenty of money,’ so she will not sell. *illud alterum* is the property of Otho: cp. 593. 2.

3. *domum*] ‘to Rome’; see note on Ep. 269, 1.

1. *non ille quidem*] A common Ciceronian usage: cp. Fin. v. 20, *fruendi rebus iis* . . . *Carnades non ille quidem auctor sed defensor disserendi causa fuit.*

*gratus et optatus; dicerem ‘iucundus’*] ‘acceptable and desirable; I would say “pleasant,” were it not that I have lost

that word for ever and aye’: cp. 574. 1. *Cuius officia iucundiora scilicet saepe mihi fuerunt, numquam tamen gratiora.*

*accusas*] sc. 585. 2.

2. *Tecum vivere possem equidem et maxime vellem*] ‘With you I could have lived, and would fain have done so.’ So the mss. We take *equidem* with *possem*. For *equidem* following the verb, cp. Plaut. Poen. 295, AG. i in *malam rem*. MI. *Ibi sum equidem*. Cic. Leg. ii 69, *Perge cetera. Pergam equidem*. The rhythm recalls Catull. 2, 9, *Tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem*. Several emendations have been proposed, e.g. Lamb. *tecum vivere posse equidem maxime vellem*: Madv. (A. C. iii. 157) *tecum vivere, <si> possem, equidem maxime vellem*.

vivere possem equidem et maxime vellem: vetustas, amor, consuetudo, studia paria; quod vinculum, quaeso, deest nostrae conjunctionis? Possumusne igitur esse una? Nec meherecule intellego quid impediat; sed certe adhuc non fuimus, cum essemus vicini in Tusculano, in Puteolano: nam quid dicam in urbe? In qua, cum forum commune sit, vicinitas non requiritur. 3. Sed casu nescio quo in ea tempora nostra aetas incidit ut, cum maxime florere nos oporteret, tum vivere etiam puderet: quod enim esse poterat mihi perfugium spoliato et domesticis et forensibus ornamentis atque solaciis? Litterae, credo, quibus utor adsidue: quid enim aliud facere possum? Sed nescio quo modo ipsae illae excludere me a portu et perfugio videntur et quasi exprobrare quod in ea vita maneam in qua nihil insit nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis. 4. Hic tu me abesse urbe miraris in qua domus nihil delectare possit, summum sit odium temporum, hominum, fori, curiae? Itaque sic literis utor, in quibus consumo omne tempus, non ut ab iis medicinam perpetuam sed ut exiguam oblivionem doloris petam. 5. Quod si id egissemus ego atque tu, quod ne in mentem quidem nobis veniebat propter cotidianos metus, omne tempus una fuisset, neque me valetudo tua offenderet neque te

*vetustas . . . paria*] 'old acquaintance, love, habit, identity of pursuits.'

*quaeso, deest*] So Rost excellently for *quas id est* of M.: (*quasi est*, GR).

*Possumusne . . . intellego*] 'Can we not then be together? And indeed, upon my life, I do not see what hinders us.' Cicero might have added something like *possumus* before *nec*; Lambinus actually does add it, and the addition has met with the approval of Wesenberg (E. A. 12). But the idea can be with ease mentally supplied, and the actual insertion of the word makes the sentence somewhat tautological. For *-ne* = *nonne* cp. De Sen. 31, *videtisne ut*, a usage which is invariable in Plaut. and constant in Ter., and in the colloquial Latin of the classical period.

3. *spoliato . . . solaciis*] 'deprived of everything which can embellish or comfort my public and private life.'

*Litterae, credo*] 'my books, I presume.' For *credo* parenthetic cp. 555. 3. Cicero often speaks of his books as his friends: cp. Fam. ix. 1, 2 (456), *redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est cum libris nostris, in gratiam*.

4. *abesse urbe . . . in qua*] 'to be absent

from a city where.' Cicero generally uses *ab* after *abesse*, except with names of towns: but we occasionally find it without *ab* with *domo*, *foro* (574. 2), cp. Orat. 146: N.D. ii. 69: *patria* (Tusc. v. 106), though he also uses *ab* with these words, Verr. iii. 39: v. 31. (The absence of the preposition is of course common in the poets, Catull. lxiii. 59). So that we may perhaps include *urbe* in the same category as the other words with which he does not use a preposition, as the reference is plainly to Rome, though the expression is general (hence the subjunctive *possit*: cp. 589. 1), 'Do you wonder that I can be absent from a city where nought can delight me?' Dr. Reid on Acad. i. 1 would prefer to read < *ab ea* > *abesse urbe* with Wes.: or < *ex ea* > *abesse urbe*.

*fori, curiae*] cp. 574. 2; *nihil in foro agere libebat, aspicere curiam non poteram*.

*Itaque . . . petam*] 'And thus I have recourse to my books, and over them I spend all my time, not with any idea of obtaining therefrom a lasting cure, but only a short forgetfulness, of my troubles.' Cp. 582. 3.

5. *neque me valetudo tua*] cp. 585. 1.

maeror meus. Quod quantum fieri poterit consequamur: quid enim est utrique nostrum aptius? Propediem te igitur videbo.

### 588. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 41).

ASTURA; MAY 11; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero quaerit ubi Atticus sit et demonstrat ubi ipse futurus sit, tum de fano Tulliae aedificando et de hortis ea causa emendis et omnino de loco, de Hirtii epistula et Caesaris 'Anticatone.'

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil erat quod scriberem. Scire tamen volebam ubi esses; si abes aut afuturus es, quando rediturus esses. Facies igitur me certiore. Et, quod tu scire volebas ego quando ex hoc loco, post-ridie Idus Lanuvi constitui manere, inde postridie in Tusculano aut Romae. Utrum sim facturus eo ipso die scies. 2. Scis quam sit φιλαίτιον συμφορά, minime in te quidem, sed tamen avide sum adfectus de fano, quod nisi non dico effectum erit sed fieri videro—audebo hoc dicere et tu, ut soles, accipies—, incursabit in te dolor meus, non iure ille quidem, sed tamen feres hoc ipsum quod scribo, ut omnia mea fers ac tulisti. Omnis tuas consolationes unam hanc in rem velim conferas. 3. Si quaeris quid optem, primum Scapulae, deinde Clodiae, postea, si Silius nolet, Drusus aget iniuste, Cusini et Treboni. Puto tertium esse dominum; Rebilum fuisse certo scio. Sin autem tibi Tusculanum placet, ut significasti quibusdam litteris, tibi adsentiar. Hoc quidem utique perficies, si me levare vis, quem iam etiam gravius accusas quam patitur tua consuetudo, sed facis summo amore et victus fortasse

*Quod*] sc. our being together.

1. *loco*] sc. *profecturus sim*: for the ellipse cp. 546. 4.

*inde postridie*] 'the day after that,' i.e. the 17th, the day after (*postridie*) the 16th (*postridie idus*): cp. 589 [43]. 1; 590. 3.

2. *φιλαίτιον*] 'you know how querulous is misery,' 'how sour misfortune is.'

*avide sum adfectus*] 'my feeling is one of hungry longing,' an unusual and very strong expression.

*quod nisi*] 'and unless it is—I will

not say completed, but unless I see it advancing to completion—I will vent my resentment on you,' cp. 579. 2, *ut mi stomachere*.

3. *aget iniuste*] Drusus seems to have asked an excessive price: cp. 582. 4; 590. 2; 591. 1.

*tertium*] Cusinius and Trebonius were absent; but Cicero thinks there is a third owner who could be approached, adding, 'I know there *was* a third owner Caninius Rebilus.'

*Tusculanum*] cp. 579. 2; 588. 3.

*levare*] cp. 581. 1.

vitio meo. Sed tamen, si me levare vis, haec est summa levatio vel, si verum scire vis, una. 4. Hirti epistulam si legeris, quae mihi quasi *πρόπλασμα* videtur eius vituperationis quam Caesar scripsit de Catone, facies me quid tibi visum sit, si tibi erit commodum, certiore. Redeo ad fanum. Nisi hac aestate absolutum erit, quam vides integram restare, scelere me liberatum non putabo.

## 589. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 42, § 3, AND 43).

ASTURA ; MAY 12 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De ratione itineris sui constituti, de summa sua fani aedificandi cupiditate, de Othonis, de Clodiae, de Trebonianis hortis emendis, de Tusculano.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

[42], 3. Venerat mihi in mentem monere te ut id ipsum quod facis faceres. Putabam enim commodius te idem istud domi agere posse interpellatione sublata. [43], 1. Ego postridie Idus, ut scripsi ad te ante, Lanuvi manere constitui, inde aut Romae aut in Tusculano. Scies ante utrum. Quod scribis recte mihi illam rem fore levamento, bene facis ; tamen id est, mihi crede, perinde ut existimare tu non potes. Res indicat quanto opere id cupiam, cum tibi audeam confiteri quem id non ita valde probare arbitrer. Sed ferendus tibi in hoc meus error ; ferendus ? immo vero etiam adiuvandus. 2. De Othone diffido, fortasse quia cupio. Sed tamen maior etiam res est quam facultates nostrae, praesertim adversario et cupido et locuplete et heredo. Proximum est ut

4. *epistulam*] Elsewhere (584. 1 ; 590. 1 ; 594. 3) it is called *liber*.

*πρόπλασμα*] 'a sort of *première bauche* of the invective of Caesar against Cato.'

*scelere*] 'scelerati putantur qui vota non solvunt.'—Man.'

[42], 3. *quod facis*] Cicero probably refers to the thought expressed in § 3 of the next letter, where he commends Atticus for shutting himself up in his house and avoiding interruption, probably to do some business of his own : cp. 590. 3 ; 594. *domi te libenter esse facile credo*.

[43] 1. *utrum*] This sentence is so

clearly a repetition of 588. 1, that the change of *utrumque* to *utrum* is obviously required.

*Quod scribis*] 'it is kind of you to say in your letter (what is so true) that the honour paid to my dead daughter will be a comfort to me. But it is so, believe me, to a degree that you cannot imagine.' *id = illam rem fore levamento*. Tamen qualifies the unexpressed thought that the words of Atticus are merely formal. For the alterations of M here adopted see Adn. Crit.

2. *De Othone diffido*] cp. note to 572. 3. *maior . . . nostrae*], beyond my means.' *adversario*] i.e. Otho : cp. 593. 2.

velim Clodiae. Sed si ista minus confici possunt, effice quidvis. Ego me maiore religione quam quisquam fuit ullius voti obstrictum puto. Videbis etiam Trebonianos, etsi absunt domini. Sed, ut ad te heri scripsi, considerabis etiam de Tusculano, ne aesta effluat, quod certe non est committendum.

# 590. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 44, AND 45, § 1).

ASTURA; MAY 13; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Hirtii litteris ad Atticum datis, de eius libro de Catone divulgando, de hortorum Scapulanorum venditione per Mustelam efficienda, de aliis fani locis quaerendis, de Attici vita et itinere suo constituto, quid Philotimus de bello sibi narraverit, de scriptis suis Asturae confectis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Et Hirtium aliquid ad te *συμπαθῶς* de me scripsisse facile patior—fecit enim humane—et te eius epistulam ad me non misisse multo facilius. Tu enim etiam humanius. Illius librum, quem ad me misit de Catone, propterea volo divulgari a tuis ut ex istorum vituperatione sit illius maior laudatio. 2. Quod per Mustelam agis, habes hominem valde idoneum meique sane studiosum iam inde a Pontiano. Perfice igitur aliquid. Quid autem aliud nisi ut aditus sit emptori? quod per quemvis heredem potest effici. Sed Mustelam id perfecturum, si rogaris, puto. Mihi vero et locum quem opto ad id quod volumus dederis et praeterea *ἐγγήραμα*. Nam illa Sili et Drusi non satis *οἰκοδεσποτικά* mihi videntur. Quid

*Clodiae*] sc. *hortos*: cp. 582. 4.

*ullius voti*] probably the same genitive of the 'matter charged' (Roby 1324) as appears in *damnatus voti*: but it might possibly be governed by *religione*, like *religio iurisiurandi* (Caes. B. C. iii. 28).

*Trebonianos*] sc. *hortos*, cp. 582. 4: 588. 3.

1. *facile patior*] 'I am glad,' cp. 697. 1: 732. 2; somewhat stronger than the literal meaning of the words, viz. 'I can put up with.'

*humanius*] 'you showed even more kindness' in not sending me a letter which would have renewed my grief for Tullia.

*librum*] cp. note to 588. 4.

*propterea volo*] We can hardly help suspecting that it was rather the eulogy on himself which made Cicero desire the wide diffusion of the *brochure* of Hirtius: cp. 584. 1. The book was dedicated to Cicero.

2. *Mustelam*] coheir of Scapula with Otho, Crispus, Vergilius: cp. 593. 1.

*a Pontiano*] probably some friend of Mustela's defended or otherwise obliged by Cicero. For this temporal use of cp. 598. *a Peducaeo*.

*aditus sit emptori*] cp. 582. 4: 584. 4.

*ἐγγήραμα*] cp. 561. 2: 565. 2.

*οἰκοδεσποτικά*] 'fit for a *père de famille*.'



enim? Sedere totos dies in villa! Ista igitur malim, primum Othonis, deinde Clodiae. Si nihil fiet, aut Druso ludus est suggerendus aut utendum Tusculano. 3. Quod domi te inclusisti, ratione fecisti. Sed, quaeso, confice, et te vacuum redde nobis. Ego hinc, ut scripsi antea, postridie Idus Lanuvi, deinde postridie in Tusculano. Contudi enim animum et fortasse vici, si modo permanserо. Scies igitur fortasse cras, summum perendie. 4. Sed quid est, quaeso? Philotimus nec Carteiae Pompeium teneri—qua de re litterarum ad Clodium Patavinum missarum exemplum mihi Oppius et Balbus miserant, se id factum arbitrari—bellumque narrat reliquum satis magnum. Solet omnino esse † Fulviniaster.

*Sedere totos dies in villa*] This must be compared with 579. 2, where he mentions an objection to Tusculanum as a site, that it could not be so conveniently visited owing to its distance from Rome. Here we may suppose that the meaning is the same. Though he does mention Tusculanum, he says, 'think of having to idle away a whole day in a villa,' as one would have to do if the site were at Tusculum, which was fifteen miles from Rome. We think that it is probable that *<Quid dicam Tusculanum?>* has been lost before *Quid enim?* The reference is plainly to Tusculanum, and there should be some definite indication of the place. Cic. generally adds a question of the nature of a retort after *Quid enim?* Here the exclamatory infinitive is virtually such.

*Ista igitur malim*] This then is the order of merit: first Otho's, next Clodia's. If that should prove not feasible, then we must either bamboozle Drusus, or we must put up with 'Tusculanum.' *Uti* is often 'to put up with' an inferior thing when we cannot get a superior, as in the Horatian verse (Ep. i. 6, 67) *si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti si non his utere mecum*. So *uti populari via*, Att. ix. 6, 7(360). [We think *via*, not *vita*, is the right reading there, cp. Att. i. 20. 3 (26) *viam optimatē*: Cat. iv. 9 *viam quae popularis habetur secutus est*.] *Ludus est suggerendus*] We do not know any other example of this expression. It sounds like slang. The usual expression is *ludos facere* or *dare*.

3. domi] Cicero refers more clearly to a thought hinted at in the beginning of the last letter, and commends Atticus for

shutting himself up in his house, and so avoiding interruption.

*ratione fecisti*] 'prudently.' Madvig, on Fin. i. 32 (quoted by Boot), writes 'Ad Att. xii. 44. 3. *ratione fecisti paulo insolentius ponitur in facto comprobando*'; but he does not approve of the change to *recte*, though he adds 'saepe horum compendia permutata sunt,' and withdraws his own conjecture of *ratione* for *recte* in Rosc. Am. 138. He explains *ratione* by 'considerate et cum iudicio.'

*confice*] sc. *negotium*, cp. Att. xi. 3, 3 (411). Lehmann, pp. 15 ff., points out that the omission of the object after a transitive verb is characteristic of the letters. See note on Att. vii. 7, 5 (298). But it is found all through Cicero: cp. Lebreton 156-166.

*antea*], 588, 1, 589. 1.

*Contudi*] 'I have crushed down my feelings, and mastered them, if I can only hold out.' The visit to his Tusculanum, where Tullia died, would bring her vividly before his mind. For *contudi animum*, cp. Verg. Georg. iv. 240, *contusosque animos et res miserabere fractas*; Ov. A. A. i. 12; Tac. Hist. ii. 19, *is labor urbano militi insolitus contundit animos*. But in these and other passages it means 'to break the spirit' of a person. Here Cicero means 'to break the intensity of his grief.'

4. *nec Carteiae*] sc. *dicti*, inferred from *narrat*, below. After the battle of Munda, Gnaeus, the son of Pompeius Magnus, retired to Carteia, cp. note 580. 4, which was close to the modern Gibraltar. We do not know who Clodius Patavinus was.

*Fulviniaster*] 'a bad copy of Fulvinius.' Who this Fulvinius was is unknown; but

Sed tamen, si quid habes: volo etiam de naufragio Caniniano scire quid sit. [45], 1. Ego hic duo magna *συντάγματα* absolvi: nullo enim alio modo a miseria quasi aberrare possum. Tu mihi, etiam si nihil erit quod scribas, quod fore ita video, tamen id ipsum scribas velim, te nihil habuisse quod scriberes, dum modo ne his verbis.

## 591. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 26).

ASTURA; MAY 14; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De locis ad fanum Tulliae aedificandum emendis, de commoratione sua Asturae, de itinere suo, de scriptione sua adsidua et diurna et nocturna.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Vergili parte valde probo. Sic ages igitur. Et quidem id erit primum, proximum Clodiae. Quod si neutrum, metuo ne turbem et irruam in Drusum. Intemperans sum in eius rei cupiditate quam nosti. Itaque revolvor identidem in Tusculanum. Quidvis enim potius quam ut non hac aestate absolvatur. 2. Ego, ut tempus et nostrum, locum habeo nullum ubi facilius esse possim quam Asturae. Sed quia, qui mecum sunt—credo quod

we may infer that he was given to unauthorized statements. For a similar reason Cicero thus styles Philotimus, of whom he writes, Att. x. 9. 1 (393), *at cuius hominis! quam insulsi et quam saepe pro Pompeio mentientis*. Cp. Att. ix. 7. 6 (362), *Philotimo, homini forti ac nimium optimati*. There is nothing gained by altering *Fulviniaster* of the mss to *Fulviaster*, as *Fulvius* is quite as obscure as *Fulvinius*. For the latter name cp. Wilmanns, 1946. For *-aster* cp. *Antoniaster* (Cic. pro Vareno ap. Quintil. viii. 3, 22), *surdaster*, *parasitaster*. Dr. Reid thinks some Greek words underlie *Fulviniaster*, as Cicero elsewhere (cp. Att. vi. 9. 2 (282); vii. 1. 1 (284)) plays on the name Philotimus by reference to the Greek *φιλοτιμία*. He thinks the words may be *φιλοτιμων μάστηρ*, 'a searcher out of ambitious news.' This may well be right. It is certainly more probable than Schmidt's *fulminaster* (an unknown word) 'Ein Kerl der es blitzen lässt,' i.e. one who gives thundering news. The word still awaits definite correction.

*naufragio Caniniano*] cp. 580. 4.

[45], 1. *Ego . . . absolvi*] The *συντάγματα* are the two books of the *Academica*: *συντάγματα* are the separate books of a whole treatise; the latter is *σύνταξις*, e.g. the *De Finibus* as a whole is a *σύνταξις*, but each of its separate books is a *σύνταγμα*, or *σύγγραμμα*. The Lat. for *σύνταξις* is *corpus*; for *σύνταγμα* or *σύγγραμμα* usually *liber*. See Reid on Acad., p. 31, note 1.

*aberrare*] cp. 581. 1; 582. 3; also Fam. xv. 18. 1 (530).

1. *Vergili*] one of the four coheirs of Scapula.

*turbem*] 'I fear I shall run amuck and make for Drusus': cp. Att. ii. 17, 1 (44), *turbat Sampsiceramus*. Cicero means here that he fears he will be tempted to cast calculation to the winds and take anything he can get.

*revolvor*] 'I often come round to [the thought of] Tusculanum.' He invariably speaks of Tusculanum as the least desirable site; but he is resolved to take it if he can get no better.

2. *qui mecum sunt*] Who are these?

maestitiā meam non ferunt— domum properant, etsi poteram remanere, tamen, ut scripsi tibi, proficiscar hinc, ne relictus videar. Quo autem? Lanuvio conor equidem in Tusculanum. Sed faciam te statim certiozem. Tu litteras conficies. Equidem credibile non est quantum scribam, quin etiam noctibus; nihil enim somni. Heri etiam effeci epistolam ad Caesarem: tibi enim placebat; quam non fuit malum scribi, si forte opus esse putares: ut quidem nunc est, nihil sane est necesse mittere. Sed id quidem, ut tibi videbitur. Mittam tamen ad te exemplum fortasse Lanuvio, nisi forte Romam. Sed cras scies.

## 592. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 46 AND 47, § 1).

ASTURA; MAY 15; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De animo suo vincendo et Tusculano visendo, de Attico a se expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Vincam, opinor, animum et Lanuvio pergam in Tusculanum. Aut enim mihi in perpetuum fundo illo carendum est—nam dolor idem manebit, tantum modo occultius—aut nescio quid intersit utrum illuc nunc veniam an ad decem annos. Neque enim ista maior admonitio quam quibus adsidue conficior et dies et noctis.

'My people' is Shuckburgh's translation; but that is not explicit. Perhaps people like Sicca (562. 1), who came down to see him: or Nicias and Valerius, who came and stayed with him at Tusculum (598. 1). Possibly it was to such visitors that Cicero asks Att. to write letters of politeness (*tu litteras conficies*). But we feel great uncertainty in the matter. For *litteras conficere* cp. Att. xi. 5. 3 (416). It is quite possible that Cicero means no more than 'you will please write to me.'

[*Lanuvio*] cp. Adn. Crit. 'From Lanuvium I try to prevail on myself to go to Tusculanum.' He finds it hard to revisit a place so full of associations with Tullia: cp. 592. 1.

[*effeci*] There seems an idea of doing a difficult thing in this word when used with *epistula*, 'I elaborated a letter.' For

another case of *efficere* where we should expect *conficere*, cp. 599. 2.

[*non fuit malum*] 'there was no harm (cp. 593. 1 *nihil nocuerit*) in its being written, if you thought it might do good. But, as things now are, there is no necessity to send it.'

[*Romam*] sc. *contendero*, 'unless I push on to Rome.' The ellipse of such a verb of motion is frequent, cp. Att. vi. 7. 2 (270), *Rhodum volo puerorum causa*.

1. *occultius*] We agree with Boot that this is the best reading for *octius*. A few lines further down the copyist has *exto* for *exulto*. Lehmann suggested *tector*.

[*ad decem annos*] 'in ten years': for *ad* cp. Att. ii. 5. 1 (32), *ad annos* DC.

[*ista . . admonitio*] 'the reminder of my loss which I shall experience there.' Before *quibus* understand *admonitiones*.

Quid ergo? inquires: nihil litterae? In hac quidem re vereor ne etiam contra. Nam essem fortasse durior; exulto enim *in* animo nihil agreste, nihil inhumanum est. [47] 1. Tu igitur, ut scripsisti, nec id incommodo tuo. Vel binae enim poterunt litterae. Occurram etiam, si necesse erit. Ergo id quidem ut poteris.

## 593. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 47, §§ 1, 2).

LANUVIUM; MAY 16; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotio per Mustelam conficiendo, de Clodiae hortis, de nomine Faberiano, de Hirtii libro divulgando, de Philotimo.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Mustela, ut scribis: etsi magnum opus est. Eo magis delabor ad Clodiam: quamquam in utroque Faberianum nomen explorandum est, de quo nihil nocuerit, si aliquid cum Balbo eris locutus, et quidem, ut res est, emere nos velle nec posse sine isto nomine nec audere re incerta. 2. Sed quando Clodia Romae futura est et quanti rem aestimas? Eo prorsus specto, non quin illud malim, sed et magna res est et difficile certamen cum cupido,

*nihil litterae?*] sc. *sunt*. 'Is literature nothing?'

*ne etiam contra*] 'I fear literature has the contrary effect. Were I unlettered, I should be made of sterner stuff, perhaps. In the highly cultured mind there is no roughness, no unfeelingness.' This gives an explanation of *enim*: but it is doubtful if we can supply such a protasis as 'if I were unlettered.' The natural meaning of the words is, 'I ought to have been made of sterner stuff': but then we can hardly have *enim*, but must alter to *autem* or *tamen*.

[47], 1. *nec id incommodo tuo*] 'you will come to me then to Tusculanum, as you say, but not unless it is convenient.' For *venies* understood, cp. 669. 2. *Nec* prevents us from supplying the verb in the imperative.

*binae . . . litterae*] 'a couple of letters will avail'; something like *rem transigere* must be understood. What the business was we do not know, as it is alluded to so indefinitely: cp. Ep. 596. Perhaps it was

something connected with the repayment of Terentia's dowry, or with the divorce of Publilia.

*Occurram*] sc. *tibi Romam*.

*id quidem*] i.e. your coming to me at Tusculum.

1. *Mustela*] one of the four coheirs of Scapula: cp. 590. 2.

*delabor*] 'I incline to': cp. *revolvor* in Ep. 591. 1.

*nihil nocuerit*] 'it will do no harm': cp. *non fuit malum*, 591, 2.

*ut res est*] 'have a talk with Balbus, [and tell him,] what is the truth, that we wish to purchase, but cannot, without collecting that debt, and do not dare to take a leap in the dark.' *Ut res est* is the observation of Cicero himself, and no part of the communication suggested to Atticus to be made to Balbus, which would demand *sit* for *est*.

2. *Eo*] 'I turn my thoughts to it,' to Clodia's property.

*illud*] Otho's property: cp. 586. 2

cum locuplete, cum herede, etsi de cupiditate nemini concedam, ceteris rebus inferiores sumus. Sed haec coram.

594. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 47, § 3, AND 48 *init.*).

LANUVIUM; MAY 17; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Caesare Attici vicino, de Attico a se in Tusculano exspectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

3. Hirti librum, ut facis, divulga. De Philotimo, idem et ego arbitrabar. Domum tuam pluris video futuram vicino Caesare. Tabellarium meum hodie exspectamus. Nos de Pilia et Attica certiores faciet. [48 *init.*] Domi te libenter esse facile credo. Sed velim scire quid tibi restet aut iamne confeceris. Ego te in Tusculano exspecto eoque magis quod Tironi statim te venturum scripsisti et addidisti te putare opus esse.

## 595. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 45, §§ 2, 3).

TUSCULUM; MAY 17; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De ἀκηδία Attici, de commoratione in Tusculano, de Caesare vicino, de Hirtii libro pervulgando.

2. De Attica, optime. Ἀκηδία tua me movet, etsi scribis nihil esse. In Tusculano eo commodius ero quod et crebrius tuas

*concedam*] There is no need to alter to *concedo in*, as we did in our former edition. The future means 'I shall yield to no one' (when the auction comes on): cp. 584. 4, *Sin ad tabulam venimus, vincemus facultates Othonis nostra cupiditate*. Cp. Reid in *Herma-thena*, x (1898), p. 139.

*Sed haec coram*] i.e. *considerabimus*. Often at the end of a letter: cp. Att. xii. 11 (502); 630; 631.

3. *Hirti librum*] 584. 1; 590. 1.

*De Philotimo*] 590. 4.

*vicino Caesare*] A statue of Caesar with the inscription *Deo Invicto* was now

erected in the temple of Quirinus, near the house of Atticus on the Quirinal Hill. (See on next letter.) Schmidt (p. 283) says that Caesar was building a house near that of Atticus: but that will not suit with σύνναον.

[48], *libenter esse*] 'are glad to be at your own house,' 589. 3; 590. 3. Atticus had shut himself up in his own house to finish some business matter.

2. Ἀκηδία] 'languor,' 'listlessness,' the feeling of general want of interest. It is not quite the same as *pigritia*, which Cicero defines (Tusc. iv. 18) as *metus consequentis laboris*.

litteras accipiam et te ipsum non numquam videbo—nam cetero-  
qui ἀνεκτότερα erant Asturae—nec haec quae refricant hic me  
magis angunt; etsi tamen, ubicumque sum, illa sunt mecum.  
3. De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te, quia cognoram ex tuis lit-  
teris. Eum σύνναον Quirini malo quam Salutis. Tu vero pervulga  
Hirtium. Id enim ipsum putaram quod scribis, ut, cum ingenium  
amici nostri probaretur, ὑπόθεσις vituperandi Catonis irrideretur.

## 596. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 50).

TUSCULANUM; MAY 18; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Invitat M. Cicero Atticum ut se saepius invisat.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ut me levarat tuus adventus sic discessus adflixit. Quare  
cum poteris, id est, cum Sexti auctioni operam dederis, revises  
nos. Vel unus dies mihi erit utilis, quid dicam 'gratus'? Ipse

*refricant*] sc. me; the word is always transitive, a reflexive pronoun being easily supplied in the places where the verb is apparently intransitive, as here, and in Att. x. 17, 2 (403), *crebro refricat lippitudo*. Translate 'for otherwise things were more endurable at Astura—nor do these associations which renew my grief afflict me more here (than elsewhere), yet [you must understand], wherever I go, my grief never leaves me.' Ellis thinks that *quae refricant hic me magis angunt*, which have the rhythm of a hexameter, may be a quotation from Lucilius.

3. *Eum . . . Salutis*] The temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal Hill, dedicated by L. Papirius Cursor (Liv. x. 46) on the defeat of the Samnites, was burned down in the year 49 B.C. Caesar restored it, and this year his statue was erected there with the inscription, *Deo Inviecto*. There was also a temple to *Salus* on the same hill; cp. Att. iv. 1. 4 (90)  *tuae vicinae Salutis*. Cicero here bitterly says that he would rather see Caesar 'enshrined with' (occupant of the same temple with) Quirinus than with *Salus*. Romulus was torn to pieces just before he was acknowledged as a god. In 604. 3 Cicero calls Caesar *Quirini contubernalem*, where see note.

*Hirtium*] The work is called by the name of the writer (cp. *Cottam* and *Libonem* 647. 3), just as we now speak of our *Cicero* or *Horace*, and as Juvenal (7. 227) wrote of *Flaccus* and *Maro*. It is generally spoken of as *Hirti librum*, 594 init. This was the attack against Cato mentioned in 584. 1, and it was dedicated to Cicero, cp. 588. 4; 590. 1. He says the effect of the *brochure* will be to reflect credit on the literary ability of Hirtius, but ridicule on the scheme of blackening the character of Cato.

*adventus*] Atticus appears to have paid Cicero a short visit on the 18th. The visits of a business man like Att. were necessarily short, and Cicero knew this (549. 4). Atticus seems to have paid similar short visits on June 8 (618) and on Aug. 10 (662. 1). This letter was despatched on the same day as Att. left, for Cicero was sending a messenger to Rome to enquire about Tiro (597. 2).

*Sexti*] the auction of Sextus Peducaeus, 598. 1.

*quid dicam 'gratus'*] 'need I say "pleasant"?' For *quid dicam*, cp. Phil. xiii. 18, *hoc archipirata—quid enim dicam tyranno?* Somewhat similar is Att. iv. 13. 1 (130)

Romam venirem ut una essemus, si satis consilium quadam de re haberem.

597. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 48 *fin.* AND 49).

TUSCULUM; MAY 19; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De C. Marii causa a se defendenda, de Tirone, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

[48 *fin.*] Sentiebam omnino quantum mihi praesens prodesses, sed multo magis post discessum tuum sentio. Quam ob rem, ut ante ad te scripsi, aut ego ad te totus aut tu ad me, quod licebit. [49, 1] Heri non multo post quam tu a me discessisti, puto, quidam urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata et litteras attulerunt a C. Mario C. F. C. N. multis verbis: 'agere mecum

*volumus esse: quid dico volumus: immo vero cogimur*, and Senec. Controv. i. praef. 9 *quis aequalium vestrorum, quid dicam* ('can I say) *satis ingeniosus . . . immo quis satis vir est?* Not quite parallel is Att. i 17. 6 (23) *sermonis communicatio . . . deest—quid dicam? in publicane re . . . an in forensi labore . . . an in ipsis domesticis negotiis*—where the question is not purely rhetorical. We have adopted the correction of Victorius, *gratus* for *gratius*: the sense, 'what pleasanter word (than "useful") is now possible for me' would require the emphatic word 'now' to be expressed: and a reference to the pleasantness of Atticus' visit is in harmony with the opening words of this little note.

*si satis consilium . . . haberem*['if I had made up my mind satisfactorily on a certain matter.' For *consilium habere* cp. Off. iii. 49: Sall. Cat. 52. 34. *satis*, 'in sufficient measure': cp. Munro on Lucr. i. 241. The change to *satis consili* or *satis certum consilium* is not necessary. Lehmann (p. 8) suggests *satis constitutum consilium*, comparing 1 Verr. i. 26. Müller reads *consultum* for *consilium*, comparing Plaut. Rud. 225, *neque quaquarum consultumst*. This business is possibly the same as that alluded to in 592 *fin.*

48 *fin. totus*] This word is strangely used. It would seem to mean, as Boot

suggests, 'I will come to you for good (or to stop; Shuckburgh translates "bodily"), or you to me, that is if you will be able to manage it.' *Totus* [*veniam*] is opposed to *occurram tantum*. The other interpretations, 'I will come with my whole establishment,' or 'with all my heart,' are impossible; the first both for the meaning and the expression, the latter for the expression only, for it is not to be defended by Horace's *totus in illis*, Sat. i. 9, 2, nor by *omnis in hoc sum*, Ep. i. 1, 11. 49, 1. *puto*] 'as I think.' Cicero is not sure about the exact time when his visitors arrived.

*urbani*] 'from the city, as I judged.'  
C. F. C. N.] *Gai filio, Gai nepote*. This man, an oculist (the reading *equarius* in Val. Max. ix. 15. 1 is now given up) by profession, was really called Herophilus, which name he changed to Amatius. Giving himself out to be the son of the younger Marius, who had married a daughter of L. Crassus, the orator, he was accepted as such by many towns and guilds, who made him their patron. Cicero, without committing himself, seems to have considered that he was an impostor. When Caesar returned from Spain, he had him banished, as he was getting scandalously influential. On the death of Caesar he returned, and posed as his avenger in virtue of his supposed relationship to him (Caesar's aunt Julia, wife of

per cognationem, quae mihi secum esset, per eum "Marium," quem scripsissem, per eloquentiam L. Crassi, avi sui, ut se defenderem,' causamque suam mihi perscripsit. Rescripsi patrono illi nihil opus esse, quoniam Caesaris propinqui eius omnis potestas esset, viri optimi et hominis liberalissimi, me tamen ei fauturum. O tempora! fore cum dubitet Curtius consulatum petere! Sed haec hactenus. 2. De Tirone, mihi curae est. Sed iam sciam quid agat. Heri enim misi qui videret, cui etiam ad te litteras dedi. Epistulam ad Ciceronem tibi misi. Horti quam in diem proscripti sint velim ad me scribas.

the great Marius, was claimed by this Amatus as his grandmother). He erected an altar upon the place where Caesar's corpse had been burned, and sacrificed to Caesar as to a god. Even if he did not urge a massacre of the Senate (as Val. Max. says), he was certainly a fomenter of disorder: so Antony seized him and executed him summarily. Antony won considerable approval for doing so, cp. Appian, B. C. iii. 3. Cicero mentions him elsewhere, cp. 708. 1; 709. 1; 710. 1; Phil. i. 5. Cicero approved thoroughly of the vigorous measures of Antony against this man.

*per cognationem*] Gratidia was the grandmother of Cicero. Her brother, M. Gratidius, had a son who was adopted by M. Marius, brother of Gaius Marius (De Orat. i. 178).

*dubitet*] 'hesitates,' whether he will stand or not. This is an example of *dubitare* used in a positive sentence: cp. Att. x. 3a, 2 (381).

*Curtius*] This was Postumus Curtius, a man whom Cic. indeed speaks of as *familiarissimus meus*, Fam. xiii. 69. 1 (508), but whom he plainly disliked, cp. Att. ix. 5. 1 (359); 6. 2 (360). In 54

Cicero had asked Caesar to make him a *tribunus militum* (Q. Fr. iii. 1. 10, Ep. 148), and Curtius was ever after an ardent Caesarean. In the spring of 49 he was especially blatant when he paid a visit to Cicero (Att. ix. 2a, 3 (356), *nihil nisi classis loquens et exercitus*). Cicero even then was indignant at his ambition, *Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat* Fam. ii. 16. 7 (394). If he was thinking of the consulship for 44, he must have been made praetor about 47 or 46. In May, 44, he roundly censured Cic. for his siding with the assassins of Caesar; cp. 712. 2. *quam severe nos M. Curtius accusat ut pudeat vivere*. With Matius he organized the games given by Octavian (732. 3).

2. *Ciceronem*] This is young Marcus. Wes. and Boot read *Caesarem* with I—perhaps rightly: cp. 591. 2; 598. 2. That would be the *συμβουλευτικὸν* of 584. 2. We have, however, with hesitation retained the reading of the mss, as Cicero most probably did write a letter to his son at this time, as he knew Att. was about to despatch a packet of letters to Greece: cp. 600.

*Horti*] the *horti* of Scapula probably: cp. *auctio*, 598. 2.



## 598. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 51).

TUSCULUM; MAY 20; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Tironis et Niciae adventu facto, Valerii futuro, de Attico a se exspectato. De Vergilio, de epistula ad Caesarem mittenda, de Caerelliano nomine et Metonis et Faberii.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Tironem habeo citius quam verebar. Venit etiam Nicias, et Valerium hodie audiebam esse venturum. Quamvis multi sint, magis tamen ero solus quam si unus esses. Sed exspecto te, a Peducaeo utique. Tu autem significas aliquid etiam ante. Verum id quidem, ut poteris. 2. De Vergilio, ut scribis. Hoc tamen velim scire quando auctio. Epistulam ad Caesarem mitti video tibi placere. Quid quaeris? Mihi quoque hoc idem maxime placuit, et eo magis quod nihil est in ea nisi optimi civis sed ita optimi ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολιτικοὶ praecipunt. Sed scis ita nobis esse visum ut isti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed, nisi plane iis intelleges placere, mittenda non est. Id autem utrum illi sentiant an ne simulent tu intelleges: sed mihi simulatio pro repudiatione fuerit. Τοῦτο δὲ μηλώσῃ. 3. De

1. *Tironem*] He had been laid up in Rome: cp. 597. 2.

*citius quam verebar*] 'sooner than I in my fear expected.' 'I ventured to hope.'

*Nicias*] cp. 600; 604 [29]. 1; 623. 2. Valerius appears to have been also a friend who came on a visit (600).

*unus esses*] 'than if you by yourself were with me.' Some edd. insert *tu*; but *meum* or *una*, as suggested by Prof. Goligher, seems more needed.

*a Peducaeo*] 'after Peducaeus,' that is after his auction: cp. 596. So *Otho* often stands for 'the negotiations with Otho.' *A* = after is common enough in the Letters, as in phrases like *a digressu tuo*, Att. i. 5. 4 (1): cp. *a Pontiano* 590. 2; *ab ea* (sc. *auctione*) 608. 2;

(*litteras*) *a Lentuli triumpho datas*, Att. v. 21. 4 (250).

*Tu*] 'But you give some slight hint that I may see you even before' (the auction).

2. *Vergilio*] one of the four coheirs of Scapula: cp. 591 init.

*ita optimi ut tempora*] 'excellent, at least for the times'—i.e. *ut tempora sunt*.

*isti*] Cicero's Caesarean friends, like Hirtius, Balbus, and Oppius: cp. 603. 1.

*Id . . . fuerit*] 'You will understand whether their approval is real or pretended: pretence I shall regard as disapproval.'

*μηλώσῃ*] 'you will kindly probe the matter'; *μηλοῦσθαι* is to use the *μήλη* or probe. Cicero employs the future as a polite imperative, as he does with Latin verbs.

Caerellia quid tibi placeret Tiro mihi narravit: debere non esse dignitatis meae, perscriptionem tibi placere:

hoc metuere, alterum in metu non ponere!

Sed et haec et multa alia coram. Sustinenda tamen, si tibi videbitur, solutio est nominis Caerelliani dum et de Metone et de Faberio sciamus.

### 599. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 52).

TUSCULUM; MAY 21; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotio L. Tullii Montani ab Attico curando, de epistula ad Caesarem, de hortis emendis, de Spintheris divortio, de ratione scriptorum suorum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. L. Tullium Montanum nosti qui cum Cicerone profectus est. Ab eius sororis viro litteras accepi, Montanum Planco debere, quod praes pro Flaminio sit, HS xxv; de ea re nescio quid te a Montano rogatum. Sane velim, sive Plancus est rogandus sive qua re potes illum iuvare, iuves. Pertinet ad nostrum officium. Si res tibi forte notior est quam mihi aut si Plancum rogandum putas, scribas ad me velim, ut quid rei sit et quid rogandum sciam. 2. De epistula ad Caesarem quid egeris exspecto. De Silio non ita sane laboro. Tu mi aut Scapulanos aut Clodianos

3. *Caerellia*] cp. vol. iv, p. lxxi. This lady, the loss of whose correspondence with Cicero is much to be regretted, had lent Cicero money, and Atticus thought it was unbecoming that Cicero should be in her debt, and that he should write her a cheque (*perscriptionem*). Cicero, quoting from an unknown author, exclaims, 'to think you should have scruples about my being in debt, and never a fear about my writing a cheque, when I cannot collect my debts.' For *perscribere* to write an order or cheque on a banker, cp. 772. 1, *quod perscribi oportet*: Att. iv. 17. 2 (149), and note there. See Roby, *Roman Private Law*, ii. 292.

*hoc . . . ponere*] 'To fear the one, the other not to dread.' The author is unknown. Cicero elsewhere quotes this line: cp. 728. 3: Topic. 55. He is almost as fond of it as of *Ubi nec Pelopidarum*—

*Sustinenda*] 'must be held over': cp. note to *sustentabitur*, 558. 3.

*Metone*] A debtor of Cicero. It is doubtful if there is any reference to him in Att. xii. 3. 2 (468).

1. *Planco debere*] L. Plancus was one of the *praefecti urbis* whom Caesar had appointed to preside over the sale of the escheated goods of the Pompeians. If any purchaser failed to pay the price within the time appointed, L. Plancus was to levy a distress on the goods of the defaulter or his sureties. Montanus had become security for Flaminius, a defaulting purchaser.

HS. xxv] Boot gives xxv, not xx of the mss, as the sum is probably the same as that mentioned in Att. xvi. 15, 5 (807).

2. *De Silio*] We have not heard of Silius and his *horti* since March 29 (569. 1),

efficias necesse est. Sed nescio quid videris dubitare de Clodia, utrum quando veniat an sintne venales? Sed quid est quod audio, Spintherem fecisse divortium? 3. De lingua Latina securi es animi. Dices, qui talia conscribis? Ἀπόγραφα sunt, minore labore fiunt, verba tantum adfero quibus abundo.

## 600. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 53).

TUSCULUM; MAY 22; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De suo et Attici commercio litterarum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ego, etsi nihil habeo quod ad te scribam, scribo tamen, quia tecum loqui videor. Hic nobiscum sunt Nicias et Valerius. Hodie

except the incidental mention on May 11 (588. 3). He was plainly decided in his unwillingness to sell.

*efficias*] 'you must manage (the purchase of) the Scapulan property.' The expression is unusual, but quite intelligible: *conicias* would be simpler; cp. 591. 2.

*dubitare de Clodia*] 'you seem to be in some doubt about Clodia. (What is your doubt?) Is it when she is coming, or whether her gardens are for sale?' This use of *utrum* . . . *an* may perhaps support the marginal reading of M (*utrum*) in Att. i. 14. 3 (20), where see note.

*Spintherem*] For this Lentulus Spinther, see vol. vi, pp. lxxxviii f. He was son of the Lentulus who moved for Cicero's recall from exile, and to whom Cicero wrote most of the letters in Fam. i. For his profligate wife Metella, cp. Att. xi. 15. 3 (430); 23. 3 (437). Cicero confirms the rumour of the divorce, 619. 1.

3. *De lingua Latina*] We think that Atticus's fear was that philosophical works composed so rapidly and under such circumstances could not in point of style be up to Ciceronian standard, and his great influence on the literature of the day (cp. e.g. Att. iv. 2. 2 (91) *oratio inventuti nostrae debere non potest*) might produce imitation and thus in a measure impair the Latin tongue. We think of Byron's confession of his own carelessness

in writing. "No one," he says, "has done more through negligence to corrupt the language" (Golden Treasury Selections, p. ix). This we think the true explanation. But it has been held that Atticus adverted to the difficulty which Cicero would experience in finding Latin equivalents for Greek philosophical terms. Compare the complaint of Lucretius about *patrii sermonis egestas*. Cicero says to him, 'make your mind easy on that subject'; he does not feel the difficulty which presented itself to Lucretius. But he anticipates another question, 'How do you compile these treatises?' to which he replies: 'They are really only translations, and are comparatively easy. I have only to find words, and of them I have no lack': cp. Fam. iv. 4. 1 (495) *me non esse verborum admodum inopem agnosco*. Cicero did not think very much of these works at the time they were written: cp. 584. 2 *quam bene nihil ad rem*; 624. 1 *ista nescio quae*. The old editors punctuate differently: '*De lingua Latina securi es animi, dices 'qui talia conscribis'*'; 'you have great confidence in the resources of the Latin tongue,' you will say, 'when you take such subjects to write on.' But the sentiment would seem to demand *tu* before *qui*; or *conscribas*, instead of *conscribis*.

*tecum loqui*] 583. 2.

*Nicias*] 598. 1.

tuas litteras expectabamus matutinas. Erunt fortasse alterae posmeridianae, nisi te Epiroticae litterae impediunt, quas ego non interpello. Misi ad te epistulas ad Marcianum et ad Montanum. Eas in eundem fasciculum velim addas, nisi forte iam dedisti.

### 601. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 1).

TUSCULUM; MAY 23; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litteris ab Attico ad Ciceronem et Tullios datis, de hortis emendis et pecunia ad eam rem curanda, de epistula a se ad Caesarem scripta, de Nicia, de Peducaeo.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti ut neque severius neque temperatius scribi potuerit nec magis [quam] quem ad modum ego maxime vellem. Prudentissime etiam ad Tullios. Qua re aut ista proficient aut aliud agamus. 2. De pecunia vero video a te omnem diligentiam adhiberi vel potius iam adhibitam esse: quod si efficis a te hortos habebo. Nec vero ullum genus possessionis est quod malim, maxime scilicet ob eam causam quae suscepta est, cuius festinationem mihi tollis quoniam de aestate polliceris vel potius recipis: deinde etiam ad *καταβίωσιν* maestitiamque minuendam nihil mihi reperiri potest aptius; cuius rei cupiditas impellit me interdum ut te hortari velim. Sed me ipse revoco. Non enim

*posmeridianae*] Thus Boot prints instead of *postmeridianae*, quoting Cic. Orat. 157, *posmeridianas quadrigas quam postmeridianas libentius dixerim*: cp. Neue-Wagener ii<sup>3</sup>, 825. Sir J. Sandys (quoting Dr. Postgate) points out that *posmeridianus* is not merely another orthography of *postmer.*, but is compounded with the old Latin *pos*, Umbrian, *pus*. We elsewhere find Atticus writing two letters in the same day, 637. 1.

*Epiroticae litterae*] 'letters to Epirus' to his men of business there. Cicero wishes letters to Marcianus and Montanus (cp. 601. 1; 599. 1) to be sent in the packet which Atticus was sending to Greece (cp. notes to 597. 2) if Att. has not already despatched it.

1. *Ad Ciceronem . . . vellem*] 'your letter to Cicero could not have been

written with more gravity or moderation of language, or more perfectly in accordance with my views.' The mss give *quam* before *quemadmodum*, a case of ditto-graphy.

*Tullios*] L. Tullius Montanus and M. Tullius Marcianus, who were with Cicero's son at Athens, cp. 600. Probably they were urged to keep an eye on young Marcus lest he should fall into bad habits.

2. *a te hortos habebo*] 'I shall owe to you the acquisition of the grounds.'

*festinationem*] 'my impatience which you allay by promising, or rather binding yourself, to have the matter settled before the end of summer.'

*καταβίωσιν*] 'life's downward slope.' The deification of his daughter would be to him the comfort of his declining years cp. *ἐγγήραμα* (561. 2; 590. 2).

dubito quin, quod me valde velle putes, in eo tu me ipsum cupiditate vincas. Itaque istuc iam pro facto habeo. 3. Exspecto quid istis placeat de epistula ad Caesarem. Nicias te, ut debet, amat vehementerque tua sui memoria delectatur. Ego vero Peducaeu nostrum vehementer diligo. Nam et quanti patrem feci, †totum in hunc ipsum per se aequae amo atque illum amavi, te vero plurimum, qui hoc ab utroque nostrum fieri velis. Si hortos inspexeris et si de epistula certiozem me feceris, dederis mihi quod ad te scribam: si minus, scribam tamen aliquid. Numquam enim deerit.

## 602. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 2, § 1).

TUSCULUM; MAY 24; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litterarum commercio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Gravior mihi celeritas tua quam ipsa res. Quid enim indignius? Sed iam ad ista obduruimus et humanitatem omnem exuimus. Tuas litteras hodie expectabam, nihil equidem ut ex iis novi: quid enim? Verum tamen——

3. *istis*] 'the Caesareans,' cp. 598. 2. *quanti patrem feci*] We think it probable that the original reading was *tantum hunc ipsum per se aequae amo*, and the sentence very tautologous, 'for such as was the value I set upon his father such is the love I entertain for himself personally, just as much as for the former; but most of all for yourself, seeing that you desire to promote this regard between us.' Lambinus adds *et* before *ipsum*, supposing that the sentence is somewhat loosely expressed, as if instead of *quanti patrem feci*, Cic. had written *quo amore patrem amavi*. But it is beyond the limits of ellipsis to understand a word like *transtuli*, which is necessary on this view. We should have to read *totum in hunc <transtuli et hunc> ipsum*. There is an old correction *tanti hunc* (sc. facio), et,

which is possible but quite as tautologous. For some emendations which have been proposed, see Adn. Crit.

*celeritas*] 'The despatch you have used gratifies me more than the result itself.' We agree with Schiche (*Hermes* xviii, 1883, p. 596) that this refers to the reception on the part of Balbus and Oppius of Cicero's Epistle to Caesar. They certainly disapproved of it, and perhaps they expressed their disapproval in somewhat curt terms. We note from this date a change in Cicero's feelings as regards Caesar.

*humanitatem*] 'ordinary sensibility,' cp. *inhumanum*, 592.

*nihil . . . novi*] 'not that I expect any news': sc. *exspectem*.

## 603. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 27).

TUSCULUM ; MAY 25 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De epistula ad Caesarem, de hortis emendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De epistula ad Caesarem nobis vero semper rectissime placuit ut isti ante legerent. Aliter enim fuisset et in hos inofficiosi et in nosmet ipsos, si illum offensuri fuimus, paene periculosi. Isti autem ingenue, mihi que gratum quod quid sentirent non reticuerunt, illud vero vel optime quod ita multa mutari volunt ut mihi de integro scribendi causa non sit: quamquam de Parthico bello quid spectare debui nisi quod illum velle arbitrabar? Quod enim aliud argumentum epistulae nostrae nisi *κολακεία* fuit? an, si ea quae optima putarem suadere voluissem, oratio mihi defuisset? Totis igitur litteris nihil opus est. Ubi enim *ἐπίτευγμα* magnum nullum fieri possit, *ἀπότευγμα* vel non magnum molestum futurum sit, quid opus est *παρακινδυνεύειν*? praesertim cum illud occurrat illum, cum antea nihil scripserim, existimaturum me nisi toto bello confecto nihil scripturum fuisse. Atque etiam vereor ne putet me hoc quasi Catonis *μείλιγμα* esse voluisse. Quid quaeris? Valde me paenitebat, nec mihi in hac quidem re quidquam magis ut vellem accidere potuit, quam quod *σπουδῇ* nostra non est probata.

1. *nobis vero*] 'yes, it was my opinion'; see on Ep. 62, 1; 574. 1.

*isti*] his Caesarean friends such as Hirtius, Oppius, and Balbus, who were with Atticus in Rome: ep. 598. 2.

*periculosi*] 'we should have brought danger on ourselves.' We know of no other passage where *periculosus* is followed by *in* with acc., and is used personally.

*de integro scribendi*] 'that I have really no motive for writing the whole letter afresh.' The common friends of Caesar and Cicero found so much to alter that Cicero thought it better to abandon the letter altogether.

*de Parthico bello*] Cicero left it an open question whether Caesar should go to Parthia or not; see 607. 3.

*κολακεία*] 'koting' would be the equivalent in a modern letter.

*Totis*] 'the whole letter was uncalled for.'

*ἐπίτευγμα . . . ἀπότευγμα*] 'when I can't make a *coup*, and a *fiasco*, even though slight, would be unpleasant, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.' Shuckburgh translates by 'hit' and 'miss.'

*toto bello*] 'that I would not have written anything unless the war had been completely finished'—the war between the Caesarean party and the Pompeians.

*Catonis μείλιγμα*] 'I'm afraid he will think this was meant only to gild the pill of the 'Cato.'

*σπουδῇ nostra non est probata*] 'my *zèle* (or, perhaps, *empressement*) did not meet with approval.' We have borrowed a word from Talleyrand's *surtout pas de zèle*.

Incidissemus etiam in illos, in eis in cognatum tuum. 2. Sed redeo ad hortos. Plane illuc te ire nisi tuo magno commodo nolo; nihil enim urget. Quidquid erit, operam in Faberio ponamus. De die tamen auctionis, si quid scies. Eum qui e Cumano venerat, quod et plane valere Atticam nuntiabat et litteras se habere aiebat, statim ad te misi.

## 604. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 28, AND 29, § 1).

TUSCULUM; MAY 26; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De hortis, de Faberio, de epistula ad Caesarem et de Alexandro Magno, de Niciae refectioe ad Dolabellam, de Iuventio Thalna.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Hortos quoniam hodie eras inspecturus, quid visum tibi sit ras scilicet. De Faberio autem, cum venerit. 2. De epistula ad Caesarem, iurato mihi crede, non possum; nec me turpitudine deterret, etsi maxime debebat. Quam enim turpis est adsentatio, cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis! Sed ut coepi, non me hoc turpe deterret. Ac vellem quidem (essem enim qui esse debebam) sed in mentem nihil venit. Nam quae sunt ad Alexandrum hominum eloquentium et doctorum suasionem vides quibus in rebus versentur. Adulescentem incensum cupiditate verissimae gloriae, cupientem sibi aliquid consili dari quod ad laudem sempiternam valeret, cohortantur ad decus. Non deest oratio. Ego quid possum? Tamen nescio quid e quercu exsculperam

illos] 'We should also have fallen into the hands of the Caesarean partisans: cp. Rosc. Am. 151, in quos (militēs) incidant. cognatum] Q. Cicero the younger.

2. tuo magno commodo] 'unless perfectly convenient to you': cp. magno usu, 'by pure chance,' Caes. B. C. iii. 4. 3; magna potestas, 'full power,' Balb. 7, and Dr. Reid's note there. So εἰς φίλος in Eur. Med. 549 is explained rightly by Verrall 'a powerful friend'; a great friend' would be a misleading translation.

auctionis] Probably the auction of theorti of Scapula: cp. 597 fin; 598. 2. for the omission of scribe cp. 666. 1 and fin.

Atticam] There was no previous intimation that she had gone down to Cumae.

1. cras scilicet] sc. scribes.

2. De epistula] 'as to the letter to Caesar, I give you my honour I cannot write it. It is not the baseness of it that stops me, though it ought to be. How disgraceful is this complaisance, when even to be alive is ignominious. But, as I was saying, that is not what stops me. I wish it was. Then I should be what I ought to be. But I can think of nothing to write.'

Alexandrum] cp. 584. 2.

e quercu exsculperam] cp. edolavi 664.

quod videretur simile simulacri. In eo quia non nulla erant paullo meliora quam ea quae fiunt et facta sunt reprehenduntur, quod me minime paenitet. Si enim pervenissent istae litterae, mihi crede, nos paeniteret. 3. Quid? tu non vides ipsum illum Aristoteli discipulum, summo ingenio, summa modestia, postea quam rex appellatus sit, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse? Quid? tu hunc de pompa, Quirini contubernalem, his nostris moderatis epistulis laetaturum putas? Ille vero potius non scripta desideret quam scripta non probet; postremo, ut volet. Abiit illud quod tum me stimulabat quom tibi dabam πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον. Multo mehercule magis nunc opto casum illum quem tum timebam, vel quem libebit. Nisi quid te aliud impediēt, mi optato veneris. Nicias a Dolabella magno opere arcessitus—legi enim litteras—etsi invito me, tamen eodem me auctore profectus est.

Hoc manu mea. [29], 1. Cum quasi alias res quaererem de philologis e Nicia, incidimus in Thalnam. Ille de ingenio nihil nimis, modestum et frugi. Sed hoc mihi non placuit: se scire aiebat ab eo nuper petitam Cornificiam, Q. filiam, vetulam sane et

1, 'from very intractable material I had rough-hewn something which should at least look like a work of art. There are in it a few touches a little too high for the present and past state of things. So they find disfavour; and I am glad of it.'

3. *Quirini contubernalem*] cp. 595. 2, *eum σύνναον Quirini malo quam Salutis*. This *pompa* seems to have been part of the *Ludi Circenses* held on April 21 in honour of the victory of Munda, news of which reached Rome on April 20: cp. Dio Cass. xliii. 42. 3, *τά τε Παρίλια* (Apr. 21) *ἱπποδρομία ἀθανάτω, ὅτι γε καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραιᾷ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη*. The festival for the victory of Munda was afterwards discontinued: cp. C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 316. We hear of another *pompa* about July 19: cp. 646. 1. We hear also that about this time Caesar's image was carried among those of the gods in procession (Dio Cass. xliii. 45. 2; Suet. Caes. 76) and was placed in the temple of Quirinus. These honours paid to Caesar seemed to show Cic. that there could not be any political co-operation between Caesar and himself.

*ut volet*] i.e. 'let it be as he shall wish.'

*πρόβλημα Ἀρχ.*] '*crux*.' This was the question put to Atticus (584. 2), what should be written to Caesar?

*casum illum*] 'that fate which then I feared' (viz. that my work would meet with disapproval), 'or any fate that may please him' (viz. actual hostility).

*optato veneris*] 'your coming will be welcome'—a rare adverb found in the same connexion in Plaut. Amph. 658: Ter. Andr. 533. It is also found in Vergil AEn. x. 405.

[29]. 1. *Cum . . . Nicia*] 'When, as if it had nothing to say to the matter, I was making inquiries from Nicias about scholars.' Nicias was something of a gossip: cp. 623. 2 and 679 fin.: perhaps 752 init.

*Thalnam*] We may infer that Atticus had spoken of Thalna as a suitor of some woman in whom he took an interest, just possibly of Attica, see 632. 7. Cicero mentions that he had sought the hand of Cornificia, and had been disapproved of by her and her mother, as not being sufficiently well off.

*Cornificiam, Q. filiam*] cp. C. I. L. vi. 1300 a. She was daughter of the Q.



multarum nuptiarum: non esse probatum mulieribus, quod ita reperirent, rem non maiorem  $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$ . Hoc putavi te scire oportere.

## 605. CICERO TO ATTICUS

(ATT. XIII. 29, §§ 2 AND 3, AND 30, § 1).

TUSCULUM; MAY 27; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De hortis emendis, de Q. Ciceronis epistulis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. De hortis ex tuis litteris cognovi et ex Chrysippo. In villa, cuius insulsiatē bene noram, video nihil aut pauca mutata: balnearia tamen laudat maiora: de minoribus ait hiberna effici posse. Tecta igitur ambulatiuncula addenda est, quam ut tantam faciamus quantam in Tusculano fecimus, prope dimidio minoris constabit isto loco. Ad id autem quod volumus ἀφίδρυμα nihil aptius videtur quam lucus, quem ego noram, sed celebritatem nullam tum habebat, nunc audio maximam. Nihil est quod ego malim. In hoc τὸν τῦφόν μου πρὸς θεῶν τροποφόρησον. Reliquum est, si Faberius nobis nomen illud explicat, noli quaerere quanti: Othonem vincas volo. Nec tamen insanitūrum illum puto; nosse

Cornificius who was one of the judges in the trial of Verres (1. Verr. 30): cp. Att. i. 1. 1 (10), 13. 3 (19); Sall. Cat. 47. 4. For *multarum nuptiarum* = πολὺ-γαμος cp. note to 696. 3.

*probatum*] So Malaspina corrected *probatam*, which is in M. It was Thalna, and not Cornificia, who was disapproved of by the ladies.

2. *hortis*] These must be the gardens of Scapula, from the fact that Cicero seems so anxious to get them, and the mention of Clodia which follows immediately (§ 3): cp. 588. 3: 589. 2: 590. 2, and often.

*Chrysippo*] Vettius Chrysippus, an architect: cp. 712. 1: Fam. vii. 14. 1. (172).

*insulsiatē*] 'bad taste.' This word and *insulsus* are favourites of Cicero.

*hiberna*] 'winter apartments,' a ἀπαξ ἐρημένον. In this sense it usually means 'winter quarters' (of an army).

For 'winter apartments,' Pliny, Ep. ii. 17. 7. uses *hibernaculum*, as does also Vitruvius (i. 2. 7).

ἀφίδρυμα] 'an erection,' i.e. the *fanum*. Cicero wanted the *horti* for his abode (cp. 590. 2), and the *lucus* for the shrine. In 607. 4 he gives the reason why he desires to reside there, *nihil enim aliud reperio ubi et in foro non sim et tecum esse possim*.

τὸν τῦφόν μου . . . τροποφόρησον] 'for Heaven's sake humour my infatuation.' The word τροποφορεῖν, of which the Latin *morigerari* would exactly express the meaning, is found in a well-known passage of the Acts of the Apostles (xiii. 18): 'And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness,' from Deut. i. 31, in both of which passages we should read ἐτροποφόρησεν, not ἐτροποφόρησεν.

*vincas*] 'outbid him.' 584. 4.  
*insanitūrum*] 'will be wild in his demands.' Cp. Ter. Phorm. 642, GE a

enim mihi hominem videor. Ita male autem audio ipsum esse tractatum ut mihi ille emptor non esse videatur. Quid enim? pateretur? 3. Sed quid argumentor? Si Faberianum explicas, emamus vel magno, si minus, ne parvo quidem possumus. Clodiam igitur, a qua ipsa ob eam causam sperare videor, quod et multo minoris sunt et Dolabellae nomen tam expeditum videtur ut etiam repraesentatione confidam. De hortis satis. Cras aut te aut causam: †quam quidem futuram Faberianam. Sed, si poteris. [30], 1. Q. Ciceronis epistulam tibi remisi. O te ferreum, qui illius periculis non moveris! Me quoque accusat. Eam tibi epistulam misi semissem; etenim illam alteram de rebus gestis eodem exemplo puto. In Cumanum hodie misi tabellarium; ei dedi tuas ad Vestorium quas Pharnaci dederas.

*primo homo insanibat.* CH. *cedo, quid postulat?*

*male . . . tractatum*] 'hard hit.' Cicero refers to some commercial transaction in which Otho got the worst of the bargain, and which he thinks will prevent him from investing in this property.

*pateretur*] Manutius suggests that the meaning to be inferred is 'if he had money to invest in this property, would he put up with the wrong which he suffered? No; his acquiescence shows that he has no funds wherewith to make good his rights.' Shuckburgh translates, 'would he have allowed it to come to the hammer?'

3. *Clodiam igitur*] sc. *convenies*, or some such word. Cp. Heidemann, p. 88.

*Dolabellae*] 'Dolabella's debt seems so safe that I have full confidence in being able even to discount it, and pay Clodia cash.' For *repraesentatione*, cp. 569. 2.

*aut te aut causam*] 'I shall have either your company or an excuse for your absence.' For the ellipse, cp. 692. 3. *sed tu, nullosne tecum libellos?*

*futuram Faberianam*] 'I suspect that the reason of your delay will turn out to be that debt of Faberius.' We must add some verb, perhaps *puto*, suggested by Wes.: cp. 607. 1. We fear that even the wide limits of ellipse will hardly

admit of our understanding *puto* or *expecto*. We think that there is no need to add *moram* after *futuram*, as Wes. does (E. A. p. 132).

30, 1. Q.] Lehmann (p. 103) points out that we must add Q., as Cicero never styles young Quintus simply *Cicero*.

*non moveris*] Young Quintus had exaggerated his hardships in the camp of Caesar. We should certainly expect the subjunctive here: still it would be rash to alter to *movearis*, as the form should rather be *moveare* (see note to *delectare* Ep. 585, 1). Professor Goligher refers us to Terence Andr. 646 *Heu me miserum qui tuum animum ex animo meo spectavi*. Sometimes even in Cicero's studied works the relative clause is treated as attributive where it might fairly be considered as causal, e.g. Acad. i. 18 *summe sanus qui haec vos doceo?*, where see Dr. Reid's note. For the romancing in which young Quintus was prone to indulge, Shuckburgh compares 753, 1 : 768, 2 (*suspicio hunc, ut solet, alucinari*).

*semissem*] 'I send you half of it. The other half I fancy you have in duplicate.' So we have ventured to emend *misissem*. Müller reads *Eam tibi epistulam (nisi . . .) misissem*, supposing that something like *nisi tuae simillima esset* has been lost.

*Pharnaci*] a clerk of Atticus: cp. 646 fin.

## 606. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 2, §§ 1, 2).

TUSCULUM; MAY 27; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Pisone, de Faberio, de Ariarathe Ariobarzani filio a se invitato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Oppio et Balbo epistulas deferri iubebis; et tamen †Pisonem sicubi, de auro. Faberius si venerit, videbis ut tantum attribuat, si modo attribuetur, quantum debetur. Accipies ab Erote. 2. Ariarathes, Ariobarzani filius, Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Caesare. Nam, quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. Omnino eum Sestius noster parochus publicus occupavit, quod quidem facile patior. Verum tamen, quod mihi summo beneficio meo magna cum fratribus illius necessitudo est, invito eum per litteras ut apud me deversetur. Ad eam rem cum mitterem Alexandrum, has ei dedi litteras.

1. *et tamen*] 'and by the way, or 'in any case.' Munro in *Lucr.* v. 1177, says of *et tamen*, 'putting all previous considerations aside, this that'; cp. 609. 3. He gives many examples to show that we must not alter to *etiam*: see also Madvig on *Fin.* ii. 84, and Reid on *De Sen.* 16.

*Pisonem sicubi de auro*] sc. *sicubi Pisonem conveneris, colloquere cum eo de auro*. This is Heidemann's (p. 88) explanation: it may be right, but the double ellipse in such a short sentence is harsh. Probably Piso and Avius (cp. 612) were, as Schmidt (p. 302) suggests, two bankers whom Cic. wanted to help him in realizing the Faberian debt.

*auro*] The mention of *aurum* rather than *pecunia*, is strange. As Dr. Reid says (*Hermathena*, x (1899), p. 329), Cicero expected in the course of recovering the debt due by Faberius to come into possession of gold coin which would need to be exchanged: cp. *Att.* xii. 6. 1 (499), *De Caelio vide quaeso ne quae lacuna sit in auro. Ego ista non novi sed certe in collubo ('exchange') est detrimenti satis. Huc aurum si accedit—sed quid loquor?* For mention of gold in connexion with Piso, and the debt of Faberius, cp. 612. 2. Piso is also mentioned in this connexion

in 614; 616. 2; 625. 2; 626. 4; 629. 2.

*attribuat*] 'that the full amount of the debt be credited to me if only anything is put to my credit. You will get (i.e. learn) the amount from Eros.' For *attribuat*, cp. *Fam.* ii. 17, 4 (272), *quae (pecunia) autem mihi attributa est ('allocated'), a quaestore curetur*.

2. *Ariarathes*] He was brother of Ariobarzanes III, King of Cappadocia. Cicero had met him in Cilicia, cp. *Fam.* xv. 2, 6 (219). Sestius had been in Cilicia during the latter part of 50: cp. *Fam.* v. 20, 5 (302), where he also probably met Ariarathes.

*parochus publicus*] 'Our friend Sestius, the State Boniface, has succeeded in securing him, and indeed I won't break my heart about it.' For *parochus*, cp. *Hor. Sat.* i. 5, 46. These *parochi* were commissaries, whose duty it was to supply those travelling in the public service with wood, hay, salt, and shelter: they were called, as Porphyrio says, ἀπὸ τοῦ παρήχειν, and were also called *copiarii*. *Parochus publicus* is of course jocular. Horace uses the word jocularly in *Sat.* ii. 8, 36. Sestius possibly may have had a reputation for liking to entertain notabilities.

## 607. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 31).

TUSCULUM; MAY 28; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Attici adventu in Tusculanum exspectato, de Dicaearchi libris sibi mittendis, de epistula ad Caesarem, de hortis emendis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. v. Kal. mane accepi a Demea litteras pridie datas, ex quibus aut hodie aut cras *te* exspectare deberem. Sed, ut opinor, idem ego, qui exspecto tuum adventum, morabor te. Non enim puto tam expeditum Faberianum negotium futurum, etiamsi est futurum, ut *non* habeat aliquid morae. Cum poteris igitur, quoniam etiam nunc abes. 2. Dicaearchi quos scribis libros sane velim mi mittas: addas etiam *καταβάσεως*. 3. De epistula ad Caesarem, *κέκρικα*. Atque id ipsum, quod isti aiunt illum scribere, se nisi constitutis rebus non iturum in Parthos, idem ego suadebam in illa epistula; utrum liberet facere posse auctore me. Hoc enim ille exspectat videlicet neque est facturum quidquam nisi de meo consilio. Obsecro, abiciamus ista et semiliberi saltem simus: quod adsequemur et tacendo et latendo. 4. Sed aggredere Othonem, ut scribis: confice, mi Attice, istam rem: nihil enim aliud reperio ubi et in foro non sim et tecum esse possim. Quanti autem, hoc

1. *non habeat*] It seems impossible to avoid adding this negative, which is not found in M. In his note on p. 84. 27 of his ed. of the Epp. and Att. Müller quotes more than fifteen cases of this omission of a negative.

*etiam nunc*] 'since your arrival is already due.' M gives *etiam dum*. On this Wes. (E. A., p. 133) rightly says, '*Etiam dum* quidem barbarum est: *etiam num* Ciceronisne sit dubitare licet; quare vide ne ex altera Or. conj. scribendum sit *etiam nunc*.'

2. *καταβάσεως*] A work describing a visit to the cave of Trophonius in Boeotia. The full title of the book was *περὶ τῆς ἐς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως* (Athenaeus xiv. 641 B).

3. *κέκρικα*] '*c'est décidé*,' 'the die is cast': cp. Plin. Epp. i. 12, 10 (*Corelius*) *dixerat sane medico admoventi cibum κέκρικα*.

*Atque*] Boot advocates the slight

correction of *atque* to *atqui*, inasmuch as Cicero here mentions a circumstance which (in so far as it affected the matter at all) would have been in favour of his sending the letter to Caesar—a course which he has just said he is resolved not to adopt. But there are many instances of *atque* introducing a consideration of a somewhat contrary nature to what went before, e.g. 634. 4: 707. 2: 742. 1: cp. also the Thesaurus, ii. p. 1077. 15 ff. In all such places *atqui* has been suggested by some scholar or other.

*nisi . . . non iturum*] cp. 619. 1.

*posse*] depends on *dicebam*, implied in *suadebam*.

*videlicet*] This is ironical. But Caesar had expressed such a wish in March, 49: cp. his letter quoted in Att. ix. 16, 3 (374), *Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis, ut tuis consiliis atque opibus, ut consuevi, in omnibus rebus utar*: cp. Att. ix. 11, 2 (367).

4. *in foro non sim*] 'where I can

mihi venit in mentem. C. Albanius proximus est vicinus: is cio iugerum de M. Pilio emit, ut mea memoria est, HS  $\overline{\text{CXXV}}$ . Omnia scilicet nunc minoris. Sed accedit cupiditas, in qua praeter Othonem non puto nos ullum adversarium habituros. Sed eum ipsum tu poteris movere: facilius etiam, si Canum haberes. O gulam insulsam! Pudet me patris. Rescribes, si quid voles.

## 608. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 30, §§ 2, 3).

TUSCULUM; MAY 28; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotio Faberiano, tum quaerit qui decem legati Mummio fuerint.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. Commodum ad te miseram Demean, cum Eros ad me venit, sed in eius epistula nihil erat novi nisi auctionem biduum. Ab ea igitur, ut scribis: et velim confecto negotio Faberiano, quem quidem negat Eros hodie; cras mane putat. A te colendus est. Istaе autem  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$  non longe absunt a scelere. Te, ut spero, perendie. 3. Mi, sicunde potes, erue qui decem legati Mummio fuerint. Polybius non nominat. Ego memini Albinum consulare et Sp. Mummium: videor audisse ex Hortensio Tuditanum.

escape the forum and yet be with you.' Cp. 605. 2.

HS  $\overline{\text{CXXV}}$ ] If this is to be understood to mean 115,000 sesterces, the sum will be too small. If, on the other hand, we make it *centies quindicies*, or eleven million and a-half, the sum will be great, but not too great. As Shuckburgh points out, about £100,000 would not be too extravagant a price to give for 625 acres close to the city.

*Omnia . . . minoris*] 'Of course now all prices are lower.'

*Canum*] Q. Gellius Canus, a friend of Atticus, mentioned again in 753. 2.

*O gulam*] 'What senseless gluttony.' We may suppose that this refers to some instance of extravagance on the part of young Q. Cicero, which Atticus had mentioned. Cicero says he is ashamed of the father who permitted such conduct on the part of his son.

*Rescribes*] 'Send back word by the messenger if you want me to do anything.'

2. *auctionem biduum*] 'that the sale will last two days: so you will come, as you say, immediately after it, after (I hope) finishing the Faberian business, though Eros thinks that impossible before to-morrow.' For *biduum* Wes. conjectures *biduo* 'in two days' (E. A. 133). But the auction might well last two days, and Att. would not come to Cic. until it was over. *quem sc. Faberium*. Supply *confecturum negotium*.

*Ab ea*] 'after it': for this use of *ab* cp. 598. 1.

$\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ ] 'koting is almost criminal.' It is a mistake to bracket the *non* with Gronovius and others.

3. *Polybius*] xxxix. 15 and 16.

*Tuditanum*] See note on 610. 3. The reference is to the ten commissioners sent by the senate in 608 (146) to arrange the affairs of Greece in concert with the victorious Mummus. The question was whether it was Tuditanus the father or

Sed in Libonis annali xiiii annis post praetor est factus Tuditanus quam consul Mummius: non sane quadrat. Volo aliquem Olympiae aut tibi visum πολιτικὸν σύλλογον more Dicaearchi, familiaris tui.

609. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 2, § 3, AND 3, § 1).

TUSCULUM; MAY 29; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De auctione Peducaei, de Dionysio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

3. Cras igitur auctio Peducaei. Cum poteris ergo. Etsi impedit fortasse Faberius. Sed tamen, cum licebit. Dionysius noster graviter queritur, et tamen iure, a discipulis abesse tam diu. Multis verbis scripsit ad me, credo item ad te. Mihi quidem videtur etiam diutius afuturus. Ac nollem: valde enim hominem desidero. [3] 1. A te litteras expectabam, nondum scilicet. Nam has mane rescribebam.

Tuditanus the son who was one of them. In 617, 1 Cicero owns that Atticus was right in including the father, not the son.

*Libonis annali*] 610. 3: 646. 3. For what little is known of this work see Teuffel-Schwabe, § 172. 6. See also note to Fam. ix. 21. 2 (497). Unger conjectured that the work of Libo was a recent one, published in 46.

*quadrat*] 'this does not accord with' the belief that he was one of the commissioners.

*Volo aliquem*] 'I am thinking of writing a kind of *Politicians in Council* in the style of your friend Dicaearchus—the scene to be laid at Olympia or wherever else seems advisable': *aut ubi visum* (sc. *erit*) is perhaps defensible, though we should like that *erit mihi* had been expressed (as is con-

jectured by Wes. *aut ubi erit mihi visum*); as Cic. does not often omit *erit*. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* x. (1899), p. 349) quotes similar types of sentences: 627. 4 *vel biduum vel triduum vel ut videbitur*: 604. 3 *vel quem libebit*. For other conjectures see Adn. Crit. Dicaearchus had written such a work in three books, the scene being laid at Corinth, cp. Tusc. i. 21. He also wrote three books called *Lesbiaci* (ib. § 77), which treated of the soul: cp. note to 610. 2. Athenaeus (xiv. 620 D) mentions an Ὀλυμπιακὸς λόγος.

3. *Cum poteris*] sc. *venies*.

*Dionysius*] See on Ep. 316, 3.

*et tamen*] cp. 606. 1.

*discipulis*] perhaps Cicero himself and his friends (Corradus).

## 610. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 32).

TUSCULUM; MAY 29; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotio Faberiano, de Dicaearchi libris sibi mittendis, de Academicorum libris, de C. Tuditano, de Postumio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Alteram a te epistulam cum hodie accepissem, nolui te una mea contentum. Tu vero age, quod scribis, de Faberio. In ea enim totum est positum id quod cogitamus, quae cogitatio si non incidisset, mihi crede, istuc, ut cetera, non laborarem. Quam ob rem, ut facis—istuc enim addi nihil potest—urge, insta, perfee. 2. Dicaearchi *περὶ ψυχῆς* utrosque velim mittas et *Καταβάσεως Τριπολιτικόν* non invenio et epistulam eius quam ad Aristoxenum misit. Tris eos libros maxime nunc vellem: apti essent ad id quod cogito. 3. 'Torquatus' Romae est. Iussi ut tibi daretur. 'Catulum' et 'Lucillum,' ut opinor, antea. His libris nova prooemia sunt addita, quibus eorum uterque laudatur. Eas litteras

1. *non laborarem*] 'I should be as indifferent to that as I am to everything else.' For *laborare* with the accus. cp. 623. 2, *laboro idem quod tu*.

*istuc enim addi*] 'to this nothing can be added,' that is, 'your present exertions in my behalf could not be greater.' Here *istuc* is an adverb; *istuc* in the sentence before is a demonstrative pronoun.

2. *utrosque*] Dicaearchus seems to have treated of the soul in both his *Corinthiaci* and *Lesbiaci*, Tusc. i. 21: 77. These may be the two books referred to. The 'Lesbiaci' were in three books. Dic. was a great favourite of Cic.: he calls him *deliciae meae* (Tusc. i. 77).

*Τριπολιτικόν*] This was the work of Dicaearchus, in which he maintained the thesis that the ideal commonwealth was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy: cp. note to Att. ii. 2, 1(28).

*Tris eos libros*] It is not clear what are the three books, as he has mentioned four. Probably the two books on the soul and the *καταβάσεως*. It would seem that he was projecting the composition of the Tusculans. But it has also been suggested

that Cic. may have wanted the books for the *πολιτικὸς σύλλογος*, referred to in 608. 3: and the three books are the *Καταβάσεως*, the *Τριπολιτικός*, and the Letter to Aristoxenus. In 616. 2 *Dicaearchi librum*, *librum* may be a gloss for *Τριπολιτικόν*, which it has extruded.

3. *Torquatus*] He refers to Book i. *De Finibus*, in which Torquatus expounds the Epicurean view of the *Summum bonum*. It has been suggested that the reference may be to Books i and ii, the second book containing Cicero's refutation of the Epicurean doctrine. But it would seem from 621. 3 (where see note) that Cicero was composing the second book *De Finibus* when that letter was written about June 11. *Catulus* and *Lucillus* are the two books of the *Academica*.

*Iussi*] 'I gave orders that it should be delivered to you; the others, I think, I sent before.' Some such word as *dedi* or *misi* is to be inferred from *iussi ut tibi daretur*.

*litteras*] 'writings': cp. Madvig on Fin. i. 12. Dr. Reid notices (l.c. p. 350) that in Brut. 13 a work of Atticus is first

volo habeas, et sunt quaedam aliae. Quod ad te *de* decem legatis scripsi, parum intellexisti, credo quia διὰ σημείων scripseram. De C. Tuditano enim quaerebam, quem ex Hortensio audieram fuisse in decem: eum video in Libonis praetorem P. Popilio P. Rupilio *cos.* Annis xiiii ante quam praetor factus est legatus esse potuisset, nisi admodum sero †quaestor esset factus? Quod non arbitror. Video enim curulis magistratus eum legitimis annis perfacile cepisse. Postumium autem, cuius statuam in Isthmo meminisse te dicis, nesciebam fuisse. Is autem est, qui *cos.* cum L. Lucullo fuit, quem tu mihi addidisti sane ad illum σύλλογον personam idoneam. Videbis igitur, si poteris, ceteros, ut possimus πομπεῦσαι καὶ τοῖς προσώποις.

called *litterae*, and then *liber*. He also adds Brut. 19 and 205; De Div. ii 5; Phil. ii 20; De Orat. i. 192; Arch. 14; Fam. xv. 4. 12 (238); 776. 1; and others. He notices that in this passage there was a reason for *litteras*. Cicero was thinking principally of the new *prooemia*, so that *libros* was unsuitable. So too, perhaps, in Att. i. 14. 3 (20) *meis omnibus litteris*, 'in all my writings,' is right.

διὰ σημείων] 'in abbreviations': or it might be 'in short-hand.' The word for a short-hand writer is *σημειογράφος*.

*Libonis*] sc. *annali* (608. 3), or *libro*: cp. note to 559. 4.

*P. Popilio P. Rupilio cos.*] 132 B.C. Tuditanus was consul in 129.

*Annis . . . . factus*?] The mss give *quaestor est factus*. Schmidt punctuates *potuisset*? *Nisi admodum sero quaestor est factus*: which is in point of sense the same as Lehmann's, who (p. 115) adds after *potuisset*? <*non potuit*> *nisi*. Cicero asks: 'Could Tuditanus have been a commissioner fourteen years before his praetorship unless he attained the quaestorship at a very late age?' We confess to be unable to follow the reasoning. In order to be a commissioner (*legatus*) Tuditanus must have been a senator: therefore he must have held the quaestorship. That office was normally held at the age of 27 or 28, twelve or thirteen years before the praetorship, the normal age for which was 40. If Tuditanus was praetor in 132, he should have normally been quaestor in 145 or 144. But to be a senator in 146, he must have been quaestor at latest in 147: so that the argument of the passage would seem to require that Tuditanus was

quaestor earlier, not later, than the normal time. We cannot help thinking that *praetor* should be read for *quaestor*, as has been suggested by Pighius: or perhaps *quaestor* was an insertion by an interpolator who did not see the argument. It may have been a very early error dating from Cicero's own time, owing to his having written in abbreviations (see above), and *pr.* was read *qr.* In quoting the passage in St. R. ii<sup>2</sup> 662, note 1, Mommsen reads *praetor*.

Cicero's historical difficulty was solved by Atticus, who showed that the Tuditanus who was commissioner was the father of the Tuditanus whose career Cicero had been studying: cp. Att. xiii. 4. 1 (614).

*Video . . . cepisse*] Cic. seems to mean that as Tuditanus as a matter of course (*perfacile*) obtained the curule aedileship, the praetorship, and the consulship with the normal intervals of time between them, the interval between his quaestorship and the other magistracies was also normal. Cic. did not know the date of his birth: but he knew that of his praetorship and consulship, and presumably that of his curule aedileship.

*nesciebam*] So Muretus for *sciebam*. Att. suggested Postumius as a fit person to introduce into the treatise. Cic. says: 'I did not know he had been a commissioner: but he was the consul of 151, and so was quite qualified to be one.' This is perhaps the meaning of *autem* after *is*.

πομπεῦσαι] 'that we may cut a dash not only by the dignity of the subjects discussed, but also of the interlocutors in the dialogue.'



## 611. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 3, §§ 1, 2).

TUSCULUM; MAY 30; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotiis privatis, de Bruti adventu et litteris.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego vero ista nomina sic probō ut nihil aliud me moveat, nisi quod tu videris dubitare. Illud enim non accipio in bonam partem, ad me refert; qui, si ipse negotium meum gererem, nihil gererem nisi consilio tuo. Sed tamen intellego magis te id facere diligentia qua semper uteris quam quod dubites de nominibus istis. Etenim Caelium non probas, plura non vis. Utrumque laudo. His igitur utendum est. Praes aliquando factus esses, et in his quidem tabulis. A me igitur omnia. Quod dies longior est—teneamus modo quod volumus—puto fore istam etiam a praecone diem, certe ab heredibus. 2. De Crispo et Mustela videbis, et velim scire quae sit pars duorum. De Bruti adventu eram factus certior. Attulerat enim ab eo Aegyptia libertus litteras. Misi ad te epistulam, quia commode scripta erat.

1. *Ego vero*] 'Yes, I do approve': see on Ep. 62, 1. It was proposed that these debtors of Faberius should be made over by *delegatio* to Cicero.

*ad me*] Before these words *quod* was added by Cratander. Sjögren (*Comm. Tull.*, p. 162) agrees with Schmidt in omitting it. He quotes Att. v. 11. 3 (200) *Theophani persuasi nihil esse melius quam illud, nusquam discedere*, where see note: Att. vi 4. 1 (268) *illud autem difficillimum, relinquendus erat*: Att. vii 13a. 1 (307) *hoc tamen profecit, dedit illi dolorem*.

*qui, si ipse . . tuo*] So Z and Z. Δ reads *Quid? ipse negotium meum gererem nisi consilio tuo?* Cp. Lehmann 'Att.' p. 183. As there is no reason for interpolation in Z and Z, and the omission in Δ of *nihil gererem* following *meum gererem* is natural, we have adopted the reading of these mss., which have elsewhere shown themselves superior to Δ.

*Caelium*] 'you do not approve of Caelius, or of multiplying creditors.'

*utendum est*] 'we must put up with': cp. 590. 2.

*esses*] *es* is the reading of Crat. and Z, 'You have at last become a surety, and in respect of just this sale.' But we think Bosius is right in reading *factus esses, et*, 'else you would have been for once obliged [contrary to your invariable practice, cp. Nepos Att. 6. 3 *nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est*] to go security for me, and at this sale too [in which I am taking a step not heartily approved of by you]. So I shall provide all the money requisite.'

*Quod dies longior*] 'as to the delay I shall experience in getting in my money, let me only get what I want; I am sure the auctioneer will give me a long day.'

2. *duorum*] It is doubtful if *duorum* can mean 'the two' or 'these two.' It has been suggested either to alter to *eorum* (Reid) or to add *horum* (Or.) or *eorum* after *duorum*.

*commode*] 'in a polite tone.' Brutus did not always write so: cp. Att. vi. i. 7 (252): 557. 1.

## 612. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 5, § 2).

TUSCULUM ; MAY 31 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De Caelio, de Hortensio et Verginio, de negotiis ab Attico curandis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. De Caelio tu quaeres, ut scribis ; ego nihil novi. Noscenda autem est natura, non facultas modo. De Hortensio et Verginio tu, si quid dubitabis ; etsi quod magis placeat, ego quantum aspicio, non facile inveneris. Cum Mustela, quem ad modum scribis, cum venerit Crispus. Ad Avium scripsi ut ea quae bene nosset de auro Pisoni demonstraret. Tibi enim sane adsentior et istud nimium diu duci et omnia nunc undique contrahenda. Te quidem nihil agere, nihil cogitare aliud nisi quod ad me pertineat facile perspicio meisque negotiis impediri cupiditatem tuam ad me veniendi. Sed mecum esse te puto, non solum quod meam rem agis, verum etiam quod videre videor quo modo agas. Neque enim ulla hora tui mihi est operis ignota.

2. *De Caelio*] This is the same Caelius who is mentioned in the foregoing letter. He is not the same person as the banker Caelius, Att. vii. 3, 11 (294) ; xii. 6, 1 (499).

*natura*] 'we must know what sort of man he is as well as what means he has.'

*Pisoni*] cp. 606. 1 ; 614. 2.

*nimium diu duci*] 'the transaction is

allowed to hang over too long, and what we now need is to get together everything we can from every quarter.' Or perhaps another rendering would be possible, 'and the whole business must in every respect be shortened': cp. 744. 4 *Contrahi mihi negotium videtur*.

*ulla hora*] 'for I know how every hour is spent which you devote to my business.'

# 613. SERVIUS SULPICIUS TO CICERO (FAM. IV. 12).

ATHENS ; MAY 31 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

Servius Sulpicius caedem M. Marcelli a P. Magio Cilone factam non sine summi doloris significatione quem ipse ceperit narrat eiusque sepulturam per se effectam.

## SERVIUS CICERONI SAL. PLURIBUS VERBIS.

1. Etsi scio non iucundissimum me nuntium vobis adlaturum, tamen quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum est faciendum, quoquo modo res se haberet, vos certiores facere. A. d. x. Kal. Iun. cum ab Epidauro Piraeum navi advectus essem, ibi M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, conveni eumque diem ibi

On this letter Cicero, Att. xiii. 22, 2 (635), says *De Marcello scripserat ad me Cassius* [who appears to have been at Brundisium] *antea, τὰ κατὰ μέρος Servius*. Compare also what Cicero says about the murder of Marcellus, Att. xiii. 10, 3 (624), where he shows the absurdity of the view that the deed had been prompted by Caesar. Valerius Maximus (ix. 11, 4) mentions it in a list of *scelerate facta* as follows:—*Consternatum etiam Magii Cilonis amentia pectus ; qui M. Marcello datum a Caesare spiritum sua manu eripuit, vetus amicus et Pompeianae militiae comes, indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo sibi praeferrere. Urbem enim a Mitylenis, quo se contulerat, repetentem in Atheniensium portu pugione confodit, protinusque ad irritamenta vesaniae suae trucidanda tetendit ; amicitiae hostis, divini beneficii interceptor, publicae religionis, quod ad salutem clarissimi civis recuperandam attinuit, acerba labes*. Cp. Liv. Epit. 115, *M. Marcello consulari senatu rogante reditum concessit ; quo beneficio eius Marcellus frui non potuit, a Cn. Magio, cliente suo, Athenis occisus*. For the language of Sulpicius cp. Introd. note to Fam. iv. 5 (555).

1. *casus et natura*] Sulpicius means—We mortals can effect nothing with certainty : in the domain where liberty of action can play a part, unforeseen accidents (*casus*) mar our plans ; in all the rest of our life we are swept along in the

great current of natural forces (*natura*). As these ideas of chance and nature are closely akin, he uses the sing. *dominatur*.

*faciendum . . . facere*] We adhere to the mss reading with Schmalz (p. 124). The infinitive is found in Cic. Brut. 142, *talisque oratores videri facit* ; Q. Fr. 1, 3, 6 (66), *illud quidem nec faciendum est neque fieri potest me . . . commorari* ; Petr. 51, *fecit se porrigere Caesari*. It is frequent in Lucr., e.g. vi. 267. Wesenberg (E.A. 9) reads *ut . . . facerem*, an alteration which, if alteration were required, we should certainly prefer to the ejection of *faciendum* altogether ; it is most unlikely that a copyist would have inserted the word from a knowledge that *visum est faciendum* was a phrase used in edicts, e.g. Gell. xv. 11, 2.

*vos*] i.e. Cicero and his friends.

A. d. x. Kal. Iun.] Streicher (p. 153) objects very much to the similarity of the three following sentences, *cum . . . essem, cum . . . essem, cum . . . haberem*, which no doubt display a certain poverty of style ; but Sulpicius would hardly have taken pains in the composition of this letter, as it was written so shortly after his friend's assassination.

*Piraeum*] cp. Att. vii. 3, 10 (294).

*navi*] This is the usual classical form : cp. Neue-Wagener i<sup>3</sup> 330.

*collegam*] his former colleague in the consulship, 703 (51) : cp. Fam. iv. 4, 3 (495).

consumpsi ut cum eo essem. Postero die cum ab eo digressus essem eo consilio ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem reliquamque iurisdictionem absolverem, ille, ut aiebat, super Maleas in Italiam versus navigaturus erat. 2. Post diem tertium eius diei, cum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris eius, ad me venit et mihi nuntiavit M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post cenae tempus a P. Magio Cilone, familiare eius, pugione percussum esse et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho, alterum in capite secundum aurem; sperare tamen eum vivere posse; Magium se ipsum interfecisse postea; se a Marcello ad me missum esse qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret uti medicos ei mitterem. Itaque medicos coegi et

*cum . . . digressus essem*] We have retained *cum*, the reading of GR. It has, however, got out of place, and probably should follow *die*, not *digressus*, as in the mss. 'When I left him, he was, as he said, intending to sail to Italy.' M omits *cum*. Streicher (p. 153), Böckel, and Hofmann read *sum* for *essem*, omitting *cum*.

*ab Athenis*] As regards the use of prepositions with the names of towns, Messrs. Bond and Walpole on Caesar B. G. vii. 43, 5, note that 'the preposition *ab* is attached to the names of places when departure from the *environs* is indicated: cp. 59, 1; B. C. iii. 24, 4, *Libo discessit a Brundisio* = from the harbour of Brundisium [cp. the use of *ad*, i. 7, 1; vii. 76, 5]. The preposition is inserted when direction from one place to another is indicated: B. G. vii. 45, 4; 80, 9; B. C. i. 11, 4; 25, 2." Cp. Cic. Att. vii. 3, 10 (294), who says that you cannot put *in* before a town but only before a district (*locus*); also Att. iii. 8, 1 (64), *ab Epheso*: xiii. 6, 4 (617), *a Corintho*. Schmalz (p. 100) adds Fam. iii. 6, 6 (213), xv. 3, 2 (212). The use of prepositions with names of towns is quite a feature of Livy's style: cp. Kühnast, Liv. Synt. p. 186, and may have been used by Servius here.

*super Maleas*] 'round Malea.' Marcellus was in no hurry to return; cp. Fam. iv. 10, 1 (536). This journey by long sea, and not across by Cenchreae and Patrae, was considered a dangerous one, and seldom made by travellers. Indeed, between storms and pirates (Liv. xxxiv. 32, 18), Malea was so dangerous that it gave rise to a proverb: *Μαλέας*

*δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάβου τῶν οἰκαδὲ* (Strabo viii. 378); cp. Plin. Epp. x. 15 (26), and Friedländer, SG. ii<sup>6</sup>, 29, who quotes an interesting inscription, C.I.G. 3920, *Φλάουιος Ζεῦξίς ἐργαστὴς* (negotiator) *πλεῦσας ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν εἰς Ἱταλίαν πλοῦς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο*. The forms *Μαλέα* and *Μαλέαι* (Herod. i. 82) are both found. The mss give *supra*, but Liv. xxxi. 47, 2, xlii. 56, 1 (quoted by Hofmann), xxviii. 8, 11, show that *super* is the correct preposition for 'rounding' a promontory.

*in Italiam versus*] *versus* is nearly always used in connexion with another preposition in the sense of 'towards'; cp. Kritz on Sall. Cat. 56, 4.

2. *Post diem tertium eius diei*] Not Ciceronian; but cp. *postridie eius diei*, used often by Caesar.

*secundum aurem*] 'beside (or "behind") the ear.' Referring to locality, *secundum* = 1°, 'beside,' Plaut. (ap. Priscian x. 890), *secundum ipsam aram aurum abscondidi*, which of course may mean 'behind,' Petr. 131, *secundum invitantem consedi*; 2°, 'along,' 'over'; Plaut. Rud. 157, *secundum litus*; Att. xvi. 8, 2 (797), *legiones quae iter secundum mare superum faciunt*: cp. Wölfflin on Bell. Afr. 1. 1.

*se ipsum interfecisse*] *ipsum* is subject; cp. Caes. B. G. v. 37, 6, *desperata salute se ipsi interficiunt*. Schmalz (Antib. i. 705) says that in classical times suicide was rare and remarkable, and accordingly *ipse* is added in this connexion; later, when the practice became more common and less remarkable, *ipse* was omitted.

*uti medicos ei mitterem. Itaque medicos coegi*] So GR, undoubtedly the right reading. M omits from *ei* to *medicos*.

vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Cum non longe a Piraeo abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum paullo ante lucem Marcellum diem suum obisse. Ita vir clarissimus ab homine deterrimo acerbissima morte est adfectus, et, cui inimici propter dignitatem pepercerant, inventus est amicus qui ei mortem offerret. 3. Ego tamen ad tabernaculum eius perrexi: inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos; reliquos aiebant profugisse metu perterritos quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica qua ipse delatus eram meisque lecticariis in urbem eum referre, ibique pro ea copia quae Athenis erat funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi. Ab Atheniensibus locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent, neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant: quod proximum fuit, uti in quo vellemus gymnasio eum sepeliremus nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbi terrarum gymnasio Academiae locum delegimus ibique eum combussimus,

*e vestigio*] cp. Div. in Caec. 57. It is an adverbial phrase like *in continenti* = *tatim*.

*Acidini*] a young nobleman who was studying at Athens: cp. 568. 2.

*codicillis*] See note on Q. Fr. ii. 9, 1 (132).

*diem suum obisse*] cp. note to 555. 4.

*acerbissima*] probably 'most tragic': possibly 'untimely.'

*mortem offerret*] 'to deal him death,' a somewhat poetical expression: cp. Sest. 18; Rosc. Am. 37, 40.

3. *tabernaculum*] Piraeus was in a very decayed state, probably without a respectable inn where a nobleman and his retinue could stay; hence Marcellus was compelled to sleep in a tent.

*pauculos*] 'just a slave or two.' *Pauculus* is a diminutive belonging to the language of ordinary conversation; hence frequent in the comedies: cp. also Att. v. 21, 6 (250).

*profugisse*] for fear lest they should be put to the torture in the inquiry about the murder. The law that slaves might be put to death for having failed to defend their master appears not to have been passed till 10 A.D.: cp. Tac. Ann. xiii. 42; xiv. 42.

*meisque lecticariis*] regarded as mere instruments, and accordingly *a* is not used:

cp. Att. iv. 3, 2 (92), *armatis hominibus*, Mil. 26. This usage in Cicero is common with *testibus* (vol. iii. p. cxv, ed 2). Numerous examples of the omission of *a* with persons are given in Dräger i. 547, § 229.

*pro ea copia quae Athenis erat*] an incidental and instructive remark as to the poor condition of Athens at this time.

*dicerent*] an extension of the virtual oblique subjunctive; cp. Roby, § 1746, and note to Att. i. 1, 3 (10).

*tamen*] This word shows suggestively the manner in which the Romans generally regarded what the Greeks said. Sulpicius means to imply that, though what the Athenians said about religion was not very much to be relied on, yet (*tamen*) it was a fact that they had never allowed anyone to be buried within their walls (cp. Thuc. ii. 34). It appears to have been regarded as an enactment of Solon's that no one should be buried within the city. In Leg. ii. 58 there is reference to a law of the xii Tables on the subject.

*orbi*] a local ablative, found only in this expression: cp. Verr. iv. 82; De Dom. 24; Sest. 66.

*gymnasio Academiae*] This is not Ciceronian. We should have expected *Academia*; but in the mss of Cicero we sometimes find the descriptive genitive:

posteaque curavimus ut eidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum faciendum locarent. Ita, quae nostra officia fuerunt, pro collegio et pro propinquitate et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus. Vale. D. pr. K. Iun. Athenis.

## 614. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 4).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 1; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De munere decem legatorum ab Attico elaborato, de negotiis privatis, de Bruti adventu in Tusculanum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Habeo munus a te elaboratum decem legatorum; et quidem de Tuditano idem puto. Nam filius anno post quaestor fuit quam consul Mummius. 2. Sed quoniam saepius de nominibus quaeris quid placeat, ego quoque tibi saepius respondeo placere. Si quid poteris cum Pisone, conficies: Avius enim videtur in officio futurus. Velim ante possis: si minus, utique simul simus, cum Brutus veniet in Tusculanum. Magni interest mea una nos esse. Scies autem qui dies is futurus sit, si puero negotium dederis ut quaerat.

cp. Adn. Crit. to Att. v. 18, 1 (218) in oppido Antiochia. This usage is quite common in Livy: cp. Weissenborn on xxiv. 12, 4. There were three gymnasia at Athens, the Lyceum, Cynosarges, and Academia.

curavimus . . . locarent] This is also an interesting incidental remark, as it shows the requirements to which the provincials were subjected by Roman governors, even by those of the better sort.

collegio] 'relation as colleagues.' The Dictt. quote Liv. x. 22, 3, nihil concordii collegio firmitus ad remp. tuendam esse; cp. Mommsen, St. R. i<sup>2</sup> 32, note 3, who quotes many more examples.

propinquitate] 'intimacy,' or perhaps 'relationship.'

1. decem legatorum] The epexegetic genitive, like mercedem gloriae, 'a reward in the form of glory,' Tusc. i. 34; Arch. 28. The meaning is: 'I have received your kind investigation about the ten ambassadors' sent by the senate to settle the affairs of Greece in 146. Atticus had

included Tuditanus the father, not Tuditanus the son, among the ten. Cicero now believes him to be right. Young Tuditanus was quaestor in 145: cp. note to 610. 3.

idem puto] sc. quod tu. The words de Tuditano are rightly added by Lehmann and Schmidt. The name could hardly have been omitted, and, if written in an abbreviated form (perhaps it was written as such even by Cicero: cp. 610. 3), it might have fallen out after et quidem. Lehmann (Quaest. Tull., p. 51) reads et quidem <de Tuditano idem> puto, quoting for this 'descending' use of et quidem, 'and indeed,' Att. vi. 1, 6 (252); Fam. ix. 15, 4 (481); and many more examples.

2. de nominibus] About the different debtors assigned to Cic. by creditors, especially by Faberius; cp. 611. 1; 612. 2.

Pisone] cp. 606. 1; 612. 2.

Avius] 612. 2.

Velim ante possis] 'I hope you will be able to join me before Brutus arrives here; but if not, you must certainly be here when he is with me.'

Magni . . . esse] cp. 620. 2.

## 615. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 5).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 2; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Sp. Mummius in decem legatis non fuisse, de negotiis privatis, de Bruti adventu in Tusculanum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Sp. Mummius putaram in decem legatis fuisse sed videlicet—etenim εὐλογον—fratri fuisse. Fuit enim ad Corinthum. Misi tibi 'Torquatum.' Colloquere tu quidem cum Silio, ut scribis, et urge. Illam diem negabat esse mense Maio, istam non negabat. Sed tu, ut omnia, istuc quoque ages diligenter. De Crispo et Mustela scilicet, cum quid egeris. 2. Quoniam ad Bruti adventum fore te nobiscum polliceris, satis est, praesertim cum hi tibi dies in magno nostro negotio consumantur.

1. *videlicet* . . . *fuisse*] cp. 616. 3; 617. 4. 'I had thought Sp. Mummius was among the commissioners, but of course he was (naturally) not among the commissioners, but private *legatus*, or lieutenant to his brother.' These *legati* were a sort of staff officers, or aides-de-camp, appointed by the senate on the recommendation of the commander. But they were regular officials, not unofficial members of the governor's staff like the *comites*: cp. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 324. We have here another example of the archaic usage whereby words like *videlicet* and *scilicet* are resolved into their component parts, and so are able to govern a case. Cp. *tum videlicet datas*, Att. v. 11, 7 (200). It would of course be easy to alter the words, as all the editors do, so as to bring them into conformity with the usage of formal writers, and of Cicero himself in his speeches and his philosophical works: e.g. Wessenberg reads *sed videlicet* < *erravi* >: *etenim εὐλογον fratri fuisse* (sc. *legatum*). But this would be to expunge from the Letters a most characteristic feature.

'Torquatum'] The first book of the

*De Finibus*, cp. 610. 3. The work was at Rome, being copied out (cp. 632. 4), when Cic. wrote that letter.

*cum Silio*] It is curious that Silius should come up again. It seemed as if the negotiations about the sale of his *horti* had ceased since March: cp. 569. 1; though possibly we may gather from 599. 2 that he was again opening the question. It is quite uncertain what the two days in question were, as the matter is not referred to elsewhere. Possibly Silius had said he would give a definite statement in May as to whether he would sell, and other particulars as to the sale, but that he would not convey the property or require payment till later. Cicero was anxious to have an answer as to whether he would sell at all. But of course this is mere conjecture. We do not think that 611. 1 can help us in this passage.

*scilicet*] sc. *scribes*.

2. *in magno nostro negotio*] 'on important business of mine,' in connexion with the purchase of the *horti*, and getting in his debts, especially from Faberius.

## 616. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 33, §§ 1-3).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 3; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De professione non relata, de negotiis suis ab Attico conficiendis, de Dicaearchi libris et acceptis et exspectatis, de decem legatis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Neglegentiam miram! semelne putas mihi dixisse Balbum et Faberium professionem relata? qui etiam eorum iussu miserim qui profiteretur. Ita enim oportere dicebant. Professus est

1. *Neglegentiam miram*] What this specification or declaration was which he here calls *professio* is not certain; but it was obligatory or customary to register something (whether property or income) before the lustration which closed the census, as we learn from Att. i. 19, 1 (25). In this case we may—(1) mention the conjecture of Boot that the persons before whom the declaration was made probably included Balbus and Faberius, who had admonished Cicero not to neglect that duty. Cicero had sent his servant Philotimus (whom he designates *libertum meum*, to distinguish him from the dishonest steward of Terentia who bore the same name) expressly to register him, and had dismissed the matter from his mind, as he had more than once been told by Balbus and Faberius that it had been done. Possibly the census was one required by the Lex Julia Municipalis. And we may (2) record the suggestion of Schütz and Corrad., that Faberius was assigning some property to Cicero in discharge of a debt. The explanation given by O. E. Schmidt (p. 305) is somewhat similar to this. He holds that there were two kinds of *professio*—(1) public declaration of the value of property at the end of the *lustrum*; (2) declaration of any change of property by borrowing or lending. The latter is what is referred to here, and in 754. 1. Faberius had on his side to ‘profess’ the assignment of the *nomina* to Cicero, and Cicero had to ‘profess’ the acceptance of them. Faberius appeared to do so; but, possibly having the clerk in his pay, he directed this clerk not to book the assignment.

The transfer was accordingly not duly executed at this time.

The question whether the accusative of exclamation can be used in Cic. without *O* being added is maintained in the affirmative by Reid (*Hermath.* (1899), p. 333): but Lehmann (*Att.* 203 ff.) and Müller wish always to add <O>. No doubt the use of the simple accusative of exclamation was dying out in Cicero’s time. There is considerable diversity in the mss: see Lehmann l.c. Perhaps the omission or insertion of *O* was as uncertain as our omitting or adding ‘What’: and each passage must be judged on the weight of ms evidence. Here it seems unanimous for omission. Lehmann thinks the omission due to Greek words having preceded at the end of xiii. 32 (610); in xiii. 44. 1 (646) the ms authority is strong for inserting it; for at the end of xiii. 43 (644)  $\Sigma$  has *posco* for *post*. In 707. 2 the mss are against adding *En*, as they are also in Att. viii. 5. 1 (336). In 733. 3 we have *praeclaros etiam xiiii ordines* without interjection. See also note to 617. 4. *semelne*] ‘do you imagine it was only once that Balbus and Faberius told me the registration was effected? Why, it was at their suggestion that I sent a person to effect it, as they thought I should do so. It was my freedman Philotimus who registered.’ *Qui miserim*, ‘after my sending them,’ is like the English *why*! See note on Plaut. Mil. Glor. 62, *quae me obsecraverint*, ‘why, they besought me.’ For *semel* = ‘only once,’ cp. *non una cicatrix*, Juv. iii. 151; *non una simia*, viii. 213; *non unius anni*, Hor. Carm. iv. 9. 39.



Philotimus libertus. Nosti, credo, librarium. Sed scribes, et quidem confectum. 2. Ad Faberium, ut tibi placet, litteras misi. Cum Balbo autem puto te aliquid fecisse [H. in Capitolio]. In Vergilio mihi nulla est *δυσωπία*. Nec enim eius causa sane debeo, et, si emero, quid erit quod *expostulet*? Sed videbis ne is tum sit in Africa, ut Caelius. De nomine tu videbis cum Cispio; sed, si Plancus destinat, tum habet res difficultatem. Te ad me venire uterque nostrum cupit, sed ista res nullo modo relinquenda

[*librarium*] The clerk whose duty it was to have entered Cicero as registered by Philotimus. Or it may be Philotimus himself, 'my copyist.'

[*confectum*] This is the reading of all the mss. It seems rash to change to *confestim*, as most of the editors do, on the authority of Bosius. Surely it does not transcend the limits of ellipsis in the letters to supply *esse negotium*: 'but you will kindly let me have a letter on the subject, and one to the effect that the thing is done.'

2. *H. in Capitolio*] Boot ingeniously conjectures that these words are a corruption of *Hinc incipit alia epistula*, a note by some early scholar who perceived, what is now generally recognized, that a new letter begins at the fourth section, but who carelessly prefixed his note instead to the second section. Schiche approves of Boot's conjecture. Schmidt (p. 304 n.) prefers the emendation of Bosius, *hodie in Capitolio*. He remarks that there might have been some festival in the Capitol on June 3, at which Cicero thought it likely that Atticus would meet Balbus and settle the matter. Shuckburgh thinks that the *professio* had to be entered on the public records (*Lex Julia Municipalis*, § 15); and the public Record Office (*tabularium*) was at the foot of the Capitol.

*δυσωπία*] '*mauvaise honte*,' 'scruple.' *eius causa sane debeo*] like *velle alicuius causa*—so very common in the Letters; see Thesaurus s. v. *causa* 682. 1 ff., and Landgraf on Sext. Rosc. § 149. This Vergilius may, perhaps, have been the governor of Sicily who would not allow Cicero to enter his province when going into exile in 58, cp. note to Att. iii 4 (58) and Planc. 95. If so, Cic. need not have had any scruple about opposing his interest in the mere matter of purchase of property.

*Nec enim . . . expostulet*] 'I do not owe

him any consideration for his own sake; and, if I become the purchaser, what will he have to complain of?' We read *expostulet*, suggested by Wesenberg. The *postulet* of the mss could only mean *demand*, or *prosecute*. Vergilius had been on the Pompeian side in the war in Africa (cp. Bell. Afr. 28: 86). Gronovius thinks his share of the property of Scapula may have been confiscated.

*Sed . . . Caelius*] The reading of the mss is *cum sit in Africa*, which commentators find great difficulty in explaining. Vergilius was probably in Africa at this time. It is possible that Caelius, having been a Pompeian, made his peace with Caesar, and that Cicero here expresses a fear lest Vergilius should do the same, in which case difficulties might be raised about Cicero's title. But all this is mere conjecture. The change, however, of *cum* of the mss to *quoque*, though adopted by some editors, leaves the passage at least as obscure as before. The ellipse of *faciat* would be of course quite regular. But perhaps the slight change of *cum* to *tum* is a possible expedient to use in explaining the passage. Cicero would then say: 'Take care that he be not then in Africa, like Caelius.' Vergilius, as one of the co-heirs of the Scapulan *horti*, may have been required to sanction the sale in some way: and if he were in Africa, it might be difficult to get his authorization. We do not know who Caelius was. There was a Caelius whom Faberius offered to delegate as his creditor to Cicero, but of whom Att. disapproved; and apparently Att. refused to accept him (611. 1).

*Cispio*] 560. 3.

*destinat*] 'is a bidder.' This meaning of *destinare* is common: see Fam. vii. 23, 3 (126); and note to 569. 1. Being a rich and influential man (see note to 599. 1), Plancus would be a formidable competitor.

est. Othonem quod speras posse vinci, sane bene narras. De aestimatione, ut scribis, cum agere coeperimus, etsi nihil scripsit nisi de modo agri. Cum Pisone, si quid poterit. Dicaearchi librum accepi et *Καταβάσεως* exspecto. 3. . . . negotium dederis, reperiet ex eo libro in quo sunt senatus consulta Cn. Cornelio L. Mummio coss. De Tuditano autem quod putas, *ἔλογον* est tum illum, quoniam fuit ad Corinthum—non enim temere dixit Hortensius,—aut quaestorem aut tribunum mil. fuisse, idque potius credo. Tu de Antiocho scire poteris, videlicet, quo anno quaestor aut tribunus mil. fuerit. Si neutrum, erue in praefectis an in contubernalibus fuerit, modo fuerit in eo bello.

*vinci*] 'outbidden': cp. 584.4; 605.2; he, as one of the four heirs of Scapula, was probably anxious to acquire the whole property.

*De aestimatione*] The meaning is 'we will do as you say about the valuation when we commence the negotiations, though hitherto he has mentioned in his letters nothing but the *extent* (acreage) of the property.'

*Cum Pisone*] sc. loquere.

*poterit*] We have frequently already met *posse* = *posse fieri*, 'to be possible,' in the letters. The change therefore to *poteris* is to be condemned.

*Dic. librum*] The book received was *περὶ ψυχῆς*, or the *Τριπολιτικός*, 610, 2. Possibly *περὶ ψυχῆς*, or *Τριπολιτικός*, has fallen out of the text, and the gloss *librum* has remained.

3. *negotium dederis*] Some words such as *si cui* must have fallen out here, as *dederis* could not be imperative unless the sentence were negative. Schmidt (p. 309, note) suggests that the whole passage ran *Dicaearchi libros περὶ ψυχῆς accepi et καταβάσεως. De Sp.* (= de Spurio Mummio) *si cui negotium dederis, reperiet, &c.*

*senatus consulta*] We may infer, then, that the *senatus consulta* of every year were recorded and preserved.

*temere*] 'Hortensius did not speak at random' when he told Cicero that Tuditanus was at Corinth, as we are told in Ep. 610, 3. For though Cicero now believes the second hypothesis (*idque potius credo*), namely, that Tuditanus was

not one of the commissioners, but a quaestor or military tribune, yet Hortensius had warrant for what he said, for a Tuditanus was certainly at Corinth at the time. This passage leaves us in some doubt as to whether this § 3 does not belong to a date anterior to 614. 1. For there Cic. says quite definitely that the younger Tuditanus was not quaestor until 145. Here he does not seem to be quite sure as to whether he may not have been military tribune.

*videlicet . . . bello*] 'you will be able to find out this from Antiochus (Dr. Reid thinks we should read *Antaeo* 646 fin.), namely, in what year he was quaestor or military tribune. If he never held either appointment, dig out the information whether he was among the *praefecti* or *contubernales*, if indeed you establish the fact that he was in the war,' the war in which Corinth was taken by Mummian in 146. The *praefecti* (*equitum, fabrum, castrorum*) corresponded partly to our officers of engineers, partly to our adjutants. For the *praefecti*, see note on Att. v. 4. 3 (187) and Marquardt i<sup>2</sup>, p. 553. The *contubernales* (cp. Cael. 73) might be freely described as 'the staff' of a general being mainly young men who accompanied him to gain some experience in the art of war. They were also called *comites*, which was the strict title. We have accepted here Schmidt's view of the passage: see also Adnotatio Critica. For *erue*, cp. 608. 3, *sicunde potes erue quod decem legati Mummio fuerint*: also note to 578. 1.

## 617. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 6, § 4).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 4; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Tuditano, Hortensii proavo, de Sp. Mummius et de instituto maiorum in legatis eligendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

4. Tuditanum istum, proavum Hortensi, plane non noram et filium, qui tum non potuerat esse legatus, fuisse putaram. *Sp. Mummius* fuisse ad Corinthum pro certo habeo. Saepe enim hic *Spurius* qui nuper est *mortuus* epistulas mihi pronuntiabat vericulis facietis ad familiaris missas a Corintho. Sed non dubito quin fratri fuerit legatus, non in decem. Atque hoc etiam accepi, non solitos maiores nostros eos legare in decem qui essent imperatorum necessarii, ut nos, ignari pulcherrimorum institutorum aut neglegentes potius, M. Lucullum et L. Murenam et ceteros coniunctissimos ad L. Lucullum misimus. Illudque *εὐλογώτατον* illud fratri in primis eius legatis fuisse. *O* operam tuam multam, qui et haec cures et mea expedias et sis in tuis non multo minus diligens quam in meis.

4. *Tuditanum*] Cicero had supposed that the son of this Tuditanus, the grandfather of Hortensius (son of the orator nicknamed *Hortalus*), had been amongst the commissioners sent to Corinth to act in concert with Mummius in settling the affairs of Greece after the capture of Corinth. He was not aware that this Tuditanus could not have been among the *legati* till Atticus pointed out to him that the Tuditanus present on that occasion must have been his father. The genealogy is as follows:—

(1) Tuditanus, the father.

(2) Tuditanus, the son (quaestor 145; praetor 132; cons. 129).

Sempronius.

= Hortensius Hortalus.

Hortensius, the orator.

I did not know of the existence of the Tuditanus (No. 1) you tell me of, who was great-grandfather of Hortensius; and I fancied he (i.e. the person referred to by

Hortensius 610. 3) was his son (No. 2), who could not have been a commissioner, for the reasons stated in 610. 3.

*Sp. Mummius*] We have inserted *Sp.* at the suggestion of Boot, who points out that the further designation is essential to distinguish him from his brother L. Mummius, and the more so because another and different Spurius is mentioned immediately afterwards.

*pronuntiabat*] 'used to repeat to me letters of his from Corinth to his friends written in clever verse.'

*est mortuus*] This gives the sense. Müller conjectures *nuper decessit*, Reid *nuper periit*.

*fratri . . . legatus*] cp. note to 615. 1. Mommsen (St. R. ii<sup>2</sup> 661, note 5) thinks the reason why *Sp. Mummius* was a *legatus* to his brother and not a commissioner was that he was not a senator.

*M. Lucullum*] brother of L. Lucullus, and sent to act with the latter in settling the affairs of Pontus after the Mithridatic War.

*in primis eius legatis*] 'among his chief lieutenants.'

*O operam*] Whether *O* should always

## 618. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 8).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 8; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litterarum commercio, Q. Staberii num quis fundus in Pompeiano Nolanove venalis sit, de libris sibi mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Plane nihil erat quod ad te scriberem. Modo enim discesseras et paullo post triplices remiseras. Velim cures fasciculum ad Vestorium deferendum et aliquoi des negotium qui quaerat Q. Staberi fundus num quis in Pompeiano Nolanove venalis sit. Epitomen Bruti Coelianorum velim mihi mittas et a Philoxeno Παναίτιον περὶ προνοίας. Te Idibus videbo cum tuis.

be inserted before the acc. of exclamation is a disputed point. We have accepted the addition of *O* here, as it might easily have been lost: and it seems to us more natural with an exclamation which is somewhat protracted and not confined to two or three words. We are not so sure that it should be inserted in very usual expressions like *me miserum*: or in the case of a very short exclamation like *Neglegentiam miram* (616. 1), where see note. *non* is found in  $\Sigma$  and was probably in the archetype: hence Müller's conjecture *operam tuam multam amo* is not as appropriate as it would be if *non* were omitted; cp. Lehmann, 'Att.' 205, who discusses the various passages in the Epp. ad Att. where the accusative of exclamation occurs. Cp. also below, note to 646 init.

*discesseras*] Atticus had just paid Cic. a short visit, as he had done on May 18 (596), and as he did again on June 16 (623. 1) and on Aug. 10 (662).

*triplices*] *codicilli* of three pages. Cicero had sent his *tabellarius* with directions to bring back from Atticus any communication which he might wish to make on these *triplices* or correspondence tablets. For these *triplices* see Marquardt

*Privatleben*<sup>2</sup> 803, and Martial xiv. 6. A specimen of a triple tablet found at Pompeii is figured in Mau's *Pompeii* (transl. by Kelsey), p. 500.

*Staberi*] He may have been the L. Staberius who was in command at Apollonia when that town surrendered to Caesar in 48 (Caes. B.C. iii. 12). An early inscription of an A. Staberius was found at Capua, as is supposed (C. I. L. x. 4351).

*Bruti*] Brutus had drawn up an abridgment of the annals of L. Coelius Antipater (flor. 123 B.C.). Possibly Cicero wanted these books for the *De Natura Deorum*: cp. N.D. ii. 8. He certainly used Panaetius in that treatise.

*a Philoxeno*] governed by *mittas*. It is the same *a* as appears in phrases like *dum a Faberio . . . repraesentabimus*, 561. 1: *a Caecilio nummum movere*, Att. 12. 1 (17). We should say 'from the library of Philoxenus.' Dr. Reid quotes other elliptical expressions with *a*, as *legare ab aliquo* (i.e. to leave money to be paid by a person, cp. 663. 3); *qui amant a lenone*, Plaut. Pseud. 203. We may perhaps add as somewhat similar 632. 4, *se a te quintum 'De Finibus' librum descripsisse*, where see note.

## 619. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 7, § 1).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 9; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Caesare quae e Sestio et Theopompo audierit, de Lentuli divortio cum Metella, de litteris ab Attico expectatis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Sestius apud me fuit et Theopompus pridie: venisse a Caesare narrabat litteras; hoc scribere, sibi certum esse Romae manere causamque eam ascribere quae erat in epistula nostra, ne se absente leges suae neglegerentur, sicut esset neglecta sumptuaria, (est εὔλογον, idque eram suspicatus. Sed istis mos gerendus est, nisi placet hanc ipsam sententiam nos persequi); et Lentulum cum Metella certe fecisse divortium. Haec omnia tu melius. Rescribes igitur, quidquid voles, dum modo aliquid. Iam enim non reperio quid te rescripturum putem, nisi forte de Mustela aut si Silium videris.

## 620. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 7, § 2).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 10; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De adventu Bruti in Tusculanum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. Brutus heri venit in Tusculanum post horam decimam. Hodie igitur me videbit, ac vellem tum tu adesses. Iussi equidem ei nuntiari te, quoad potuisses, expectasse eius adventum venturumque si audisses, meque, ut facio, continuo te certiore esse facturum.

1. *Theopompus*] Of Cnidus, a friend of Caesar's, see Strabo xiv. 2, 15; Plut. Caes. 48 (Boet).

*in epistula nostra*] The projected letter to Caesar, of which Balbus and Oppius disapproved: cp. 607. 3.

*sumptuaria*] On Caesar's sumptuary law of 46 cp. especially Suet. Caes. 43: and also note to Fam. ix. 26. 4 (479): 15. 5 (481).

*istis*] Balbus and Oppius and other Caesarians: cp. 602: 603. 1.

*hanc ipsam sententiam*] 'to develop that very line of argument,' that is to advocate Caesar's remaining in Rome, whether in a new letter or to expand the

treatment in the former letter Cic. does not say.

*fecisse*] sc. *narrabat Sestius*. This same Lentulus is referred to by his cognomen *Spinther* in 599. 2. It is to be noticed that whereas we say 'divorce from,' the Latin has it 'divorce with.'

*tu melius*] sc. *nosti*: cp. Att. vii. 3. 5 (294); Fam. iv. 13. 7 (483); also ix. 2. 5 (461).

*aliquid*] So Lamb. for *ne quid* of M.

2. *in Tusculanum*] His own villa at Tusculum. He does not appear to have come on a visit to Cicero.

*vellem tum tu adesses*] cp. 614. 1.

## 621. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 5, § 3).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 11 OR 12; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De ratione temporis magistratuum aliquot Romanorum et de Bruti epitome Fannianorum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

3. Tubulum praetorem video L. Metello Q. Maximo consulibus. Nunc velim P. Scaevola pontifex maximus quibus consulibus tribunus pl. Equidem puto proximis, Caepione et Pompeio: praetor enim L. Furio Sex. Atilio. Dabis igitur tribunatum et, si poteris, Tubulus quo crimine. Et vide, quaeso, L. Libo, ille qui de Ser. Galba, Censorinone et Manilio an T. Quinctio M'. Acilio consulibus tribunus pl. fuerit. Conturbabat enim me [epitome Bruti Fanniana,] in Bruti epitoma Fannianorum [scripsi] quod erat in

3. *Tubulum*] The information about Tubulus Cicero used in Fin. ii. 54.

L. Metello Q. Maximo] 612 (142).

velim] sc. scire: cp. 656. 1.

Caepione et Pompeio] 613 (141): *proximis* is found in *Σ* and *Z*, but not in *M*.

L. Furio Sex. Atilio] In the consulship of L. Furius and Sex. Atilius, 618 (136).

quo crimine] 'on what charge was he tried; sc. *accusatus sit*—a strong ellipse. From Fin. ii. 54, we find that it was on the charge of a corrupt judicial decision. But he was a notorious villain. Cicero (Scaur. 5 ap. Ascon. p. 20 KS. = p. 23, ed. Clark) says of him *unum ex omni memoria sceleratissimum et audacissimum fuisse accepimus*. Gellius (ii. 7. 20) put him on a level with Catiline and Clodius: cp. Cic. Fin. v. 62. *cui Tubuli nomen odio non est?*

de Ser. Galba] Sc. *rogationem tulit*, a daring ellipse only to be defended by the consideration that Cicero was dealing with a matter very familiar to Atticus. It is even stronger than that of *accusatus sit*, above. The bill (cp. Cic. Brut. 89) was to restore to liberty certain Lusitanian prisoners who had surrendered to Galba, and had been sold as slaves by him (Liv. Epit. 49). Another story of Galba's treachery stated that he had massacred these Lusitanians (Suet. Galb. 3). Cicero desires to know whether he was tribune

in the consulate of Censorinus and Manilius in 605 (149), or of Quinctius and Acilius in 604 (150).

Conturbabat enim] 'I was confused too by a remark at the end of Brutus' abridgment of the history of Fannius, following which I made Fannius, the historian, the son-in-law of Laelius. But you proved me wrong to demonstration; now Brutus and Fannius convict you of error.' Boot would wish to read *brutus ex Fannio*, remarking, that if Fannius had described himself as son-in-law of Laelius there could have been no question about the matter. A view of this passage, upheld by Schmidt (p. 315), supposes that *epitome Bruti Fanniana* were the words that Cicero wrote, and that a copyist or reader of the Veronen-is added a learned note in the margin in *Bruti epitoma Fannianorum scripsi*, perhaps from a recollection of *Epitomen Bruti Coelianorum* in 618, which would appear to be the correct title of this kind of abridgment. We confess to a certain disbelief in such learned glosses, and in the present case do not feel sure that we know what the glossator meant to convey. Accordingly we incline to the emendation of Bosius (which, as often, he supports by an appeal to the mythical *Decurtatus*), *Conturbat enim me epitome Bruti Fanniana AN 'Bruti epitoma Fannianorum' ? scripsi quod erat in extremo idque*, &c. "I am somewhat

extremo, idque ego secutus hunc Fannium, qui scripsit historiam, generum esse scripseram Laeli, sed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras: te autem nunc Brutus et Fannius. Ego tamen de bono auctore, Hortensio, sic acceperam ut apud Brutum est. Hunc igitur locum expedies.

## 622. CICERO TO TREBIANUS (FAM. VI. 11).

ROME; JUNE (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Trebiano de restitutione quam Dolabellae beneficio illi a C. Caesare impetraverat gratulatur hortaturque ut aequo animo iacturam fortunarum suarum ferat.

## CICERO S. D. TREBIANO.

1. Dolabellam antea tantum modo diligebam; obligatus ei nihil eram—nec enim acciderat mihi opus esse—et ille mihi debebat quod non defueram eius periculis: nunc tanto sum devinctus eius

disquieted by the Fannian epitome of Brutus (or is it 'Brutus's epitome of the History of Fannius'? I wrote what I found at the end of the work), and following this," &c. That is—at the end of the abridgment was something like *Explicit epitoma Bruti Fanniana*, which Cicero says he has written because he found it at the end of the work; but he thinks that such a title is not in accordance with correct usage, and asks, should it not be *Bruti epitoma Fannianorum*? *Epitoma Bruti Fanniani* might be a marginal entry which crept into the text: but it is difficult to suppose that *scripsi* is not sound. Cicero had stated, in Rep. i. 18. Brut. 100, that Fannius was son-in-law of Laelius: this statement Atticus had (as Cicero thought) demonstrated to be erroneous: but Brutus, in a conversation with Cicero at this time, had satisfied him that the error had been made by Atticus. Perhaps he did this by adducing passages from the larger work of Fannius, and thus both Brutus and Fannius may be said to have co-operated in settling the question.

For Trebrianus, cp. note to Fam. vi. 10 (491).

1. *diligebam*] 'I had only a regard for,' weaker than *amare*, cp. ad Brut. i. 1, 1

(873), *L. Clodius valde me diligit vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat.*

*acciderat mihi opus esse*] 'for it never happened to be necessary' (that I should receive a favour from him). The acc. and inf. is rare after *accidere*, yet cp. Fam. iii. 10, 5 (261), *illud vero mihi permirum accidit tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adolescente*. Caec. 8 *Videte igitur quam inique accidit, quia res indigna sit, ideo turpem existimationem sequi*. Accordingly there is no need to add *ut* with Wesenberg and read *esset* with G, or to alter *esse* to *eius* with R and Streicher—a construction like *δεῖ μοι τινος* which is found in Liv. xxii. 51, 3; xxiii. 21, 5. Translate 'for it never happened that I had need' (sc. to put myself under a compliment to him). Lehmann (pp. 126, 127) proposes *nec enim acciderat mihi <operam eius> opus esse*, which would be an allowable remedy if the case really demanded one: cp. 636. 5; 697. 2.

*periculis*] cp. Fam. iii. 10, 5 (261) *adultescente* (sc. *Dolabella*) *cuius ego salutem duobus capitis iudiciis summa contentione defendi*. What these trials were is not known. It has been conjectured from Phil. xi. 9 that they were for murder and grave immorality. That Dolabella was twice tried on a capital charge before he was twenty showed him to be of a most violent nature.

beneficio, quod et antea in re et hoc tempore in salute tua cumulativissime mihi satis fecit ut nemini plus debeam. Qua in re tibi gratulor ita vehementer ut te quoque mihi gratulari quam gratias agere malim; alterum omnino non desidero, alterum vere facere poteris. 2. Quod reliquum est, quoniam tibi virtus et dignitas tua reditum ad tuos aperuit, est tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi quid amiseris oblivisci, quid reciperaris cogitare: vives cum tuis, vives nobiscum, plus adquisisti dignitatis quam amisisti rei familiaris; quae ipsa tum esset iucundior, si ulla res esset publica. Vestorius, noster familiaris, ad me scripsit te mihi maximas gratias agere: haec praedicatio tua mihi valde grata est eaque te uti facile patior, cum apud alios, tum mehercule apud Sironem, nostrum amicum; quae enim facimus, ea prudentissimo cuique maxime probata esse volumus. Te cupio videre quam primum.

## 623. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 9).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 17; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Trebatii, Curtii, Dolabellae, Torquati ad se adventu et de sermonibus cum illis habitis, de Bruto, de itinere Arpinum suscipiendo et de adventu Caesaris expectato.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Commodum discesseras heri cum Trebatius venit, paullo post Curtius, hic salutandi causa, sed mansit invitatus. Trebatium nobiscum habemus. Hodie mane Dolabella. Multus sermo ad multum diem. Nihil possum dicere ἐκτενέστερον, nihil φιλοστοργ-

in re] 'in the matter of your estate.' Dolabella and Cicero, doubtless, succeeded in saving some portion of the property of Trebatius from confiscation or plunder.

salute] 'your restoration' = incolumitas, 'your civil position.'

cumulativissime] 'most abundantly.'

2. tum] so MG; for tum . . . si cp. Verr. ii. 164; Rep. i. 62. As R has tam, it has been proposed to read tamen, which had been already conjectured by Lambinus.

Vestorius] the banker of Puteoli, 667. 2. facile patior] 'I am glad that you make it' (sc. this acknowledgment): cp. 634, 1; praedicatio; lit. 'proclamation,' as if of a crier.

Sironem] An Epicurean philosopher, Acad. ii. 106; Fin. ii. 119. According to

Vergil, Catal. 5 (7), 9; 8 (10), 1; Donat. Vit. Verg. 79; Serv. on Ecl. vi. 13, he was the teacher of Vergil. The name is variously spelled Siro (so MGR Madvig, Baehrens, Reid), Syro (inferior MSS), Sciro, Scyro: cp. Zeller, Stoics, &c., p. 414, note 1, Eng. Tr.

1. Trebatius] 637. 3.

Curtius] 597. 1.

Dolabella] sc. venit: for the ellipse cp. Att. ii. 12. 2 (37) ibidem ilico ('at that very moment') puer abs te cum epistulis: and often.

ad multum diem] 'prolonged till the day was far spent.'

ἐκτενέστερον] 'more empressé.' φιλοστοργότερον] 'more affectionate.'



ἔπειτα. Ventum est tamen ad Quintum. Multa ἄφρατα, ἀδιήγητα, sed unum eius modi, quod, nisi exercitus sciret, non modo Tironi dictare sed ne ipse quidem auderem scribere . . . Sed hactenus. Εὐκαίρως ad me venit cum haberem Dolabellam Torquatus, humanissimeque Dolabella quibus verbis secum egissem exposuit. Commodum enim egeram diligentissime : quae diligentia grata est visa Torquato. 2. A te exspecto, si quid de Bruto. Quamquam Nicias confectum putabat, sed divortium non probari. Quo etiam magis laboro idem quod tu. Si quid est enim offensionis, haec res mederi potest. Mihi Arpinum eundum est. Nam et opus est constitui a nobis illa praediola et vereor ne exeundi potestas non sit cum Caesar venerit, de cuius adventu eam opinionem Dolabella habet quam tu coniecturam faciebas ex litteris Messallae. Cum illuc venero intellexeroque quid negoti sit, tum ad quos dies rediturus sim scribam ad te.

*Quintum*] the son of Q. Cicero. He was now in the camp of Caesar.

*Multa ἄφρατα*] 'he said many things which were too bad to mention or report, but one thing which I should not dare to dictate to Tiro, or even to write down myself, were it not that the whole camp knows it.'

*scribere . . .*] Lehmann (*Wochenschrift*, 1896, p. 56) supposes there is a lacuna here, made by the editor in order to spare the scandal to the members of the family then living. He compares *Fam.* iii. 10. 11 (261), where there is a similar lacuna, which may have been caused by an omission due to the influence of the Claudian family.

*Εὐκαίρως*] 'in the nick of time.'

*Torquatus*] Torquatus had apparently been permitted to return from exile (cp. 572. 2, *a quibus recipis*); otherwise he could not have been at Tusculum; but probably, though he was allowed to return to Italy, he was not allowed to return to Rome. Cicero seems to have been urging Dolabella to do what he could to bring Torquatus again into full favour with Caesar, and thus perhaps save some of his property.

*egeram*] Cicero had spoken to Dolabella about Torquatus, and had begged him to recommend the latter to Caesar. (cp. 652. 2; 662. 2). The words from *Dolabella to diligentissime* are not in M, having fallen out through the *homocoteleuton* in *humanissime* and *diligentissime*. The words are found in Lehmann's mss.

ORP, (i.e. in Σ), the *editio Iensoniana*, and the edition of Cratander.

2. *de Bruto*] 'I expect to hear from you, if there is any news about Brutus.' Brutus had divorced Claudia, the daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher, and proposed to marry his cousin Porcia, the daughter of Cato.

*Nicias*] cp. 604 [29]. 1.

*confectum*] 'that the matter is settled,' i.e. that Brutus is going to marry Porcia.

*laboro idem*] 'I am all the more anxious for the same thing as you: for if there has been any offence taken (by the public at the divorce of Claudia), this step (i.e. his marriage with Porcia) may remedy it.' For *laboro* with acc. cp. 610. 1.

*constitui . . . illa praediola*] 625. 1.

*quam tu coniecturam*] Lamb. added *cum before coniecturam*, which we accepted in ed. 1. But Müller has shown that it is not necessary, and that Latin writers often use a different word, though of a somewhat similar meaning, in the relative clause from that which they use in the principal clause. He quotes Verr. v. 146, *non providerant eas ipsas sibi causas esse periculi, quibus argumentis se ad salutem uli arbitrabantur*: Balb. 18 in *qua fortuna . . . hunc vitae statum*: Div. in Caecil. 41, *cum illius temporis mihi venit in mentem quo die citato reo mihi dicendum sit*: Caes. B. C. i. 44. 3, *quibus in locis . . . earum regionum*.

*ad quos dies*] 'about what days.' Dr. Reid thinks we should read *quo die*, omitting *ad*.

## 624 CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 10).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 18-20; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De morte Marcelli, de Dolabella, de Bruto, de Magii amentia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Minime miror te et graviter ferre de Marcello et plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea nec videbatur natura ferre ut accidere posset? Omnia igitur metuenda. Sed illud *παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν*, tu praesertim; 'me reliquum consularem.' Quid? tibi Servius quid videtur? Quamquam hoc nullam ad partem valet scilicet, mihi praesertim, qui non minus bene actum cum illis putem. Quid enim sumus aut quid esse possumus? domin an foris? Quod nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem, scribere ista nescio quae, quo verterem me non haberem. 2. Ad Dolabellam, ut scribis, ita puto faciendum, *κοινότερα* quaedam et *πολιτικώτερα*. Faciendum certe aliquid est: valde enim desiderat. 3. Brutus si quid egerit, curabis ut sciam, cui quidem quam primum agendum puto, praesertim si statuit.

1. *De Marcello*] who was murdered by P. Magius Chilo: cp. Ep. 613.

*Sed illud*] 'but to think that you of all men should have made such a historical *lapsus* as to call me the only surviving consular. Why, what do you make of Servius Sulpicius (who was consul with M. Marcellus)?' Atticus seems to have said that when Marcellus was slain, Cicero was the only surviving consular. This is explained by the editors to mean that Cicero was the only consular *worthy of the name*—which cannot be defended by *non consulare dictum*, Att. ii. 1. 5 (27)—a distinction to a share in which Cicero then desires to admit Servius Sulpicius. But this could not be called 'a slip in history.' It would be merely a matter of opinion. Atticus must have in some way qualified his remark. Dr. Reid thinks Att. may have meant one who was a constitutionalist, and one of sufficient importance that the country might expect something from him. He notes that *quid tibi videtur?* points to quality: it is virtually *qualis tibi videtur*: see his note on Acad. ii, 76, 89, where he compares Fam. ix. 21. 1 (497), *quid tibi ego videor*

*in epistulis?*: Hor. Epp. i. 11. 1, *Quid tibi visa Chios*. Cicero corrects him by observing that Servius Sulpicius can claim the same distinction.

*nullam*] 'yet this (the fact that I am a consular) has no importance at all from any point of view, you may be sure, especially for me who think that those who are gone have the best of it.' (Cp. Horace's *ab omni parte*.)

*Quod nisi*] 'But had it not occurred to me to write these works, such as they are (cp. note to 599. 3), I do not know what I should do with myself.'

2. *κοινότερα*] 'I should write something of more general and public interest'; than those philosophical works in which he was engaged, possibly something of a political nature. But Cicero could not make up his mind what to write (627. 2).

3. *egerit*] This word is in all the mss except Δ: cp. 625. 2.

*cui quidem*] 'I think he should take the step at once (of marrying Porcia), especially if he has made up his mind. It will either stop, or at all events mitigate, any chit-chat (which the divorce may have caused).'

Sermunculum enim omnem aut restituerit aut sedarit. Sunt enim qui loquantur etiam mecum. Sed haec ipse optime, praesertim si etiam tecum loquetur. Mihi est in animo proficisci xi. Kal. Hic enim nihil habeo quod agam, ne hercule illic quidem nec usquam, sed tamen aliquid illic. Hodie Spintherem exspecto. Misit enim Brutus ad me: per litteras purgat Caesarem de interitu Marcelli, in quem, ne si insidiis quidem ille interfectus esset, caderet ulla suspicio. Nunc vero, cum de Magio constet, nonne furor eius causam omnem sustinet? Plane quid sit non intellego; explanabis igitur. Quamquam nihil habeo quod dubitem nisi ipsi Magio quae fuerit causa amentiae, pro quo quidem etiam sponsor sum factus. Et nimirum id fuit: solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum petisse a Marcello aliquid et illum, ut erat, constantius respondisse.

## 625. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 11).

ARPINUM; JUNE 22; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Quo animo versetur in Arpinati significat et quibus de rebus ad se scribi velit.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Οὐ ταῦτ' ὅν εἶδος. Credebam esse facile. Totum est aliud, postea quam sum a te diiunctior. Sed fuit faciendum ut et

[*Sermunculum*] cp. *offensionis*, 623. 2. For the word, cp. *Deiot.* 33.

[*haec ipse optime*] sc. *faciet*, a common ellipse: cp. e.g. 725. 6.

[*illic*] at Arpinum (623. 21).

[*Misit*] 'sent word.' Boot thinks that *Brutus* has got out of place, and should follow after the full stop. *Misit* (sc. *Spinther*) *enim ad me. Brutus per litteras purgat*.

[*purgat*] 'he defends Caesar in the matter of the murder of Marcellus. But not even if his death had been due to treachery, could any suspicion fall on him. And now that it is clear that Magius was mad, does not that fully account for everything?'  
[*quid sit*] What Brutus means by undertaking Caesar's defence.

[*sponsor sum factus: et*] So Zb and Crat. ΣΔ have *sponsorum factus et*: Bosius conj. *sponsor Sumii* ('at Sunium') *factus est*. Magius was in money difficulties: even

Cic. had been security for him. He probably begged money from Marcellus, who gave him 'a somewhat decided answer.' Boot observes that *respondisse* would rather imply that Marcellus had complied with the request of Magius. Hence Beier conjectures *cunctantius respondisse*. Caelius in *Fam.* viii. 10, 3 (226), calls Marcellus *tardum et parum efficacem*. But when Marcellus did act, he acted with determination, e.g. in the case of scourging the citizen of Cumum, *Att.* v. 11. 2 (200).

[*ut erat*] 'as was his way': cp. *Fam.* xii. 20 (930) *Quod si, ut es, cessabis*, and note there.

1. οὐ ταῦτ' ὅν εἶδος] The couplet is from Eur. *Ion* 585—

οὐ ταῦτ' ὅν εἶδος φαίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων  
πρόσθεον ὄντων ἔγγυθ' ὁρμμένων.

Cicero means that he had not realized until he tried it how disagreeable it would

constituerem mercedulas praediorum et ne magnum onus observantiae Bruto nostro imponerem. Posthac enim poterimus commodius colere inter nos in Tusculano. Hoc autem tempore, cum ille me cotidie videre vellet, ego ad illum ire non possem, privabatur omni delectatione Tusculani. 2. Tu igitur, si Servilia venerit, si Brutus quid egerit, etiam si constituerit quando ob viam, quidquid denique erit quod scire me oporteat, scribes. Pisonem, si poteris, convenies: vides quam maturum sit. Sed tamen, quod commodo tuo fiat.

## 626. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 12).

ARPINUM; JUNE 23; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De valetudine Atticae, de oratione Ligariana, de Academicorum libris ad Varronem scribendis, de Brinniana auctione, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Valde me momorderunt epistolae tuae de Attica nostra: eadem tamen sanaverunt. Quod enim te ipse consolabare eisdem litteris, id mihi erat satis firmum ad leniendam aegritudinem. 2. 'Ligarianam' praeclare vendidisti. Posthac quidquid scripsero,

be to move further away from his friend and correspondent.

*mercedulas praediorum*] Cp. 623. 2.

*magnum onus . . . imponerem*] This was the euphemistic way of saying that he did not feel comfortable in the company of Brutus, cp. 637. 1. Cicero represents this avoidance of the company of Brutus as an act of consideration towards him (*privabatur . . . Tusculani*).

*colere inter nos*] 'to cultivate each other's society.'

*ego ad illum ire non possem*] It is not easy to see the reason. Cic. may mean that Brutus would be constantly expecting Cic. to drop in, and as really he (Cic.) could not be constantly visiting him (i.e., to speak frankly, could not see his way to pay perpetual visits to an ungracious man whose company he did not like), he thought the best thing was to go away, and thus Brutus would not be offended.

2. *Servilia*] The mother of Brutus.

*quando ob viam*] sc. *iturus sit*, 'when he is leaving for the meeting,' i.e. with Caesar, who was now on his return from Spain. Ellipse of a verb of motion

is common: see Index. For an ellipse of *esse* or *dari* with *ob viam* cp. Ter. Phorm. 196, *Ipsest quem volui ob viam*.

*Pisonem*] Cp. 614. 2.

*maturum*] 'that it is now high time,' as the day of the sale of Scapula's property was approaching, and money was needed.

1. *Quod . . . aegritudinem*] 'For the fact that you consoled yourself in the same letter (as you wrote me the alarming news about Attica) was a sufficient assurance to me to alleviate my grief.'

2. *vendidisti*] 'you have given the speech for Ligarius a splendid send-off.' *Vendere* is used in this sense by Cicero in Pro Quinctio 19, and by Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 75. Juv. vii. 136 says of a *causidicus* that his amethyst robes bring him custom, *vendunt amethystina*. Atticus had been praising the *oratiuncula*, as Cicero calls the speech in 631. 2, and had thus secured for it a large measure of public notice. He had 'given it a great vogue,' as perhaps *vendidisti* might better be rendered. On Sull. 31, Dr. Reid has this interesting

tibi praeconium deferam. 3. Quod ad me de Varrone scribis, seis me antea orationes aut aliquid id genus solitum scribere, ut Varro nem nusquam possem interexere. Postea autem quam haec coepi φιλολογώτερα, iam Varro mihi denuntiaverat magnam sane et gravem προσφώνησιν. Biennium praeteriit, cum ille Καλλιπιδης adsiduo cursu cubitum nullum processerit. Ego autem me parabam ad id quod ille mihi mississet ut αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ καὶ λῶϊον, si modo potuissem: nam hoc etiam Hesiodus ascribit, αἶ κε δύνηαι. Nunc illam περὶ τελῶν σύνταξιν sano mihi probatam Bruto, ut tibi placuit, despondimus, idque tu eum non nolle mihi scripsisti. Ergo illam Ἀκαδημικήν, in qua homines nobiles illi quidem sed

note—"It is doubtful whether *vendere se* or *aliquam rem alicui* can be said for *vendicare*: in Att. xiii. 12. 2 we probably have a jest: 'You have sold my speech for Ligarius in excellent fashion: for the future whenever I write anything I will make you my auctioneer.' There is a curious jest in Har. resp. 1: *cum is (Clodius) P. Tullioni Syro navaret operam atque ei se cui totus venierat etiam vobis inspectantibus vendicaret.*"

[*praeconium*] 'the advertising of it.' For *praeconium* cp. Apul. Met. vi. 7 of Mercury as a public crier. Dr. Reid compares 786. 2 *te bucinatorem fore existimationis meae*. It is worth noticing that Cicero appears from this passage (cp. 635. 3) to have at times sent his writings to other publishers than Atticus. The works published by Atticus (especially those of Demosthenes and Aeschines) had a high reputation for accuracy, and were noted as Ἀττικιανά, as we might speak of an Elzevir or a Teubner. Lucian (Adv. indoctum 2) speaks of ὁ ἀοίδιμος Ἀττικός.

3. *aliquid id genus*] For the accens. *id genus* cp. accusatives like Varro R. R. iii. 5. 11 *avibus omne genus*: Cluent. 141 *id aetatis filio*.

[*interexere*] 'introduce' as a speaker or character in a dialogue.

[*προσφώνησιν*] Cicero had already commenced those 'more literary' works, as he calls the philosophical treatises in contradistinction to his speeches, &c., when Varro promised to dedicate to him his *De Lingua Latina*. Now, after two years, Varro has made no progress with the work. In allusion to this dilatoriness, Cicero ironically calls Varro Καλλιπιδης, which is apparently a proverbial name for a 'slow-coach.' It is not probable

that there is any allusion to a certain tragic actor mentioned by Aristotle in his *Poetics*, ch. 26 (1461, b. 36), whose acting was marred by an excess of gesture. Suet. Tib. 38 tells us that this *sobriquet* was applied to the Emperor Tiberius. *ut vulgo iam per iocum Callipides vocaretur quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi proverbio Graeco notatum est.* Otio (p. 66) thinks Callipides was perhaps a runner, who often competed but never was successful. He quotes Mantiss. Proverb. 1, 87 (vol. ii. p. 957, ed. Leutsch): Κάλλιπος τρέχει: ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ μελετώντων ποιῆσαι, ὀλίγα δὲ δρώντων.

[*αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ*] Hesiod, Op. 350.

[*περὶ τελῶν σύνταξιν*]. 'The *De Finibus*, which I think very well of, I design for Brutus by your advice, and I learn from you that he is pleased with the attention.' He means that he has dedicated the work to Brutus. He did not make him an interlocutor in the dialogue. He kept the principal part for himself (631. 4).

[*tu*] This word occurs in v. c. L (marg.) and the codices of Bosius. Dr. Reid (p. 337) believes it is a deliberate insertion, put in when *ut tibi placuit* got out of position: he thinks these words originally followed *despondimus*. We think this subtlety beyond the capacity of copyists.

[*Ἀκαδημικήν*]. See next ep. The *Academica* had consisted of two books, in one of which Catulus was the chief character, and in the other Lucullus. The new edition here spoken of consists of four books, in all of which Varro has the chief part. This, he says, will be more suitable; for Catulus and Lucullus, though great nobles, were not at all literary men, and so the arguments assigned to

nullo modo philologi nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus. Etenim sunt Antiochia, quae iste valde probat. Catulo et Lucullo alibi reponemus, ita tamen si tu hoc probas, deque eo mihi rescribas velim. 4. De Brinniana auctione accepi a Vestorio litteras. Ait sine ulla controversia rem ad me esse collatam—Romae videlicet aut in Tusculano me fore putaverunt—a. d. iix. Kal. Quint. Dices igitur vel amico tuo, S. Vettio, coheredi meo, vel Labeoni nostro, paullum proferant auctionem, me circiter Nonas in Tusculano fore. *Tu* cum Pisone: Erotem habes. De Scapulanis hortis toto pectore cogitemus. Dies adest.

## 627. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 13 AND 14, §§ 1, 2).

ARPINUM; JUNE 25; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Academicis ad Varronem translatis, de scripto ad Dolabellam mittendo, de valedudine Atticae, de Brinniana auctione et coheredibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Commotus tuis litteris, quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli transtulique

them are too subtle for such speakers. Now Varro will be quite suitable, for he is known to hold the views of Antiochus (cp. 629. 1 and note on 641. 1), which are expounded in the *Academica*. Dr. Reid (Introd. to Acad., p. 35) says: 'It seems strange that Cicero should not have entered into correspondence with Varro himself. But the literary etiquette of the day seems to have required that the recipient of a dedication should be assumed to be ignorant of the donor's intentions till they were on the very point of being carried out. Thus, although Cicero saw Brutus frequently while at Tusculum, he apparently did not speak to him about the *De Finibus*, but employed Atticus to ascertain his feeling about the dedication.'

*reponemus*] 'I will make it up to (or 'repay') Catulus and Lucullus in some other work' by giving them a leading part in some other dialogue. For *reponere* in the general sense of 'repaying,' 'returning as good as he got,' cp. Fam. i. 9. 19 (153) *ne tibi ego idem reponam*. See Mayor on Juv. i. 1 for other examples.

4. *rem . . . collatam*] 'that it has been put into my hands,' that is, that Cicero has been made *magister auctionis*, with power to decide for himself and his co-heirs all questions appertaining to the sale, e.g. reserve prices and such matters.

iix] = viii.

*S. Vettio*] A freedman of Brinnius and Albinus Sabinus were also co-heirs, 627 [14]. 1.

*Tu cum Pisone*] sc. *transiges*, cp. 629. 2. 'You will kindly settle with Piso (614). You have Eros to help you at Rome.' The insertion of *Tu*, which would easily have fallen out before *cū* (*t* and *c* being almost indistinguishable), and the right punctuation of the passage are due to Wesenberg.

*Erotem*] For Eros cp. 557. 4. He was an accountant of Atticus who was acquainted with Cicero's financial affairs.

*Dies*] sc. *auktionis*; cp. 625. 2 note.

*Academiam*] So the mss. Cic. does not appear to use this form elsewhere for his treatise. He speaks of it as *haec Academica* (631. 5) or *Academica quaestio*

ad nostrum sodalem et ex duobus libris contuli in quattuor. Grandiores sunt omnino quam erant illi, sed tamen multa detracta. Tu autem mihi pervelim scribas qui intellexeris illum velle. Illud vero utique scire cupio quem intellexeris ab eo *ζηλοτυπῆσθαι*, nisi forte Brutum. Id hercle restabat! Sed tamen scire pervelim. Libri quidem ita exierunt, nisi forte me communis *φιλαυτία* decipit, ut in tali genere ne apud Graecos quidem simile quidquam. Tu illam iacturam feres aequo animo, quod illa quae habes de *Academicis* frustra descripta sunt. Multo tamen haec erunt splendidiora, breviora, meliora. 2. Nunc autem *ἀπορῶ* quo me vertam. Volo Dolabellae valde desideranti: non reperio quid, et simul *αἰδέομαι* *τῶας*, neque, si aliquid, potero *μέμψιν* effugere. Aut cessandum igitur aut aliquid excogitandum. 3. Sed quid haec leviamur? Attica mea, obsecro te, quid agit? quae me valde angit. Sed crebro regusto tuas litteras: in his acquiesco. Tamen exspecto

(631. 3), or *Ἀκαδημικὴν σύνταξιν* (629. 1): cp. note to 643. 3.

*Grandiores*] We may take this word as meaning 'finer,' 'more imposing': or perhaps even 'longer' (the natural meaning), though he left out certain portions of the original edition: for he may have added much to this edition. Then *breviora* at the end of § 1 will be 'more concise,' 'more terse.' As Dr. Reid (*Acad.* p. 35, note 6) says, *breviora* applies to the mode in which each point is put; *grandiores* to the compass of the whole work. Birt (*Antike Buchwesen*, p. 354) has ingeniously suggested *grandior est sunt* <*axis*>, i.e. *σύνταξις*; cp. 629. 1 *Ἀκαδημικὴν σύνταξιν*.

*qui*] = *quo modo*: cp. 599. 3.

*ζηλοτυπῆσθαι*] 'to be the object of his jealousy,' as having secured a place in some work of Cicero's.

*Id hercle restabat*] See Reid (*Hermathena* 338), 'indeed that's just like him to do,' lit. 'indeed that was left to him to do'—a petulant expression. He compares Pro Quinctio 33 *illud etiam restiterat . . . ut te in ius educerent*: Phil. xi. 22: Att. viii. 7. 1 (338). Add Ovid. Met. ii. 471. Shuckburgh translates 'By heaven, that's the last straw!' Varro was such a cross-grained person (642. 3) that Cicero's petulance is excusable.

*exierunt*] 'have turned out': cp. *currente rota cur urceus exit*, Hor. A. P. 22. The far more common use of *exire* in the letters is 'to be published,' 'to come into the hands of readers' (632. 5).

*communis φιλαυτία*] 'the usual author's self-love' (Shuckburgh).

*iacturam . . . frustra*] The 'loss' which Atticus sustained was his having copied out, 'to no purpose,' the first edition of the *Academica*, which was now superseded by the second. Possibly *de Academicis* is a marginal annotation which has crept into the text, as Dr. Reid suggests.

*tamen*] The change to *enim*, advocated by Boot, is not necessary. Cicero is thinking not of the words *feres aequo animo*, but of *frustra descripta sunt*; 'the first edition is indeed superseded, but think of the superiority of the work in its present form.'

2. *quo me vertam*] where I shall turn to find a subject for another work.

*Volo Dolabellae*] sc. *facere aliquid*: see 624, 2.

*αἰδέομαι τῶας*] cp. 640. 2 note. He fears that he might be condemned if he should write anything to meet the views of Dolabella, who was a Caesarian.

*neque si aliquid*] 'even if I do find out a subject (suitable for Dolabella), I shall not be able to escape *censure rash*.'

*aliquid excogitandum*] Cicero had said 'I cannot hit on anything: and if I do think of a subject, I cannot avoid *censure*. I must then do nothing, or I must think of *something*'—the latter word is emphatic, *something*, that will be suitable and not too open to *censure*. It is hardly necessary to add *aliud*.

3. *regusto*] cp. 656. 2 'to enjoy by reading again,' lit. 'to taste again,' as

novas. [14] 1. Brinni libertus, coheres noster, scripsit ad me velle, si mihi placeret, coheredes se et Sabinum Albium ad me venire. Id ego plane nolo: hereditas tanti non est. Et tamen obire auctionis diem facile poterunt—est enim III. Idus—si me in Tusculano postridie Nonas mane convenerint. Quod si laxius volent proferre diem, poterunt vel biduum vel triduum vel ut videbitur: nihil enim interest. Qua re, nisi iam profecti sunt, retinebis homines. 2. De Bruto, si quid egerit, de Caesare, si quid scies, si quid erit praeterea, scribes.

# 628. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 14, § 3, AND 15).

ARPINUM: JUNE 26; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Academicis ad Varronem mittendis, de valetudine Atticae et litterarum commercio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

[14] 3. Illud etiam atque etiam consideres velim, placeatne tibi mitti ad Varronem quod scripsimus. Etsi etiam ad te aliquid pertinet: nam scito te ei dialogo adiunctum esse tertium. Opinor igitur consideremus; etsi nomina iam facta sunt; sed vel induci vel mutari possunt. [15] Quid agit, obsecro te, Attica nostra? Nam triduo abs te nullas acceperam, nec mirum: nemo enim

in Att. iv. 19. 1 (158) *ille Latinus ἀρρικισμός ex intervallo regustandus.*

[14]. 1. *coheres . . . Sabinum*] See Adn. Crit. M has only *conheres et* [ait M<sup>2</sup>] *Sabinum*. The intervening words are in Crat and I. There is no reason for interpolation; and the omission is explained *ex homocoteleuto*.

*coheredes*] cp. 626. 4: 632. 6.

*obire auctionis diem*] 'to appear on the day of the auction.' *obire diem* (cp. Lael. 7) can be thus used when the day is specified. We have found in 613. 2 *diem suum obisse* = 'to die.'

*laxius proferre*] 'to postpone to a later date.'

*vel biduum*] sc. *proferre diem*.

2. *De Bruto*] His marriage, no doubt. *de Caesare*] His return from Spain.

[14], 3. *quod scripsimus*] The four books of the *Academica*.

*nomina iam facta sunt*] 'the entries are already made' (or 'booked'). Cicero

purposely uses a word implying a certain contract or obligation on his part to keep faith with Varro and Atticus, to whom also he had assigned a part in the dialogues. The metaphor is taken from the *obligatio litteris*. For *nomen facere* 'to make an entry,' hence 'to make a loan,' cp. note to Fam. vii. 23. 1 (126).

*induci*] 'cancelled.' The writing on wax-tablets was erased by filling it in with wax, which was effected by 'drawing' the broad end of the stylus 'over' it. For *inducere* = 'to cancel,' cp. Att. i. 20. 4 (26), and probably iv. 17. 2 (149). Cic. means that the names can be cancelled, and what other names are to be inserted left open for future consideration, or they can be changed at once.

[15]. *acceperam*] This and all the tenses that follow are so-called epistolary tenses. 'I have received nothing: no one has come: perhaps there was no reason. Accordingly I have nothing to write about. But to-day, when I am



venerat: nec fortasse causa fuerat. Itaque ipse quod scriberem non habebam. Quo autem die has Valerio dabam, expectabam aliquem meorum: qui si venisset et a te quid attulisset, videbam non defuturum quod scriberem.

## 629. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 16).

ARPINUM; JUNE 27; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De vita sua in Arpinati, de libris Academicis ad Varronem traductis. Quaerit de Servilia, de Bruto, de Caesare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nos, cum flumina et solitudinem sequeremur, quo facilius sustentare nos possemus, pedem e villa adhuc egressi non sumus: ita magnos et adsiduos imbris habebamus. Illam Ἀκαδημικὴν σύνταξιν totam ad Varronem traduximus. Primo fuit Catuli Luculli, Hortensi. Deinde, quia παρὰ τὸ πρέπον videbatur, quod erat hominibus nota non illa quidem ἀπαιδευσία sed in iis rebus ἀτραψία, simul ac veni ad villam, eosdem illos sermones ad Catonem Brutumque transtuli. Ecce tuae litterae de Varrone. Nemini visa est aptior Antiochia ratio. 2. Sed tamen velim scribas ad me, primum placeatne tibi aliquid ad illum, deinde, si placebit, hocne potissimum. Quid Servilia? iamne venit? Brutus etiam ecquid agit et quando? De Caesare quid auditur? Ego ad Nonas, quem ad modum dixi. Tu cum Pisone, si quid poteris.

giving this letter to Valerius, I am expecting one of my own messengers.'

1. *solitudinem*] See Adn. Crit. This is the reading of ΣΔ: the Transalpine family have here *solitudines*, cp. 559. 1. Just below *Primo* is the reading of the same family, while ΣΔ have *modo*. Owing to *deinde*, *primo* is to be preferred.

*pedem*] acc. of measure, cp. Deiot. 42: also *traversum unguem discedere* (634. 4), and see Roby 1086.

*Primo*] See Adn. Crit. and preceding note on *solitudines*.

παρὰ τὸ πρέπον] 'not *comme il faut*, because Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius were known to be—I will not say

illiterate—but at all events unversed in these (philosophical) questions.' Perhaps *illiteracy* and *amateurishness* would go nearer to the character of the Greek expressions. Or, 'I will not call them *ignoramuses*, but at least *amateurs* in these matters.'

*ad Catonem Brutumque transtuli*] This was an intermediate form of the *Academica* in which Cato must have taken the part of Hortensius, while Brutus took that of Lucullus: cp. Reid, Acad. pp. 46, 48.

*Antiochia ratio*] 626. 3. For Antiochus cp. 641. 1.

2. *ad Nonas*] cp. 627 [14]. 1. Understand *adereo*.

*cum Pisone*] 626. 4.

## 630. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 17, 18).

ARPINUM; JUNE 28; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Quaerit de rebus urbanis, de Bruto, de Caesare, de valetudine Atticae, de comodo propinquitatis quo nunc careat, de libris Academicis ad Varronem mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

[17] v. Kalend. expectabam Roma aliquid, non quo imperassem tuis: igitur nunc eadem illa: quid Brutus cogitet, aut, si aliquid egit, ecquid a Caesare. Sed quid ista, quae minus curo? Attica nostra quid agat scire cupio: etsi tuae litterae—sed iam nimis veteres sunt—recte sperare iubent, tamen exspecto recens aliquid. [18] Vides propinquitas quid habeat. Nos vero conficiamus hortos. Colloqui videbamur in Tusculano cum essem: tanta erat crebritas litterarum. Sed id quidem iam erit. Ego interea admonitu tuo perfecti sane argutulos libros ad Varronem: sed tamen exspecto quid ad ea quae scripsi ad te: primum qui intellexeris eum desiderare a me, cum ipse homo πολυγραφώτατος numquam me lacessisset, deinde quem ζηλοτυπεῖν, nisi forte Brutum, quem si non ζηλοτυπεῖ, multo Hortensium minus aut eos

[17] *non quo imperassem aliquid tuis: igitur* 'not that I gave your messengers any commands.' See Adn. Crit. Here again the Transalpine family have *quo*, which is omitted by ΣΔ. The reading of M is *non imperassem igitur aliquid tuis*. Müller reads *novi*. *Imperassem* (i.e. 'if any news had arrived') *igitur aliquid tuis*, i.e. to Atticus' messengers who had brought the letter mentioned in 629. 1 fin, and whom he was now sending back to Rome. *Novi* might readily have been corrupted into *non* before *imperassem*: but it is more probable that *quo* was omitted than that it should have been interpolated.

*nunc eadem illa*] i.e. I have to ask the same questions.

*ecquid a Caesare*] 'whether there is any intimation from Caesar' as to how he regards the action of Brutus: cp. 627 fin.

[18] *Vides propinquitas quid habeat*] M has *habet*, altered by Lamb. to *habeat*: cp. note to 555. 4.

*conficiamus hortos*] 'secure the gardens,'

cp. Att. i. 7 (3) *quem ad modum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis*. Cicero intended to live in the villa attached to the Scapulan *horti*, and lays stress elsewhere on the advantage of its proximity to the city (580. 2). These words come in almost parenthetically, and represent a thought that suddenly occurred to Cicero. *sane argutulos*] 'really quite smart.' This word expresses the ideas of *acumen* and *nitor*, cp. 631. 5 *quae diligenter a me expressa acumen habent Antiochi, nitorem orationis nostrum*. Cp. next letter, § 3.

*quid ad ea*] sc. *rescribas*.

*qui intellexeris*] 'how you perceived' cp. 599. 3.

*πολυγραφώτατος*] 'a most voluminous author.'

*lacessisset*] 'challenged' me to a reprisal, by dedicating one of his works to me.

*quem ζηλοτυπεῖν*] sc. *intellexeris*.

*nisi . . . ζηλοτυπεῖ*] an addition of Bosius. See Adn. Crit.

*multo Hortensium minus*] sc. *ζηλοτυπεῖ*. cp. 627. 1. Cicero is referring to his *Hortensius* and to his *De Republica*.

qui de re publica loquuntur. Plane hoc mihi explices velim: in primis maneat in sententia ut mittam ad eum quae scripsi, an nihil necesse putes. Sed haec coram.

## 631. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 19).

ARPINUM; JUNE 29; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Atticae valetudine, de oratione Ligariana, de ratione Academicorum librorum a se ad Varronem translatorum et aliorum librorum a se scriptorum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Commodum discesserat Hilarus librarius iv. Kal., cui dederam litteras ad te, quom venit tabellarius cum tuis litteris pridie datis: in quibus illud mihi gratissimum fuit, quod Attica nostra rogat te ne tristis sis, quodque tu ἀκίνδυνα esse scribis. 2. Ligarianam, ut video, praeclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripsit enim ad me Balbus et Oppius mirifice se probare, ob eamque causam ad Caesarem eam se oratiunculam misisse. Hoc igitur idem tu mihi antea scripseras. 3. In Varrone ista causa me non moveret, ne viderer φιλένδοξος—sic enim constitueram neminem includere in dialogos eorum qui viverent—sed quia scribis et desiderari a

*Sed haec coram*] 593 fin.

1. *pridie datis*] Arpinum was about 65 miles from Rome.

ἀκίνδυνα] For Greek used in dealing with medical matters, see I<sup>3</sup> p. 86 note.

et Oppius] *Et* is omitted by the mss. It is possible that *Oppius* was inserted by a copyist who had observed how frequently these names are found together. But we think that it is more probable that the letter in question was a joint letter from Balbus and Oppius like Att. ix. 7A (351). The singular (*scripsit*) is quite allowable: p. Dräger i. 176, who quotes Verr. iv, 2 dixit hoc Zosippus et Ismerias, homines obilissimi: also Lebreton, pp. 17 f.

igitur] We do not feel sure of the meaning of *igitur*. Is it, 'so this was the meaning of (lit. 'the same thing as') our former statement' about the popularity achieved by the *Ligariana*?

3. In Varrone] 'as to the question of putting Varro (in the place of Catulus

and Lucullus) in the *Academica*, I should not be influenced by a desire to avoid seeming a *tuft-hunter* (φιλένδοξος) in the choice of my characters. No: for my principle has always been never to introduce living personages into my dialogues. My reason for introducing Varro is that you tell me he desires it and appreciates the compliment.' Cicero uses *constitueram*, not *constituebam* or *constitui*, because, in the case of Varro, he was about to violate the principle which he had hitherto observed. *Scribis* is an old and necessary addition. There is a slight irregularity in *eos*. Cicero had *libros* hovering before his mind, and he spoke of 'these,' meaning 'these books,' though he had not expressed the idea before, except incidentally in *dialogos*. Not quite, but somewhat, similar is 632. 4 *istos ipsos* 'De Finibus' habet. Dr. Reid wishes to omit *eos*, which he thinks may have come from *eis* below (*Hermathena* 340).

Varrone et magni illum aestimare, eos confeci et absolvi nescio quam bene, sed ita accurate ut nihil posset supra, 'Academicam' omnem 'quaestionem' libris quattuor. In eis, quae erant contra ἀκαταληψίαν praeclare collecta ab Antiocho Varroni dedi, ad ea ipse respondeo, tu est tertius in sermone nostro. Si Cottam et Varronem fecissem inter se disputantis, ut a te proximis litteris admoneor, meum κωφὸν πρόσωπον esset. 4. Hoc in antiquis personis suaviter fit, ut et Heraclides in multis et nos in sex 'de Re Publica' libris fecimus. Sic etiam 'de Oratore' nostri tres, mihi vehementer probati. In eis quoque eae personae sunt ut mihi tacendum fuerit. Crassus enim loquitur, Antonius, Catulus senex, C. Iulius, frater Catuli, Cotta, Sulpicius. Puero me hic sermo inducitur, ut nullae esse possent partes meae. Quae autem his temporibus scripsi 'Ἀριστοτέλειον' morem habent, in quo ita sermo inducitur ceterorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus. Ita confeci quinque libros περὶ τελῶν, ut Epicurea L. Torquato, Stoica M. Catoni, περιπατητικὰ M. Pisoni darem. 'Ἀζηλοτύητον' id fore putaram, quod omnes illi decesserant. 5. Haec 'Academica,' ut scis, cum Catulo, Lucullo,

accurate] cp. § 5 and 630 [18].

contra ἀκαταληψίαν] In the language of the Stoics and Academics φαντασία καταληπτική was an impression which carried irresistible conviction that the object causing the impression had been rightly apprehended: cp. Acad. i. 41. Against this view the Sceptics, and the New Academics, under Arcesilaus and Carneades, directed an attack, maintaining that there were no such irresistible impressions, that there was a general ἀκαταληψία, inability to attain to certain convictions. Antiochus opposed this sceptical tendency so effectively that the Academy never returned to it; hence Antiochus is called the founder of the Fifth Academy: cp. Zeller, *Eclectics*, p. 87, Eng. Trans.

Cottam] C. Cotta expounds the Academic doctrine in the *De Natura Deorum*, where Balbus is the other interlocutor.

κωφὸν πρόσωπον] Used by Cicero, just as we use *muta persona*; see I<sup>3</sup>, p. 87.

4. Heraclides] Ponticus, a pupil of Plato and Speusippus, who wrote on all kinds of subjects; *vir doctus in primis* Cicero calls him, Tusc. v. 8, and quotes from him *De Div.* i. 46 and 130. See a valuable treatise [in Pauly-Wissowa viii, 472 ff, s.v. Herakleides No. 45. He

wrote some theoretical works on politics (cp. Ep. 155. 1), and it was these that Cicero is thinking of here. See also Index.

eae . . . ut] 'such are the personages introduced that I am bound to maintain silence,' by reason of their eminence and their seniority.

Antonius] Before this word Wes. would add *Scaevola*, so as to give all the interlocutors of the dialogue.

sermo inducitur] 'the dialogue is supposed to occur in my boyhood.' *Inducitur* literally means 'is put on the stage.'

'Ἀριστοτέλειον] 'my present works follow the Aristotelian usage, the dialogue being so represented as to give him the chief part.'

Ita confeci] 'I arranged the *De Finibus* on the principle of giving the Epicurean arguments to Torquatus, the Stoic to Cato, the Peripatetic to Piso. I thought that could provoke no jealousy, as all the characters belong to the past.'

5. Haec 'Academica'] 'my present work, the *Academica*, I had, as you know, originally shared between Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius. But the discussion did not suit the characters. It was too technical for them to be supposed ever to have dreamed of such things.' The

Hortensio contuleram. Sane in personas non cadebant: erant enim λογικώτερα quam ut illi de iis somniasse umquam viderentur. Itaque, ut legi tuas de Varrone, tamquam ἔρμαιον adripui. Aptius esse nihil potuit ad id philosophiae genus, quo ille maxime mihi delectari videtur, easque partis ut non sim consecutus ut superior mea causa videatur. Sunt enim vehementer πιθανὰ Antiochia: quae diligenter a me expressa acumen habent Antiochi, nitorem orationis nostrum, si modo is est aliquis in nobis. Sed tu dandos ne putes hos libros Varroni etiam atque etiam videbis. Mihi quaedam occurrunt, sed ea coram.

## 632. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 21, §§ 4-7).

ARPINUM; JUNE 30 OR JULY 1; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De quinto De Finibus libro ab Attico iniussu suo edito, tum brevius de aliis rebus et de consiliis quibusdam suis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

4. Dic mihi, placetne tibi primum edere iniussu meo? Hoc ne Hermodorus quidem faciebat, is qui Platonis libros solitus

meaning of these words seems fairly certain. But *conferre sermones cum aliquo* usually means 'to have a conversation with a person.' We do not know any exact parallel to the meaning in our passage. In Att. iv. 16. 2 (144) he says *hanc ego de republica disputationem in Africani personam . . . contuli*.

*illi de iis*] cp. 629. 1.

*ἔρμαιον*] 'a godsend.'

*Aptius*] 'nothing could have been more suitable than the character of Varro for the expounding of a school of thought in which he appears to have been specially interested, and for the introduction of a part which would take away from me the appearance of having arranged matters so as to give my own part (that of Philo) the victory.' The sentence, which is awkwardly expressed, can only be explained, as above, by taking *eas ut non* closely together as in *eae ut tacendum fuerit*, above (§ 4). Boot approves of the theory of Wesenberg that some such words as *ego mihi sumpsi* fell out after *partis*. Perhaps Cicero ought to have

so constructed his sentence, but there is not any evidence that he did so. Dr. Reid wishes to read *eaeque sunt partes*.

*acumen . . . nitorem*] cp. 630 [18] *sane argutulos*.

*occurrunt*] 'some objections occur to me': 635. 1.

*ea coram*] cp. 593 fin. : 630 fin.

1. *edere iniussu meo*] Cicero reproaches Atticus for allowing certain portions of the *De Finibus* to come into the hands of others before they were presented to Brutus, to whom they were dedicated. *Primum* would naturally have been followed by *deinde*, for which Cicero substitutes *Quid illud?* 'and what do you say to this?'

*Hermodorus*] The whole verse is λόγισιν Ἐρμόδωρος ἐμπορεύεται, 'H. traffics in philosophical dialogues.' He was a Syracusan, and was accused of selling, for his own behoof, the dialogues of his master, Plato. 'But,' says Cicero, 'even he did not give publicity to the

est divulgare, ex quo λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος. Quid illud? recte tumne existimas cuiquam ante quam Bruto? cui te auctor προσφωνῶ. Scripsit enim Balbus ad me se a te quintum 'De Finibus' librum descripsisse, in quo non sane multa mutavi sed tamen quaedam. Tu autem commode feceris, si reliquo continueris, ne et ἀδιόρθωτα habeat Balbus et ἔωλα Brutus. Sed haec hactenus, ne videar περὶ μικρὰ σπουδάζειν. Etsi nunc quidem maxima mihi sunt haec. Quid est enim aliud? Varroni quidem quae scripsi te auctore ita propero mittere ut iam Romam miserim describenda. Ea si voles, statim habebis. Scripsi enim ad librarios ut fieret tuis, si tu velles, describendi potestas. Ea vero continerebis quoad ipse te videam, quod diligentissime facere soles cum a me tibi dictum est. 5. Quo modo autem fugit me tibi dicere? Mirifice Caerellia studio videlicet philosophiae flagrans describit a tuis: istos ipsos 'De Finibus' habet. Ego autem tibi confirmo—possum falli ut homo—a meis eam non habere: numquam enim ab oculis meis afuerunt. Tantum porro aberat ut binos scriberent, vix singulos confecerunt. Tuorum tamen ego nullum delictum arbitror, itemque te volo existimare. A me enim praeter-

dialogues without the permission of the author.'

cuiquam] sc. dare. The necessary words ante quam were added by Victorius.

προσφωνῶ] often used for 'to dedicate' a book: cp. Att. xv. 13A 6 (795); xvi. 11. 4 (799).

a te . . . descripsisse] 'has copied from your manuscript': cp. Acad. ii 11, et ab eo ipso (Philone) illos duos libros descripsisse: Hor. Sat. ii 3. 34; Liv. i. 32. 5.

continueris] 'you will oblige me by keeping back the other book, so that Balbus may not have the treatise unrevised, or Brutus have it stale' (when others have read it). See 635. 3, where these Greek words are expressed in excellent Latin. It would appear that continere is the regular term for 'keeping back' a book from publication: cp. Plin. Ep. i. 8, 3, Erit enim et post emendationem liberum nobis vel publicare vel continere.

Quid est enim aliud?] 'for what serious work are we permitted to do?'; therefore, trifles must engage our attention.

quae scripsi] The *Academica*.

Scripsi . . . potestas] Note that Cic. was getting his book copied by other librarii

than those of Atticus. In 635. 3 he says: Scripta nostra nusquam malo esse quam apud te, sed ea tum foras dari cum utriusque nostrum videbitur.

5. Quo modo autem] 'But how did it escape me to tell you?'. See Adn. Crit., Qu. Quodammodo autem.

Caerellia] 635. 2. 'Caerellia, inflamed no doubt with a wonderful enthusiasm for philosophy, is taking copies from yours. She has the *De Finibus*. [It would seem that we must understand *libros*: cp. § 4, above.] I undertake to say, though of course being but human I may be wrong, that she has not got her copy from mine. It was never out of my sight. And so far were my scribes from making a duplicate copy, they had great difficulty in completing one.' A *meis* and a *tuis* refer most probably (as *tuorum* does) to the copyists of Cicero and Atticus, respectively. But the use of *binos* and *singulos*, instead of *duos* and *unum*, might possibly show that *meis* and *tuis* refer to the *De Finibus*, which, being a designation of a single work, but plural in form, takes, according to rule, the distributive, not the cardinal, numbers. If *meis* is taken for 'my copyists,' the meaning is

missum est ut dicerem me eos exire nondum velle. Hui, quam diu de nugis! De re enim nihil habeo quod loquar. 6. De Dolabella tibi adsentior. Coheredes, ut scribis, in Tusculano. De Caesaris adventu scripsit ad me Balbus, non ante Kal. Sextilis. De Attica optime, quod levius ac lenius et quod fert εὐκόλως. 7. Quod autem de illa nostra cogitatione scribis, in qua nihil tibi pecto, ea quae novi valde probo, hominem, domum, facultates. Quod caput est, ipsum non novi, sed audio laudabilia, de Scrofa etiam proxime. Accedit, si quid hoc ad rem: εὐγενέστερος est etiam quam pater. Coram igitur et quidem propenso animo ad probandum. Accedit enim, quod patrem, ut scire te puto, plus etiam quam non modo tu sed quam ipse scit, amo, idque et merito et iam diu.

so far from their making two copies each, they scarcely made one each.' We suppose the word understood is *libros*. Note that Cicero seems to have had copyists of his own. In 58 B.C. Quintus asked Marcus to correct and publish his Annals: cp. Att. ii, 16. 4 (43).

*exire*] 'to get into the hands of the public,' the almost invariable meaning in the letters: cp. note to 627. 1.

6. *De Dolabella*] i.e. about dedicating some work to him: cp. 624. 2.

*Coheredes*] 626 fin.; 627 [14]. 1; 635. 4. in *Tusculano*] sc. *me convenient* (627 [14] 1).

εὐκόλως] 'she takes it easily.' After *levius et lenius* must be supplied *est*, as in *recte est* and such phrases. For *levius et lenius* Dr. Reid compares Catull. 84. 8, *audibant eadem haec leniter ac leviter*: *ibell.* xviii. 9. 7.

4. *de illa nostra cogitatione*] What this was we cannot be sure. It is conjectured that it refers to a proposed suitor for Attica, who was at this time six years old.

We have read in 604. 1 of a suitor named *Thalna*. Attica was afterwards married to M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

*hominem*] 'his person'; such is thought by some to be the meaning here, as the word is opposed to *ipsum*. But we know of no place where *homo* means the 'personal appearance' as distinguished from 'the real nature and character' of a man. Sch. reads *nomen*. We prefer to take *hominem* in a very general sense; 'the man' as opposed to what belongs to him and his family. To join *quod caput est* with *facultates* would perhaps attribute to Cicero too sordid a consideration.

*de Scrofa*] 'I have quite recently had a very good account of him also from Scrofa.'

*Accedit*] 'There is this further consideration.'

εὐγενέστερος quam pater] because his mother belonged to a better family.

*Coram igitur*] cp. 593 fin., and note.

*propenso . . . ad probandum*] 'disposed to approbation.'

## 633. CICERO TO L. PAPIRIUS PAETUS (FAM. IX. 22).

ROME; JULY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero L. Paeto obscenum quo in epistula per iocum usus est vocabulum (fortasse 'mentula') exprobat, damnata Stoicorum in loquendo licentia et laudata Platonis verecundia.

## CICERO PAETO.

1. Amo verecundiam† vel potius libertatem loquendi; atqui hoc Zenoni placuit, homini mehercule acuto, etsi Academiae nostrae cum eo magna rixa est. Sed, ut dico, placet Stoicis suo quamque rem nomine appellare. Sic enim disserunt: nihil esse obscenum,

As an introduction to this letter, which gives important evidence as to the prudishness of the Romans, we quote Quintilian viii. 3, 44-47: *Sed quoniam vitia prius demonstrare aggressi sumus, vel hoc vitium sit, quod κακέμφορον vocatur: sive mala consuetudine in obscenum intellectum sermo detortus est, (ut ductare exercitus et patrare bellum, apud Sallustium dicta sancte et antique, ridentibus, si dis placet; quam culpam non scribentium quidem iudico sed legentium: 45. tamen vitanda, quatenus verba honesta moribus perdidimus, et vincentibus etiam vitiis cedendum est) sive iunctura deformiter sonat, ut, si cum hominibus notis loqui nos dicimus, nisi hoc ipsum hominibus medium sit, in praefanda videmus incidere; quia ultima prioris syllabae littera, quae exprimi nisi labris coeuntibus non potest, aut insistere nos indecentissime cogit aut continuata cum insequente in naturam eius corrumpitur. 46. Aliaeque coniunctiones aliquid simile faciunt, quas persequi longum est, in eo vitio, quod vitandum dicimus, commorantes. Sed divisio quoque affert eandem iniuriam pudori, ut si inter capedinis nominativo casu quis utatur. 47. Nec scripto modo id accidit, sed etiam sensu plerique obscene intellegere, nisi caveris, cupiunt (ut apud Ovidium Quaeque latent meliora putant) et ex verbis, quae longissime ab obscenitate absunt, occasionem turpitudinis rapere. Siquidem Celsus κακέμφορον apud Vergilium putat:*

*Incipiunt agitata tumescere,  
Quod si recipias, nihil loqui tutum est.*

There is a good article on the subject by F. Ritter in *Rheinisches Museum*, iii. 569-580, 'Uebertriebene Scheu der Römer

vor gewissen Ausdrücken und Wortverbindungen.' He lays just emphasis on the corruption of mind which is displayed by this unnatural readiness to see indecency in the most casual combination of syllables. This prudery went so far that even Celsus, in a medical treatise (De Med. vi. 18, 1), fears to use the plain terms for many parts of the body.

1. Amo . . . loquendi] Various suggestions have been made with a view to obtain the necessary antithesis. Lehmann (p. 60) adds *odi* after *loquendi*. Manutius changes *vel* to *alii*, Rutilius to *tu*. Wesenberg adds *tu impudentiam* before *vel*. Perhaps *tu inverecundiam* would be a better addition, or *petulantiam*, Off. i. 127. The abstract noun *inverecundia* is not indeed found in classical writers, but *inverecundus* is. Certainly some strong word of that nature is required in order that the qualification introduced by *vel potius* may be apposite.

Zenoni] Of Citium, founder of the Stoic School. For the Cynicism of the Stoics, cp. Juv. xiii. 121, *nec Stoica dogmata legit a Cynicis tunica distantia*, and Mayor ad loc.; also Zeller, *Stoics*, pp. 308 ff. (E. T.). Of this kind of plain speaking Cicero (Off. i. 128) says *nec vero audiendi sunt Cynici aut si qui fuerunt Stoici paene Cynici, qui reprehendunt et inrident quod ea quae re turpia non sint verbis fugitiosa ducamus: illa autem quae turpia sint nominibus appellemus suis*. See the whole passage, §§ 127, 128. The Stoic definition of αἰδημοσύνη (*verecundia*) is ἐπιστήμη εὐλαβητικὴ ὁρθοῦ λόγου.

*suo quamque rem nomine appellare*] cp. § 5, δ σοφὸς εὐθυρημονήσει.

*nihil esse obscenum . . . tertium*] The



nihil turpe dictu; nam, si quod sit in obscenitate flagitium, id aut in re esse aut in verbo; nihil esse tertium. In re non est. Itaque non modo in comoediis res ipsa narratur, ut ille in 'Demiurgo':

modo forte

—nosti canticum: meministi Roseium—

ita me destituit nudum . . .

—totus est sermo verbis tectus, re inpudentior,—sed etiam in tragoediis: quid est enim illud?

Quae mulier una

quid, inquam, est?

Usurpat duplex cubile.

Quid?

Huius, †ferei,

hic cubile inire est ausus.

Stoical argument which Cicero controverts in this letter appears to be as follows:—If in what is called impure language there is anything impure, it must be in the thing or the word. It is not in the thing (§ 1), for we have allusions to subjects usually considered impure in unexceptionable passages from the dramatists. Nor in the word (§§ 2–4): for if the impurity is not in the thing, *a fortiori* it cannot be in the word. The prudishness of the day is all nonsense. Therefore, there is nothing impure; therefore the Wise Man will call a spade a spade. Cicero devotes the whole of the remainder of the letter to a refutation of this syllogism. The second half of the minor proposition is in § 2 (*multo minus in verbis . . . non potest*). He felt justly that the Stoical idea,—that if the fact narrated is impure it makes no difference in what words the fact is expressed,—forgets that we are civilized human beings, and to civilized human beings even 'vice itself loses half its evil by losing all its grossness': cp. Off. i. 127.

'Demiurgo'] The 'Demiurgus' was by Sextus Turpilus: cp. Ribbeck, Com. p. 90. Ribbeck supposes that the subject of the *canticum* was the soliloquy of a young man who had been 'fleeced' by a courtesan. A *canticum* (monologue more or less lyrical) was opposed to *diverbiū* (dialogue): cp. Palmer on Plaut. Amph., p. xlvii.

*ita me destituit nudum*] 'she stripped me so bare.'

*Quae mulier una*] Ribbeck arranges the verses as fragments of troch. tetr. acat. (Incert. Trag. ll. 128–9)—

*quae mulier una*

*Usurpat duplex cubile;*

Bergk (*Philologus*, xxxiii. 307) restores the lines thus (troch. tetr. cat.) [cp. Ribbeck, 'Attius' 656]—

*quae mulier una dūm virum*

*Usurpat duplex cubile;*

and thinks that they may be the words of Electra reproaching her mother in the 'Clytaemnestra' of Attius: cp. Cic. Orat. 156. We may, perhaps, translate *quid est enim illud?* 'For look at this'—then *quid, inquam, est*, 'look, I say.' *Quid?* 'this.' *Quid est?* 'and this.'

*Huius, Phere*] The mss. have *ferei* or *feret*. Ern. reads *Pheraei*, supposing an allusion to Alexander of *Pherae*, and his wife Thebé (cp. Grote xi. 7–9, ed. 1869); but this is a most unlikely allusion in a Roman tragedy. It is simpler to read and arrange the words, after Ribbeck, as troch. tetr. cat. (Trag., p. 254). The reading is very doubtful: M has *Ferei*, H D *feret*. A *Pheres* appears in Hom. Od. xi. 259, as the son of Cretheus and Tyro, and also as the father of Admetus in the *Alcestitis*.

Quid est ?

Virginem me quondam invitam per vim violat Iuppiter.

Bene 'violat': atqui idem significat, sed alterum nemo tulisset. 2. Vides igitur, cum eadem res sit, quia verba non sint, nihil videri turpe. Ergo in re non est: multo minus in verbis. Si enim, quod verbo significatur, id turpe non est, verbum, quod significat, turpe esse non potest. 'Anum' appellas alieno nomine: cur non suo potius? si turpe est, ne alieno quidem; si non est, suo potius. Caudam antiqui 'penem' vocabant, ex quo est propter similitudinem 'penicillus.' At hodie 'penis' est in obscenis. 'At vero Piso ille Frugi in Annalibus suis queritur, adulescentis peni deditos esse.' Quod tu in epistula appellas suo nomine, ille tectius 'penem.' Sed quia multi, factum est tam obscenum quam id verbum quo tu usus es. Quid, quod volgo dicitur, 'cum nos te volumus convenire,' num obscenum est? memini, in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui: 'hanc culpam maiorem an illam dicam?' Potuit

*Virginem*] A troch. tetr. cat., perhaps from the 'Antiope' of Pacuvius. *violat* 'does despite to,' 'dishonours': *alterum* i.e. 'stuprat.' Dr. Reid has suggested to us that *alterum* seems out of place, and should be transposed to precede *significat*, of which it would be subject. Perhaps this is hardly necessary. '*Violat* is good: yet it has the same sense (sc. as *stuprat*), but no one would have tolerated that other (sc. *stuprat*).'

2. *quia verba non sint*] 'So, you see, although the thing indicated [by *cupile inire* and *violare*, on the one hand, and *stuprare*, on the other] is the same, yet, because the words used are free from impropriety (*non sint* = *non sint turpia*), no impropriety is felt to be present; and therefore does not exist in the thing.'

*alieno*] Simply 'unusual,' 'not its own,' used as the regular antithesis to *suo*, which would be *culus*.

*ne alieno quidem*] sc. *appellare debes*.

*Caudam*] The ancients called a tail 'penis,' and hence, from its likeness to a tail, the word for a painter's brush is called *penicillus* (whence comes our word 'pencil'): cp. Fest. p. 230 (Müller), *Penem antiqui codam vocabant: a qua antiquitate etiam nunc offa porcina cum cauda in cenis puris offa penita vocatur: et peniculi quis calciamenta ter-*

*gentur quod e codis extremis faciebant antiqui qui tergerent ea. Dictus est forsitan ex pendendo. Naevius in 'Tunicularia'*

*Theodotum appellas qui aras compitalibus Sedens in cella circumtectus tegelibus Laves ludentis peni pinxit bubulo.*

*Significat peniculo grandi, id est coda.*

*At vero Piso ille Frugi*] This clause is a supposed objection of Paetus. Piso was trib. pl. in 149, and introduced a law which established a quaestio perpetua to try provincial governors guilty of repetundae: cp. Holden on Off. ii. 76. His Annals were written in a very bald style (Brut. 106). The fragments of his works are collected by Peter, Hist. Rom. Fragmenta, pp. 77-86, ed. 1883.

*appellas suo nomine*] This letter was apparently suggested by Paetus having used the word *mentula*. With *multi*, supply *appellant*.

*cum nos*] cp. (Orat. 151, 'Cum' autem 'nobis' non dicitur, sed 'nobiscum,' quia si ita diceretur obscenius concurrerent litterae [i.e. would suggest *cunnus*], ut etiam modo, nisi 'autem' interposuissem, concurrissent: cp. Quintil., quoted above, and § 3 *Connus*. Before *n*, *cum* was probably pronounced *con*, as the compounds show.

'hanc . . . dicam'] Similarly here the

obscenius? non, inquis; non enim ita sensit. Non ergo in verbo est; docui autem in re non esse: nusquam igitur est. 3. 'Liberis dare operam' quam honeste dicitur! etiam patres rogant filios: eius operae nomen non audent dicere. Socraten fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen; is 'Connus' vocitatus est: num id obscenum putas? cum loquimur 'terni,' nihil flagiti dicimus; at cum 'bini,' obscenum est. 'Graecis quidem' inquires. Nihil est ergo in verbo; quoniam et ego Graece scio et tamen tibi dico 'bini'; idque tu facis, quasi ego Graece, non Latine, dixerim. 'Ruta' et 'menta,' recte utrumque: volo mentam pusillam ita appellare, ut 'rutulam': non licet. Belle 'tectoriola': dic ergo etiam 'pavimenta' isto modo; non potes. Viden igitur nihil esse nisi ineptias? turpitudinem nec in verbo esse nec in re; itaque nusquam esse. 4. Igitur in verbis honestis obscena ponimus. Quid enim? non honestum

*m* of *illam* was pronounced as *n* (cp. Bücheler, *Latén. Declin.*, ed. 2, p. 51, quoted by Mendelssohn), and *il* = being hardly heard, as we know was the case from its scansion in the Comedies (cp. Pluygers in *Mnemosyne*, 1873, pp. 64-5), the sentence suggested *hanc culpam maiorem an landicam* (= the female κλει-*rops*).

3. 'Liberis dare operam'] sc. *procreandis* (τεκνοποιεῖν), 'make an effort to have children. It is a most honourable thing: even fathers urge their sons to it; but they do not venture to mention the name of the particular kind of effort': cp. Off. i. 128, *liberis dare operam re honestum est, nomine obscenum*. We do not know what word Cicero had in mind: possibly *patratió*, for which see Dict.

*Socraten fidibus docuit*] sc. *canere* (which means to 'play' as well as to 'sing'). Dr. Reid on Senect. 26 (*discebant fidibus*) shows that *fidibus* is abl. of the means or instrument, *canere* being understood, and compares Ter. Eun. 113, *scire fidibus*.

*Connus*] He is said to have taught Socrates music (Plat. Euthyd. 272 C, Menex, 235 E); but it is very questionable if this is not a reference to the comic poet Ameipsias, who wrote a play called 'Connus,' directed against Socrates and acted at the same time as the 'Clouds': cp. Kock, i. 671 ff. esp. Frag. 9, and Zeller, *Socrates*, p. 57 E.T.).

*bini*] *βινί* = *futuit*.

*idque tu facis quasi*] 'and you regard it (make it out) as if I was speaking Greek and not Latin.' *Facio* is often used in the sense of 'pretend,' 'assume,' especially in the imperative *fac*. For *quasi* used after a verb of pretence, cp. *assimulabo quasi nunc exeam*, Ter. Eun. 461.

*Ruta et menta*] 'rue and mint': *mentam pusillam*, i.e. *mentulam*. In a commentary on Isaiah, xlvii. 3, St. Jerome (Migne, iv. 455) alludes to this sentence, as Mendelssohn points out: *Disputant Stoici multa re turpia prava hominum consuetudine verbis honesta esse ut paricidium, adulterium, homicidium, incestum et cetera his similia. Rursumque re honesta nominibus videri turpia ut liberos procreare, inflationem ventris crepitu digerere, alvum relevare stercore, vesicam urinae effusione laxare: denique non posse nos ut dicimus a ruta rutulam sic ὑποκοριστικὸν mentae facere*.

*tectoriola*] plur. of the dimin. of *tectorium* 'stucco,' 'plaster for walls': cp. Att. i. 10, 3 (6). Translate 'the diminutive *tectoriolum* is all right; therefore make a diminutive also of *pavimentum*; you cannot': for *pavimentula* would suggest *mentula*.

*Viden igitur*] Cicero talks ironically as a Stoic would. 'Don't you see that the whole thing is rubbish?': cp. § 4 *nos autem ridicule* sc. *facimus*; ridiculous, no doubt, as many fashions are, 'sed vincentibus etiam vitiis cedendum est,' as Quintil. (l.c.) says.

verbum est 'divisio'? at inest obscenum, cui respondet 'intercapedo.' Num haec ergo obscena sunt? nos autem ridicule; si dicimus 'ille patrem strangulavit,' honorem non praefamur, sin de Aurelia aliquid aut Lollia, honos praefandus est. Et quidem iam etiam non obscena verba pro obscenis sunt. 'Battuit,' inquit, inpudenter; 'depsit' multo inpudentius: atqui neutrum est obscenum. Stultorum plena sunt omnia. 'Testes' verbum honestissimum in iudicio; alio loco non nimis. At honesti 'colei Lanuvini'; 'Cliternini' non honesti. Quid? ipsa res modo honesta, modo turpis. Suppedet, flagitium est; iam erit nudus in balneo, non reprehendes. Habes scholam Stoicam: ὁ σοφὸς εὐθυρρημονήσει. 5. Quam multa ex uno verbo tuo! te adversus me omnia audere gratum est. Ego servo et servabo—sic enim adsuevi—Platonis verecundiam; itaque tectis verbis ea ad te scripsi quae apertissimis agunt Stoici; sed illi etiam crepitus aiunt aequae liberos ac ructus esse oportere. Honorem igitur Kalendis Martiis. Tu me diliges et valebis.

4. *divisio*] suggests *visio* = *flatus ventris emitto*, just as *intercapedo* in the nominative suggests *pedo*. See Quintil. l.c.

*strangulavit*] the word means both 'to choke' and 'to embrace carnally.' Aurelia and Lollia are simply names of women taken at random.

*honorem non praefamur*] 'We do not say "saving your presence"' or 'we do not apologize for': cp. Fin. ii. 29, *cetera addit quae si appelles honos praefandus sit*: Arnob. v. 27, *sine honoribus appellare praefutis*. Hence Quintilian uses *praefanda* for 'expressions demanding apology,' 'unmentionable': cp. Plin. H. N. vii. 171, *praefandi humoris e corpore effluviū*. A somewhat similar Plautine phrase is *praefiscini dixerim*.

*Battuit*] 'grind' or 'pound': *depsit*, 'knead.' Hence, as similar words (e.g. *molere*) in all languages, these terms are vulgarly used in an obscene sense.

*Stultorum*] Ironical again: cp. *ridicule* (§ 3). Cicero is speaking as if he were a Stoic. The population of the world is many millions, mostly fools: they will persist in seeing indecency in the most respectable words.

*colei*] probably a provincial form of *cullei*, 'sacks,' which appear to have been made at Lanuvium. Accordingly *colei Lanuvini* can be spoken of properly; but

not so *colei Cliternini* (Cliternum, a town in the territory of the Aequiculi, near Reate, used for any town); for *colei*, would then be taken in the sense of 'testicles': cp. Petr. 39. Manutius has a different interpretation. He thinks there was a distinguished family at Lanuvium called *Colei*, for which, however, there is no evidence.

*scholam*] 'disquisition,' 'dissertation': cp. Tusc. iii. 81, *separatim certae scholae sunt de exilio, de interitu patriae, de servitute, de debilitate, de caecitate, de omni casu in quo nomen poni solet calamitatis*. *Haec Graeci in singulas scholas et in singulos libros dispartiant*.

εὐθυρρημονήσει] 'will speak out plainly,' 'use plain words': cp. § 1, *suo quamque rem nomine appellare*.

5. *ex uno verbo tuo*] sc. *mentula* (§ 2).

*Platonis verecundiam*] viz. that inculcated by the Academicians. Cicero was probably not thinking of any definite passage in Plato. To take one out of many, cp. R.p. iii. 401 C.

*illi . . . oportere*] See the curious story of the Emperor Claudius: Suet. Claud. 32 fin.

*honorem igitur Kal. Martiis*] sc. *reddamus*, 'let us pay respect to our matrons' (Kal. Mart. being the *Matronalia*). We must suppose Cicero to mean—let our

## 634. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 20).

ARPINUM; JULY 2 OR 3; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litteris consolatoriis a Caesare acceptis, de urbe augenda, de Torquato, de uxore Tuberonis et privigna in Ligarianam non addendis, de Attico conveniendo, de fratre ab Attico convento et de rebus suis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A Caesare litteras accepi consolatorias, datas pridie Kal. Maias Hispali. De urbe augenda quid sit promulgatum non intellexi: id scire sane velim. Torquato nostra officia grata esse facile patior, eaque augere non desinam. 2. Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis et privigna neque possum iam addere—est enim pervulgata—neque Tuberonem volo offendere: mirifice est enim φιλαίτιος. Theatrum quidem sane bellum habuisti. 3. Ego, etsi hoc loco

language be free from coarseness, as it is right that all language should be which is addressed to women. If for no other reason, at least out of respect for our matrons, let our language be decent. *igitur* seems to refer back to *tectis verbis ea ad te scripsi*. Lambinus held that *Kal. Mart.* was the date of the letter, and that some words (perhaps *non praeferantur*, 'the Stoics make no apology for their language') were lost after *igitur*. The exceeding uncertainty of the date of this letter renders this view not untenable. We have, however (though with some hesitation), followed Schmidt, who considers (p. 364) that this letter is a separate disquisition, very similar to others in the Acad. and Fin. (works composed about this time), in which moderate Academic views are maintained against the extravagances of the Stoical school.

1. *De urbe augenda*] see 636, 4, a letter written about a week after this, in which he clearly explains the proposed improvements in the city.

*Torquato*] Torquatus is referred to in 623, 1 and 652. 2 as being desirous of obtaining Dolabella's good offices with Caesar.

*facile patior*] cp. note to 622. 2.

2. *Ad Ligarianam . . . addere*] The

more appropriate preposition in the present case would have been *in*, as in Att. i. 13, 5 (19) *in orationem Metellinam addidi quaedam*, as the insertion was, doubtless, in the speech, not at the beginning or end. But *addere ad* is an allowable construction, and found in good classical writers.

*de uxore Tuberonis*] Gronovius suggests that his wife and step-daughter may have urged young Tubero to attack Ligarius; but we cannot be certain. Cicero was somehow connected with the family of Tubero: cp. Lig. 1 *propinquus meus*, also § 8 *propinquam cognationem*: 21 *adfines*. It has been supposed that L. Tubero, young Tubero's father, married a Tullia: and Att. may have suggested that the relationship might be more fully expounded in the speech. Cicero is rather patronizing to young Tubero in the speech (§ 8): and to dwell on the connexion of Tubero with the Tullii, as if that was a great thing, may have naturally offended Cicero's defeated opponent. φιλαίτιος] 'huffy,' 'prone to take offence.'

*Theatrum*] 'You certainly have had a good audience.' Att. seems to have had an opportunity of reading the *Pro Ligario* before some cultivated and distinguished audience. Cic. often compares the public delivery of speeches to the performances

facillime sustentor, tamen te videre cupio. Itaque, ut constitui, adero. Fratrem credo a te esse conventum. Scire igitur studeo quid egeris. 4. De fama nihil sane laboro, etsi scripseram ad te tunc stulte 'nihil melius.' Curandum enim non est. Atque hoc 'in omni vita sua quemque a recta conscientia traversum unguem non oportet discedere,' viden quam φιλοσόφως? An tu nos frustra existimas haec in manibus habere? δεδῆχθαι te eo nollem, quod nihil erat. Redeo enim rursus eodem. Quidquamne me putas

on the stage: cp. De Orat. ii. 338, *quia maxima quasi oratori scena videatur conditionis*: Lael. 97; ad Brut. i. 9, 2 (902), *nunc populo et scenae, ut dicitur, serviendum est*: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 71. He also uses it as a sphere for the exhibition of a quality: Tusc. ii. 64, *nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est*. Note *theatrum* used for the audience, as we use 'house.'

3. *sustentor*] 'I can get along in this place quite cheerfully.'

4. *De fama*] The meaning of this strange and somewhat dreamy paragraph is very doubtful. We think the key to it may, perhaps, be in the sentence *Id ago scilicet ut iudicia videar tenere*, 'My aim, of course, is to retain command of the courts,' to be still the head of the Roman Bar. Cicero had recently delivered and published the *Pro Ligario*, and may have in the exuberance caused by its great success (cp. Plut. Cic. 39) said in a letter to Atticus that there was nothing better than fame. Atticus appears to have thought that Cicero was trying too much to ingratiate himself with Caesar (cp. 669, 1), and may have criticized Cicero's doing so as being to some extent untrue to his constitutional and optimate principles. Atticus on other occasions seems to have been solicitous that Cic. should act the honourable rather than the expedient part: cp. 783. 3; also in 49 B.C. Att. ix. 18. 1 (376). He did not think Cic. should from a desire for fame be too effusive towards Caesar. Cic. answers his own remark about fame by quoting, in a light vein of irony, another from one of his philosophical works—which is not, indeed, to be found in any extant work, though there is something very similar in Att. vii. 3. 11 (294)—about conscience—that one should never deviate from its admonitions a hair's breadth. Atticus must not think that he had any interest

in the whole case, except the support of his client Ligarius (*nisi ut ei ne desim*). Of course it is not permitted to express one's exact sentiments in such a case as that of Ligarius, tried before Caesar; but, on the whole, he approves of what he did, and can endure readily any criticism which is passed on his conduct or on the literary qualities of the speech. The whole passage might then be translated thus:—'As to fame, I do not indeed trouble myself, though then I wrote to you foolishly that "nothing was better." That remark you need not mind. And then this statement "that in all one's life one should not swerve a nail's breadth from one's conscience"—is not that a truly moral sentiment? Can you suppose that I am writing these moral treatises of mine to no purpose? I would not have you perturbed at what I said, which was a mere nothing; for I am returning to the same point again. Do you think I cared for anything in the whole business except to do my best for him (Ligarius)? Forsooth, my whole object was to be thought still to control the courts. Heaven forbid that I be attracted by them! I would fain that I could bear my domestic troubles as easily as I can scorn all such considerations. But do you think I ever wished anything that would not be strictly right? One's exact sentiments, of course, one cannot express: yet I cannot but approve of what has been done, and for all that I can be supremely indifferent with regard to it, as I am. But enough of trifles.'

*Atque*] For this adversative sense of *atque* cp. note to 607. 3.

*a recta conscientia . . . discedere*] cp. Att. vii. 3. 11 (294), *mihī certum est ab honestissima sententia digitum nusquam.*

*traversum unguem*] a proverbial expression: cp. Fam. vii. 25. 2 (668), *nec transversum unguem, ut aiunt, a stilo*: Acad. ii. 58: Plaut. Aul. 57.

curare fin totò nisi ut ei ne desim? Id ago scilicet ut iudicia videar tenere. Μη γὰρ αὐτοῖς. Vellem tam domestica ferre possem quam ista contemnere! Putas autem me voluisse aliquid quod perfectum non sit? Non licet scilicet sententiam suam; sed tamen quae tum acta sunt non possum non probare, et tamen non curare pulcre possum, sicuti facio. Sed nimium multa de nugis.

[in toto] The meaning seems to be in *toto negotio* or in *tota oratione*, but the exact emendation has not been found. We cannot agree with those scholars who see in the word a corruption of some proper name as in *Bruto* (Schmidt), in *Quinto* (Klotz), in *Torquato* (Müller): for *ei* is easily explicable as referring to Ligarius, if the whole passage refers to Cicero's speech on his behalf. O. E. Schmidt (pp. 323-4) thinks we should read in *Bruto* for *in toto*, 'do you think I care for anything in the matter of Brutus save that I may not fail to support him?' Schmidt supposes (as we understand him) that the whole passage refers to the marriage of Brutus and Cato's daughter Porcia, which was regarded at the time as having a political significance, and as evidence that Brutus was drawing over to the Republicans, and away from Caesar. The *fama* then was the adverse criticism which was directed against Cicero for his apparent apathy in failing to show interest in the marriage and to support Brutus in the bold step he was taking. We cannot pretend to be able to read between the lines so much as this.

[*iudicia . . . tenere*] It seems to us that this can only mean 'to hold a commanding position in the law courts.' The metaphor is probably taken from holding a position in military operations. For the meaning cp. 1 Verr. 20, *nos non tenebimus iudicia diutius*, though the control there mentioned is not the control of

an individual, but of the whole body of senators: cp. also *dominatio regnumque iudiciorum*, 1 Verr. 35. *Iudicia tenere* could hardly mean 'to gain the approval of my fellows' (though Schmidt seeks to defend the expression by the analogy of *causam tenere*, 'to gain one's suit'), and, if it could, this sentiment would not suit the context without corrections. The latter remark applies also to Boot's conjecture, *iudicia timere*.

[Μη γὰρ αὐτοῖς] What word is understood is, of course, uncertain, but certainly it is not *delector*, or *concedo*, or any verb in the indicative. The *μη* shows that the verb to be supplied must be in the imperative, subjunctive, or optative, such as *τέρφθητι*, *τέρπωνμαι*, or *τερποίμην*. *ista*] forensic distinction.

[*quod perfectum non sit*] 'which is not perfect,' i.e. strictly morally right. When the word *perfectus* is used, the exact respect in which the perfection appears is to be judged from the context. Boot suggests *per se rectum*, which is ingenious.

[*sententiam suam*] Understand *dicere*: cp. Heidemann, p. 75.

[*pulcre*] cp. Plancus Fam. x. 23. 1 (895), *Lepidum enim pulcre noram*, 'thoroughly.'

[*nugis*] Dr. Reid points out that Cicero sometimes uses this word of matters connected with his literary works, e.g. 632. 5, *hui quamdiu de nugis!* Politics are serious things (*σπουδαῖα*): cp. 679. 2 and note.

## 635. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 22).

ARPINUM; JULY 4; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Quaerit rursus de Academicis ad Varronem mittendis, de litteris Cassii et Servii, de morte Marcelli, de scriptis suis non temere foras dandis, de praedio Oviae, de Bruto, de Tullio scriba ab Attico appellato et de fano aedificando, de Attici adventu in Tusculanum a se expectato, de Atticae valetudine.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Varrone non sine causa quid tibi placeat tam diligenter exquiro. Occurrunt mihi quaedam, sed ea coram. Te autem ἀσμεναίτατα intexui, faciamque id crebrius. Proximis enim tuis litteris primum te id non nolle cognovi. 2. De Marcello scripserat ad me Cassius antea, τὰ κατὰ μέρος Servius. O rem acerbam! Ad prima redeo. 3. Scripta nostra nusquam malo esse quam apud te, sed ea tum foras dari cum utrique nostrum videbitur. Ego et librariorum tuorum culpa libero neque te accuso, et tamen aliud quiddam ad te scripseram, Caerelliam quaedam habere quae nisi a te habere non potuerit. Balbo quidem intellegebam sat faciendum fuisse, tantum nolebam aut obsoletum Bruto aut Balbo inchoatum dari. Varroni, simul ac te videro, si tibi videbitur, mittam. Quid autem dubitarim, cum videro te, scies. 4. Attributos quod

1. *Occurrunt mihi quaedam*] i.e. against the project of transferring to Varro from Catulus and Lucullus the chief part in the *Academica*. For *occurrunt* cp. 631 fin. *sed ea coram*] 593 fin.

ἀσμεναίτατα] 'I introduced you in the dialogue *de tout mon cœur*.' M<sup>2</sup> gives ἀμενέστατα. Observe that ἀσμενιστὸς, above, Att. ix. 2a, 2 (356), is not another form of the superlative, but a verbal adjective from ἀσμενίζω, and so should be accented oxytone.

2. *De Marcello*] murdered by Magius Chilo: Ep. 613 is the detailed letter of Servius Sulpicius.

*Cassius*] cp. note to 613. 1. He was probably at Brundisium, where he certainly was at the beginning of the year: cp. *Fam.* xv. 7. 4 (541).

τὰ κατὰ μέρος] 'the details.'

*O rem acerbam*] For the interjection

*O* see Adn. Crit. and note to 617. 4. Here we think it should be inserted, lest *rem acerbam* should be taken as the direct accus. to *scripserat*.

3. *Scripta nostra*] cp. note to 632. 4. *Caerelliam*] 632. 5.

*quae nisi a te habere*] The mss. omit these words: but they are found in the ed. Iensoniana (I). They are essential, and the reason for their omission is *homoeoteleuton*.

*sat*] cp. note to 665. 2.

*obsoletum . . . inchoatum*] It is to be observed that Cicero here uses Latin words, for which, in a previous letter (632. 4), he had recourse to the Greek, ἔωλα and ἀδιόρθωτα. It is not always want of a suitable Latin word, but sometimes mere caprice, which brings Greek expressions into the letters.

4. *Attributos*] These were persons



appellas, valde probe. Te de praedio Oviae exerceri moleste fero. De Bruto nostro perodiosum, sed vita fert. Mulieres autem vix satis humane quae inimico animo se ferant, cum utraque officio pareat. Tullium scribam nihil fuit quod appellares: nam tibi mandassem, si fuisset. Nihil enim est apud eum positum nomine voti, sed est quiddam apud illum meum. Id ego in hanc rem statui conferre. Itaque et ego recte tibi dixi ubi esset et tibi ille recte negavit. Sed hoc quoque ipsum continuo adoriamur. Lucum hominibus non sane probo quod est desertior: sed habet εὐλογίαν.

whose debts to other creditors had been made over (assigned) to Cicero, in payment of money owed to him (cp. 606. 1). Cicero commends Atticus for calling on them for payment. We should say, 'you are quite right in insisting on those bills being taken up.'

*valde probe*] sc. *fecistis*. Possibly we should read *probo*, with Wölfflin: cp. 626. 1; 632. 7.

*Oviae*] the wife of Lollius before referred to (557. 4).

*perodiosum, sed vita fert*] 'a horrible bore, but such is life,' 'the ordinary course of life brings it.' To add *ita* with Wes. would give an ill-sounding collocation. For *ferre* used thus absolutely cp. Ter. Andr. 188, *dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, sivi animum ut expleret suum*, and phrases like *si occasio tulerit* (Fam. x. 21. 6, Ep. 861), *si vestra voluntas feret* (Leg. Manil. 70).

*Mulieres*] Servilia, the mother, and Porcia, the wife, of Brutus.

*se ferant*] We have added *se*, as we believe the meaning to be 'The ladies are scarcely acting reasonably in their hostile feelings towards one another, though both behave quite correctly.' Their behaviour is quite as ordinary good society requires, but their inner feelings towards each other are unnaturally hostile—feline amenities were no doubt interchanged. For *inimico animo se ferant*, cp. Verg. Aen. v. 372, *immani corpore qui se Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat*, and Conington's note. Orelli adds *in* before *utraque*, making Brutus the subject of *pareat*. But it is unlikely that the women, especially Porcia, could be hostile to Brutus. Servilia, owing to her close relations with Caesar, naturally disapproved of the marriage of Brutus with Porcia.

*Tullium*] cp. Fam. v. 20. 1, 8, 9 (302). For *illum*, referring to the same person as *eum*, cp. Dr. Reid on Lael. 59, *non est amici talem esse in eum qualis ille in se est*, who quotes Sest. 7: Prov. Cons. 1; we may add Sull. 19: Acad. i. 1.

*nomine voti*] 'earmarked for carrying out my vow.' The term is perhaps a business one.

*Itaque*] 'Accordingly I was right in telling you where the money was, and he was quite right in denying the fact to you': for Tullius rightly denied that he had any money specially earmarked for the fulfilment of a vow: he did not deny that he had in hands money of Cicero's.

*adoriamur*] 'let us make a raid on (pounce on) this very sum.'

*hominibus*] 'for (the commemoration of) mortals,' as distinguished from gods. But the sentence is oddly expressed. Schütz suggests *Lucum quod est desertior ab hominibus non sane probo*. Fr. Schmidt (Würzburg Programm (1892) p. 27) suggests *Othonis* for *hominibus*; and Dr. Reid (*Hermathena*, p. 346), *omnino*. No doubt the Scapulan gardens are referred to. In 605. 2 (written in May) Cicero says *lucus celebritatem nullam tum habebat, nunc audio maximam*. He does not speak definitely: and he plainly at that time had no certain information about the place.

*Sed habet εὐλογίαν*] 'but it has something to say for itself' (Shuckburgh), like *εὐλογον* (615. 1: 619. 1). Or perhaps 'it is well spoken of.' Liddell and Scott refer to Romans xvi. 18. Schütz suggests *εὐωνίαν*, 'cheapness,' which would be very good if it were nearer to the ms. For the latter quality we might suggest *εὐαγίαν*, 'sanctity,' 'solemnity.' Its retired position and unfrequented site would enhance the solemn and religious associations which such a shrine should awaken.

Verum hoc quoque ut censueris, quippe qui omnia. Ego ut constitui adero: atque utinam tu quoque eodem die! Sin quid—multa enim—utique postridie. Etenim coheredes: a quibus sine tua opprimi malitia! 5. Est alteris iam litteris nihil ad me *de Attica*. Sed id quidem in optima spe pono. Illud accuso non te, sed illam, ne salutem quidem. At tu et illi et Piliae plurimam, nec me tamen irasei indicaris. Epistulam Caesaris misi, si minus legisses.

## 636. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 33, §§ 4, 5).

TUSCULUM; JULY 9; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Varronis adventu et C. Capitonis et T. Carrinatis, de C. Caesaris consilio urbis augendae, de negotiis, de Bruto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

4. De Varrone loquebamur: lupus in fabula. Venit enim ad me, et quidem id temporis ut retinendus esset. Sed ego ita egi ut non scinderem paenulam; memini enim tuum. Etenim multi erant nosque imparati. Quid refert? Paullo post C. Capito cum T. Carrinate. Horum ego vix attigi paenulam, tamen remanse-

*hoc quoque*] sc. *facies*. After *omnia* understand also *facias*; after *tu quoque* understand *adsis*; after *sin quid* understand *sit* (= 'happen' to hinder you): after *multa enim* understand *sunt* ('many such do occur'); after *postridie* understand *aderis*: and after *coheredes* (632. 6) *aderunt*. All these ellipses are normal.

*malitia*] 'Just think of my being pounced on by the co-heirs without your shrewdness to aid me!' So we believe should run a passage which has been *varie vexatus* (see Adn. Crit.). For *malitia*, 'shrewdness,' cp. 763.4, *si mihi imposuisset aliquid, quod paene fecit, nisi tua malitia adfuisset* (a very similar passage to the one now under consideration); also Plancus says *ego non malus homo hoc suspicabar*, Fam. x. 21. 3 (861).

5. *in optima spe pono*] cp. 598. 3, *alterum in metu non ponere*. Leg. Agr. ii 22 *fructus qui in spe legis huius positi sunt*: Q. Fr. iii 8. 1 (159) *Plura ponuntur in spe*.

*Illud accuso*] 'My accusation is this—and it is not you I accuse, but her—that she never sent her love'; *accuso* with two

accusatives is rare, but the fact of one of them being a neut. pronoun lessens the strangeness of the construction.

*ne salutem quidem*] sc. *dicere*, expressed in Att. vi. 4. 3 (268), and often: equally often omitted, 550 fin., 562 fin., &c.

*si minus*] 'in case you should not have read it.'

4. *lupus in fabula*] 'talk of the devil.' cp. Terence Ad. 537, and Otto, p. 200.

*id temporis ut*] 'so late that he had to be kept.' Cp. Roby, § 1092.

*scinderem paenulam*] 'I did not quite tear his cloak' in the effort to keep him from going. Otto (p. 262) quotes no exact parallel. For a similar metaphor he refers to De Orat. iii, 110, *obtinent atque id ipsum lacinia*, and compares Plaut. Asin. 587.

*tuum*] 'your phrase,' i.e. *scindere paenulam*: so Dr. Reid interprets in *Hermathena*, 352, where he also suggests *etenim* for *et*. Generally *tuum* is referred to the words that follow as being a frequent excuse of Atticus.

*Quid refert?*] 'what good is that to

runt, ceciditque belle. Sed casu sermo a Capitone de urbe augenda: a ponte Mulvio Tiberim duci secundum montis Vaticanos, campum Martium coaedificari, illum autem campum Vaticanum fieri quasi Martium campum. 'Quid ais?' inquam; 'at ego ad tabulam, ut, si recte possem, Scapulanos hortos.' 'Cave facias' inquit, nam ista lex perferetur. Vult enim Caesar.' Audire me facile passus sum, fieri autem moleste fero. Sed tu quid ais? Quamquam quid quaero? Nosti diligentiam Capitonis in rebus novis perquirendis: non concedit Camillo. Facies me igitur certiorum de Idibus. Ista enim me res adducebat. Eo adiunxeram ceteras quas consequi tamen biduo aut triduo post facile potero. Te tamen in via confici minime volo: quin etiam Dionysio ignosco. 5. De Bruto quod scribis, feci ut ei liberum esset quod a me attineret. Scripsi enim ad eum heri, Idibus eius opera mihi nihil opus esse.

me? Capito and Carrinas turned up anon, and, though I hardly laid a finger on their cloaks, they stayed.'

*ceciditque belle*] 'it turned out nicely,' pp. Balbus ap. Att. viii. 15a. 3 (346), *commodius cadere non posse*.

*Sed*] This is much as our 'well,' a kind of transition from less important to more important matters. It has been suggested that we should punctuate *ceciditque belle (sed casu) sermo*, which is ingenious: but this personal use of *cadere* seems to be for the most part confined in prose to very general terms, neuter pronouns or general words like *res*.

*coaedificari*] 'built over,' cp. Partit. Orat. 36, *celebres an deserti, coaedificati in vasti* (sint loca).

*Quid ais?*] 'What?' said I; 'why, I was going to the sale to buy Scapula's pleasure-ground, if I could safely do so.'

*ad tabulam*] sc. *adereo*, as often. We do not feel sure that the word for 'buying' or 'securing' can be understood after *hortos*, and incline to think that we should add *conficiam* (579. 2: 630. 2) or some such word.

*facile passus sum*] 'I was glad to hear that' (i.e. to learn that Caesar was going to make the alterations in the city), 'but I

am vexed that the scheme is being carried out.' For *facile pati* cp. 622. 2: 634. 1. Cicero was glad to hear about the scheme, because it influenced him (as would appear) not to buy the Scapulan gardens. We only hear one later mention of the gardens, viz. 647 fin. *Scripsi enim ad te de hortis*, which may have been a determination not to purchase.

*Camillo*] cp. note to 283. 3: 309. 3.

*Idibus*] Possibly this was the proposed date of the sale at Rome of Scapula's *horti*, which he refers to as *ista res*.

*quas consequi tamen*] 'which, however, I can do two or three days later,' if Caesar's law, with its alterations, should prevent me from attending the Scapulan sale.

*Te tamen*] 'yet (even though I should put off my visit to Rome for some days) I don't want you to kill yourself with travelling. And I excuse even Dionysius.' Cicero had expressed a desire that Atticus should come to Tusculanum, but he now says he will not ask him to undertake the journey in the middle of July, even though some days should elapse before they met in Rome. Cicero liked the society of Dionysius, cp. 609. 3.

*Idibus . . . esse*] cp. 642. 2.

## 637. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 23).

TUSCULUM; JULY 10; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Bruto, de libris ad Varronem absolutis, item de libris quos Bruto mittit, de mandatis suis ab Attico explicandis, de possessiunculis suis et de re familiari.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Antemeridianis tuis litteris heri statim rescripsi: nunc respondeo vespertinis. Brutus mallet me arcesseret. Et aequius erat, cum illi iter instaret et subitum et longum, et mehercule nunc, cum ita simus adfecti ut non possimus plane simul vivere—intellegis enim profecto in quo maxime posita sit *συμβίωσις*—facile patiebar nos potius Romae una esse quam in Tusculano. 2. Libri ad Varronem non morabantur. Sunt enim *†*deffecti, ut vidisti: tantum librariorum menda tolluntur. De quibus libris scis me dubitasse, sed tu videris. Item, quos Bruto mittimus, in manibus habent librarii. 3. Mea mandata, ut scribis, explica: quamquam ista retentione omnis ait uti Trebatius: quid

1. *Antemeridianis . . . vespertinis*] cp. 600.

*Brutus*] 'I had rather Brutus had summoned me to Rome,' than visited me in Tusculum.

*iter*] to meet Caesar on his return from Spain.

*συμβίωσις*] 'You know what makes a man good company,' sc. mutual sympathy and community of sentiment, which did not exist between Cicero and Brutus: cp. note to 625. 1. Or possibly it may refer to the different states of mind of the two men just at the time—Brutus being occupied with public concerns and about to be married; Cicero in grief for the loss of Tullia.

2. *non morabantur*] 'were not being delayed' (as you complained). So Orelli interpreted the imperfect. Or perhaps 'were not delaying me' (from going to Rome), as we should say 'were not the delay'; so Corradus. Lüneberg conj. *morabuntur*, 'will not be delayed.'

*deffecti*] Wes. and Birt (*Antike Buchwesen*, p. 350) adopt the correction of I, *effecti*, 'completed,' a strange use.

Lamb. more ingeniously, *detexti* with the same meaning, lit. 'taken off the loom' ('stocks,' as we might say), comparing De Orat. ii. 158, *quibus ante exorsa et potius detexta prope retexantur*. Gronovius suggests *adfecti*, comparing Gell. iii. 16. 19 '*adfecta*' enim sicut M. Cicero et veterum elegantissimi locuti sunt ea proprie dicebantur quae non ad finem ipsum sed proxime finem progressa deductare erant (see Prov. Cons. 19, 29). Dr. Reid prefers *refecti*: cp. *reficere testamentum* (Digest 29. 1. 9), *fabulam reficere* (Cael. 71: also *refectum* 773). The most ingenious suggestion we know is that of Mr. G. W. Mooney, who would read *defaecati* 'cleared of blemishes,' comparing Sidonius Ep. i. 1. 3  *tuae examinationi has litterulas non recensendas . . . sed defaecandas, ut aiunt, limandasque commisi*. The objection is that works can hardly be called in the past participle 'cleared of blemishes,' from which scribes' errors are being at the time removed.

3. *retentione*] 'rebatement': cp. 640 (25. 1). The Julian law, often referred

tu istos putas? Nosti dominum. Quare confice εὐαγῶγως. Incredibile est quam ego ista non curem. Omni tibi adseveratione adfirmo, quod mihi credas velim, mihi maiori offensionem esse quam delectationi possessoriunculas meas. Magis enim doleo me non habere cui tradam quam habere qui utar. Atque illud Trebatius se tibi dixisse narrabat. Tu autem veritus es fortasse ne ego invitus audirem. Fuit id quidem humanitatis, sed, mihi crede, iam ista non curo. Qua re da te in sermonem et perseca et confice

to in these letters, allowed debtors to pay their debts by making over property to their creditors on the valuation existing before the Civil War, and with all interest already paid deducted from the amount of the debt, *qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat* (Suet. Jul. 42). Cicero apparently thought that people should not avail themselves of the rebate. He says, 'when we hear from Trebatius (623. 1) that people are universally taking advantage of this rebate, what do you think those debtors of mine will do?' He afterwards says that they were persons who would be more likely to claim what was not due, than to remit any portion of their rights.

*dominum*] Dr. Reid (p. 347) suggests *dominum*, i.e. Caesar, for *domum*: 'you know their master: like master, like man; plunderers all.' This is better than to attempt to explain *domum* as if it were *genus* (cp. *de genere toto* 713. 2) 'the gang.'

εὐαγῶγως] 'doucement,' in an accommodating spirit; *bono modo* at the end of the letter has the same sense.

*Magis . . . utar*] Schmidt would add *non* before *habere*, and interpret 'I am more grieved by not having anyone to leave my property to (Tullia being dead, and Marcus not very satisfactory in his conduct) than by not having command of ready money now.' He also suggests *quam habere quin utar*, 'than to hold my property without enjoying it.' Dr. Reid (p. 347) thinks that this is the meaning, which he would obtain by reading *quam habere quo non utar*, which is certainly better Latin. He also warns us against supposing that the first clause refers to any thought of disinheriting young Marcus, though no doubt he was not quite satisfied with his son at this time (cp. 601. 1; 657. 2; 664. 2 *qualiscunque est*):

it expresses regret that he has not a son on the spot to whom he could devolve the management of his property. This seems to us also to be the meaning of the first clause: but the second, *quam habere qui utar*, we take to mean 'than rejoice that I have sufficient means.' Yet we would not add *laetor* or *gaudeo*, but understand some such verb by the figure called *zeugma*: cp. Att. x. 4. 4 (382) *Horum ego summorum imperatorum non modo res gestas non antepono meis, sed ne fortunam quidem ipsam: qua illi florentissima, nos duriore conflictati videmur*, where we should understand *feliciter uti* or some such word the opposite of *conflictati*. Prof. Housman (*Class. Rev.* xv. 404 ff.) explains in this way Hor. Epod. xv. 7, and many other passages in the poets, and quotes Att. x. 4. 4. This kind of *zeugma* is most frequent in the poets, but in unstudied prose it need not surprise us.

*perseca*] We meet *rerum naturas persecare*, 'to detect, lay bare, the secrets of nature' in Acad. ii. 122, and the word may just possibly bear the same meaning here. Shuckburgh racyly translates 'get your knife in,' which seems better. Dr. Reid would alter to *perfice*. If we believed, as many of the commentators do, that the words *da . . . confice* were a quotation from some old poet, we should be disposed to read *persece*, as an imperative of *perseco*, or *persequo*, an old form of *persequor*, the active form instead of the deponent being a characteristic mark of archaism. But there does not seem to be any good reason for regarding *da . . . confice* as a quotation from a play, or *Scaeva* as one of the interlocutors in the scene. *Scaeva* is no doubt the favourite centurion of Caesar, of whom we read B. C. iii. 53, *scutogque ad eum relato Scaevae centurionis inventa sunt in eo foramina cxx. Quem Caesar, ut erat de se meritis et de rep., donatum milibus cc . . . ad primum ipse se*

et ita cum Polla loquere ut te cum illo Scaeva loqui putes, nec existimes eos, qui non debita consecrari soleant, quod debeatur remissuros. De die tantum videto, et ipsum bono modo.

638. CICERO TO P. SULPICIUS RUFUS  
(FAM. XIII. 77).

ROME ; AUTUMN ; A. U. C. 708 ; B. C. 46 ; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero P. Sulpicio, officio suo in supplicatione decernenda narrato, commendat M. Bolanum et ut servum fugitivum restituendum curet rogat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SULPICIO IMPERATORI.

1. Cum his temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem, tamen, ut tuas litteras legi, non existimavi me salvo iure nostrae veteris amicitiae multorumque inter nos officiorum facere posse ut honori tuo deessem ; itaque adfui supplicationemque tibi libenter decrevi, nec reliquo tempore ullo aut rei aut existimationi aut dignitati

*traducere pronuntiavit.* He is again spoken of as a *protégé* of Caesar's in 713. 2. The whole meaning of the paragraph is, 'remember that you have to do with Caesarians, who have the upper hand, and are determined to use their advantages.' Dr. Reid strongly supports *cum Balbo* for *compella*. His influence was important for securing the debt due by Faberius : cp. 565. 2 ; 593. 1 ; 616. 1. We read *cum Polla* (though who is referred to is not known), as *Polla* is found in v. c. and §. See Adn. Crit.

*De die*] sc. *solutionis*, 'see that the payment, whatever it is, be prompt ; but then also see to it quietly,' lit. 'see only concerning the day and (do) that quietly.'

*bono modo*] A colloquial expression for 'moderately' : cp. Q. Fr. ii. 4. 3 (105) ἀμφιλαφίαν *illam* . . . *bono modo desidero* : Acad. ii. 137 : Plaut. Merc. 1022.

Misled by the writer of Bell. Afr. 10, 1, we thought that Sulpicius was a joint commander with Vatinius in the province of Illyricum (as Manutius holds), and accordingly postponed this letter to the year 709 (45), when Vatinius was in command in Illyricum. But the event referred to in Bell. Afr. occurred in 707 (47) ; and the dual command did not necessarily con-

tinue beyond that year, or extend to more than the fleet. We now perceive that Sulpicius was commander-in-chief of the forces in Illyricum during 708 (46), and that Vatinius held the same position from 709 (45) to 711 (43). Accordingly this letter belongs to 708 (46), and it should have appeared in the preceding volume. This error is, however, in some small degree compensated by the fact that it is thus brought into connexion with the correspondence between Cicero and Vatinius when the latter was in Illyricum.

P. SULPICIO] This P. Sulpicius was the son of the eminent jurist : cp. vol. iv, p. lxxviii. He was a legatus of Caesar in Gaul in 699 (55) : cp. B. G. iv. 22, 6, and in Spain in 705 (49), cp. B. C. i. 74, 6. He was praetor in 706 (48), and commander at Vibo of Caesar's fleet, which was attacked by C. Cassius (B. C. iii. 101. 1). There is no reason whatever to alter *Sulpicio* to *Vatinio*, as is done by Rutilius, Corradus, and others : see Manutius.

1. *salvo iure*] 'without prejudice to,' cp. Fam. i. 2. 4 (96), *ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis aut salvis legibus aut denique sine vi posset*.

*aut rei* . . . *tuae*] 'your interests, reputation, or position.' This supplication

tuae deero. Atque, hoc ut tui necessarii sciant hoc me animo erga te esse, velim facias eos per litteras certiores, ut si quid tibi opus sit ne dubitent mihi iure suo denuntiare. 2. M. Bolanum, virum bonum et fortem et omnibus rebus ornatum meumque veterem amicum, tibi magno opere commendo. Pergratum mihi feceris si curaris ut is intellegat hanc commendationem sibi magno adiumento fuisse, ipsumque virum optimum gratissimumque cognoscas: promitto tibi te ex eius amicitia magnam voluptatem esse capturum. 3. Praeterea a te peto in maiorem modum pro nostra amicitia et pro tuo perpetuo in me studio ut in hac re etiam elaborares. Dionysius, servus meus, qui meam bibliothecem multorum nummorum tractavit, cum multos libros surripisset nec se impune laturum putaret, aufugit. Is est in provincia tua: eum et M. Bolanus, *meus* familiaris, et multi alii Naronae viderunt, sed, cum se a me manumissum esse diceret, crediderunt: hunc tu si mihi restituendum curaris, non possum dicere quam mihi gratum futurum sit: res ipsa parva, sed animi mei dolor magnus est. Ubi sit et quid fieri possit Bolanus te docebit. Ego si hominem per te recuperaro, summo me a te beneficio adfectum arbitror.

was no doubt granted to Sulpicius before Caesar left for Spain in the second intercalary month.

*ne . . . iure suo denuntiare*] 'that they must not hesitate to intimate it to me, as they have every right to do so': for *suo iure*, cp. Fin. v. 4, *Pomponius noster iocari videtur et fortasse suo iure*.

2. *Bolanum*] Nothing further is known for certain of this man. An irascible Bolanus appears in Horace (Sat. i. 9, 11). Orelli supposes he is Cicero's friend.

3. *meam bibliothecem multorum nummorum*] 'my very valuable library.' For the genitive, cp. Sall. Jug. 85, 39, *pluris preti cocum*: Verr. iv. 88, *signum pecuniae magnae sustulit*. We read the form *-thecen* with M. Pal., not *-thecam* of H. The form *-am*, however, occurs in M. Fam. vii. 28. 2 (477); Att. i. 7. 1 (3); 10. 4 (6), cp. Neue-Wagener i.<sup>3</sup> 67.

*provincia*] Though Illyricum was called a *provincia* during the period of the Civil War (Caes. B. G. v. 1. 5: B. Alex. 42. 4), and mentioned, by Dio Cass. 1. 6, among the provinces which took the side of Augustus against Antony, yet it is omitted by Augustus himself in Mon. Ancy. 5. 5; 5. 35. Mommsen (Res gestae d. Aug., p. 99) considers that Illyricum was not strictly organized in the form of a province until after the battle of Actium, as before that date there were constant wars with the Dalmatians and other tribes. Those who were in command in that region, viz., C. Antonius in 705 (49), Cornificius in 706, 707 (48, 47), Sulpicius in 708 (46), Vatinius in 709-711 (45-43), and others, were rather generals of the forces than regular governors of a province.

*Naronae*] cp. 639. 2.

## 639. VATINIUS TO CICERO (FAM. V. 9).

NARONA ; JULY 11 : A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

P. Vatinius ex consulatu Illyrico a C. Caesare dictatore praefectus M. Ciceroni dignitatem suam contra invidos defendendam commendat.

## VATINIUS IMP. CICERONI SUO SAL.

1. S. V. B. E. E. V. Si tuam consuetudinem in patrociniis tuendis servas, P. Vatinius cliens advenit, qui pro se causam dicier volt: non, puto, repudiabis in honore quem in periculo recepisti. Ego autem quem potius adoptem aut invocem quam illum quo defendente vincere didici? An verear ne, qui potentissimorum hominum conspiracy neglexerit pro mea salute, is pro honore meo pusillorum ac malevolorum obtrectationes et invidias non prosternat atque obterat? Qua re si me, sicut soles, amas, suscipe meme totum atque hoc, quicquid est oneris ac muneris, pro mea

For Vatinius see Introduction.

1. S. V. B. E. E. V.] = *si vales bene est, ego valeo*: cp. vol. i<sup>3</sup>, pp. 57-58.

*consuetudinem . . . servas*] 'if you continue to observe your custom of defending clients, P. Vatinius comes forward in that capacity with a desire that a case do be pleaded in his behalf.'

*dicier*] an archaic form of the infinitive passive which is not used by Cicero except in his *Aratea*.

*puto*] This parenthetic use we find in Att. xii. 11 (502); 49, 1 (597), and often.

*in honore*] 'in my time of distinction': for this use of *in* cp. Fam. iii. 11, 4 (265), *in summis tuis occupationibus mihi tamen rei p. statum per te notum esse voluisti*.

*adoptem*] 'choose': cp. Div. in Caecil. 64, Sest. 9: for *invocare*, cp. De Orat. ii. 196.

*conspiracyem*] 'coalition'; *conspirare* is not used by Cicero in the bad sense of 'conspiring'; but *conspiratio* is found for 'conspiracy' in his contemporaries, as here, and in Dec. Brut. ap. Fam. xi. 13a, 5 (900), *contra sceleratissimam conspiracyem hostium configamus*; and also in his own speeches: Scaur. 20. Deiot. 11; cp. Schmalz *Ueber die Latinität des P. Vatinius* (Mannheim, 1881), p. 17.

*pro mea*] Schmalz (p. 22) notices that Cicero would have used *prae*: cp. Fam.

xiv. 4. 2 (62); Post Red. in Sen. 38; Mil. 3. But it is quite possible that *pro* means 'on behalf of,' not 'in comparison with.' The occasion was when Vatinius was accused by Calvus of *ambitus* and Cicero defended him: cp. Fam. i. 9, 19 (153).

*pusillorum . . . obterat*] 'cast down and trample under foot the detractions and jealousies of petty and malicious traducers.' These were men who wished to impugn the conduct of Vatinius in Illyricum, and minimize his military exploits.

*obtrectationes et invidias*] For the collocation of these words Schmalz (p. 23) compares Brut. 156, *tantum abest ab obtrectatione et invidia*.

*meme*] M me GR. The reading of M is acknowledged by Priscian xii. 5. 24, p. 947 (= i. 592, 4 Keil.), and adopted by Becher in one of the letters of Caelius, Fam. viii. 2. 1 (198), where see note. It also occurs in one MS in De Domo, 121, in Sil. Ital. ix. 651, and in M in Fam. xiii. 1. 2 (199): cp. Neue ii<sup>3</sup> 354. The evidence is so evenly divided, that it is, perhaps, best to adhere to the reading of M, though Wes. (*Emend.* 59) points out that the usual form is *memet*. Vatinius, as being an uncultivated writer, would prefer the emphatic form of the pronoun.

*oneris ac muneris*] 'responsibility and



dignitate tibi tuendum ac sustinendum puta. Seis meam fortunam nescio quo modo facile obtrectatores invenire, non meo quidem mehercules merito; sed quanti id refert, si tamen fato nescio quo accidit? Si qui forte fuerit qui nostrae dignitati obesse velit, peto a te ut tuam consuetudinem et liberalitatem in me absente defendendo mihi praestes. Litteras ad senatum de rebus nostris gestis, quo exemplo miseram, infra tibi perscripsi. 2. Dicitur mihi tuus servus anagnostes fugitivus cum Vardaeis esse; de quo tu mihi nihil mandasti, ego tamen terra marique ut conquireretur praemandavi, et profecto tibi illum reperiam, nisi si in Delmatiam aufugerit, et inde tamen aliquando eruam. Tu nos fac ames. Vale. A. d. V. Idus Quinctilis, ex castris, Narona.

duty': cp. Verr. iii. 7, *qui praesertim plus etiam . . . oneris ac muneris suscipere debeam*: De Orat. i. 116.

*si tamen*] 'if only' = *si modo*. This use is very frequent in the silver age: cp. Mayor on Plin. Epp. iii. 6. 6, where he gives a long list of examples: it is found twice in Ovid (Met. iv. 537: Trist. iii. 14. 24). The explanation of the words is 'if (notwithstanding that the detraction is undeserved) it is all my fate.'

*dignitati*] Vatinius wished to obtain at least a *supplicatio* as a reward for his exploits. It was granted to him in September.

*consuetudinem et liberalitatem*] 'your accustomed generosity.'

*Litteras*] This letter has been lost. 'I have transcribed below for you an exact copy of the despatch I sent to the senate about my exploits.' For *exemplum* 'copy,' cf. note to Att. ix. 6. 3 (360).

2. *anagnostes*] 'reader.' His name was Dionysius; cp. 638. 3: 696. 1. The Vardaei lived near Narona.

*praemandavi*] 'I have issued a warrant.' The force of *prae* may be, as Holden points

out, that the warrant was intended to reach the place of retreat before necessity for action arose: cp. Planc. 31, *idem postea praemandatis requisitus*, and Holden's note: cp. Plaut. Truc. 403. We think it might also mean 'before any letter should come from you.'

*nisi si*] This combination belongs to the language of every-day life: cp. Ter. Eun. 662, *nisi si domum forte ad nos rediit*: Fam. xiv. 2. 1 (79), *nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit*: viii. 15. 1 (344): Att. x. 1. 2 (378). The *nisi* is to be regarded as an adverb, 'except': cp. *ἐἰ μὴ ἐἰ* occasionally in Greek, e.g. Plat. Rep. 581 D.

*Delmatiam*] Here and 676. 3 M has the form *Delm-*. Elsewhere it has *Dalm-*. GR always have *Dalm-*. Mommsen (C. I. L. iii. 1, p. 280) says that there is equally good evidence for *Delmatia* and *Dalmatia*.

*et inde . . . eruam*] 'and (even if he gets there) yet I will ferret him out of that some time or other': cp. 696. 1.

*Narona*] a town on the coast of Illyria, about half-way between Histria and Dyrrhachium, a little south of Salona.

## 640. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 24 AND 25, § 1).

TUSCULUM; JULY 11; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Cicerone ab Andromene Corcyrae viso. De libris Varroni mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quid est quod Hermogenes mihi Clodius Andromenem sibi dixisse se Ciceronem vidisse Corcyrae? Ego enim audita tibi putaram. Nil igitur ne ei quidem litterarum? An non vidit? Facies ergo ut sciam.

2. Quid tibi ego de Varrone rescribam? Quattuor διφθέραι sunt in tua potestate: quod egeris, id probabo. Nec tamen αἰδέομαι Τρωῶς. Quid enim? Sed ipsi quam res illa probaretur magis verebar. Sed quoniam tu suscipis, in alteram aurem.

[25. 1.] De retentione rescripsi ad tuas accurate scriptas litteras. Conficies igitur et quidem sine ulla dubitatione aut retractatione. Hoc fieri et oportet et opus est.

1. *Quid est . . . litterarum?*] 'What is this that Hermogenes Clodius (cp. note to 561. 1) tells me, that Andromenes has reported to him that he saw my son at Corcyra? I made sure you must have heard of it [if true]. Is it possible that, if my son met Andromenes, he should have sent no letters by him? Or did he never see him?' Cicero suspects the whole statement to be a *canard*, or a mistake. Atticus, as we learn from the next letter but one, confirmed him in this opinion—'About Andromenes, I had made up my mind that it was as you say in your letter, else you would have learned the matter, and communicated it to me.'

2. διφθέραι] 'parchment rolls.' This is interesting, as showing that parchment or vellum was used as a writing material even in the time of Cicero: cp. Sir E. Maunde Thompson (*Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 29). It appears, however, from Herod. v. 58 that the Ionian Greeks used to call papyrus sheets

διφθέρας (cp. *ib.* p. 22). διφθέρα is also applied to the *membrana* or parchment wrapper in which separate books were kept; cp. Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, p. 818, note 1.

αἰδέομαι Τρωῶς] Hom. Il. vi. 442, Hector to Andromache, a quotation which occurs some half-dozen times in the Letters: cp. Att. ii. 5. 1 (32): vii. 1. 4 (284): 627. 4, and Index.

in alteram aurem] sc. *dormire licet*, a proverb for ease of mind and absence of concern, found in Ter. Heaut. 342, in the form *in utramvis aurem dormire*. This usage of Cicero's is a variation of that more ordinary form of the proverb. Pliny has yet another form (Ep. iv. 29. 1), *nihil est quod in dextram aurem fiducia mea dormias*, as one was supposed to sleep more soundly on the right ear. The Greeks appear to have said ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα [ῥα] καθεύδειν (Menander ap. Gell. ii. 23. 9).

[25. 1] *retentione*] 'rebatement': cp. 637. 3: *retractatione* 'demur,' 'reserve.'

## 641. CICERO TO VARRO (FAM. IX. 8).

TUSCULUM; JULY 11 OR 12; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Promiserat M. Varro ad M. Ciceronem se librum aliquem missurum: Cicero eum promissi admonet missis quattuor Academicorum libris.

## CICERO VARRONI.

1. Etsi munus flagitare, quamvis quis ostenderit, ne populus quidem solet nisi concitatus, tamen ego expectatione promissi tui moveor ut admoneam te, non ut flagitem; misi autem ad te quattuor admonitores non nimis verecundos: nosti enim profecto os illius adulescentioris Academiae. Ex ea igitur media excitatos misi, qui metuo ne te forte flagitent; ego autem mandavi ut rogarent. Expectabam omnino iam diu meque sustinebam, ne ad te prius ipse quid scriberem quam aliquid accepissem, ut possem te remunerari quam simillimo munere; sed, cum tu tardius faceres, id est, ut ego interpretor, diligentius, teneri non potui quin conjunctionem studiorum amorisque nostri quo possem litterarum genere declararem. Feci igitur sermonem inter nos habitum in Cumano, cum esset una Pomponius: tibi dedi partis Antiochinas,

This is the dedicatory epistle sent with the *Academica*.

1. *ostenderit*] 'held out expectations of,' 'promised,' a rare use of the word: cp. 549. 4. Dr. Reid quotes Att. ix. 13. 4 (369), *sedet iste qui plus ostenderat quam fecit*; De Sen. 70, *Ver enim tamquam adulescentia significat ostenditque fructus*. Add Arch. 16; Att. ix. 9. 1 (364). *Munus*, 'a gladiatorial show'; *flagitare*, 'to clamour for.'

*promissi tui*] cp. 626. 3.

*os illius adulescentioris Academiae*] 'the effrontery ('cheek' in slang language) of that rather youthful Academy.' Cicero purposely uses the word *adulescentior* instead of *nova*, to express the 'young-mannishness' of the New Academy, and the self-assertion which was its characteristic.

*excitatos*] a very common word for 'calling-up' a witness: cp. De Orat. ii. 124.

*ne . . . ut*] This asyndeton would not appear according to English idiom: 'in

order not to write anything to you myself before I received something, and in order to be able to return you as similar a gift as I could.'

*sustinebam*] cp. note to 652. 3.

*conjunctionem . . . nostri*] 'the close bond between us in our studies and our love.'

*Cumano*] 'Between the date of Tullia's death (mentioned in Acad. Post. i. 11) and the writing of the *Academica*, it can be shown that Varro, Cicero, and Atticus could not have met together at Cumae. Cicero, therefore, for once admits into his works an impossibility in fact. This impossibility would at once occur to Varro, and Cicero anticipates his wonder in the letter of dedication,' Reid, Acad. p. 49.

*Antiochinas . . . Philonis*] Antiochus of Ascalon was the Eclectic philosopher *par excellence*. He professed to have blended the Stoic, Peripatetic, and Academic philosophies 'into one organic unity, and, in reality, so far succeeded, that his misshapen doctrine became the

quas a te probari intellexisse mihi videbar; mihi sumpsi Philonis. Puto fore ut, cum legeris, mirere nos id locutos esse inter nos quod numquam locuti sumus: sed nosti morem dialogorum. 2. Posthac autem, mi Varro, quam plurima, si videtur, et de nobis inter nos: sero fortasse; sed superiorum temporum Fortuna rei publicae causam sustineat, haec ipsi praestare debemus. Atque utinam quietis temporibus atque aliquo, si non bono, at saltem certo statu civitatis haec inter nos studia exercere possemus! quamquam tum quidem vel aliae quaequam rationes honestas nobis et curas et actiones darent; nunc autem quid est sine his cur vivere velimus? Mihi vero cum his ipsis vix, his autem detractis ne vix quidem. Sed haec coram et saepius. Migrationem et emptionem feliciter evenire volo tuumque in ea re consilium probo. Cura ut valeas.

## 642. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 25, §§ 2, 3).

TUSCULUM; JULY 12; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Andromene, de Bruto et adventu Ciceronis in urbem, de libris Varroni mittendis an ad Brutum transferendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. De Andromene, ut scribis, ita putaram. Scisses enim mihi quae dixisses. Tu tamen ita mihi de Bruto scribis ut de te

fashionable philosophy of the conservatives of his time, and was conscientiously studied by the genteel dilettanti and literati of Rome' (Mommsen, R. II. iv. 560): cp. also note to 631. 3. Philo of Larissa was the head of the New Academy. Cicero attended the lectures of both these philosophers. When Cicero says that the Stoics differed from Plato and Aristotle only in words, he was echoing Antiochus (Fin. iv. 2; N. D. i. 16). For a full account of their philosophies see Zeller, *Eclectics*, chap. iv. (E. T.), and Dr. Reid's *Introd. to the Academica*, pp. 57 ff.

2. *inter nos*] sc. *loquemur*, a common ellipse: cp. Att. iv. 9. 1 (122); Fam. xi. 21. 1 (893). 'We shall have ever so many conversations (if you think well of it) with one another, about ourselves too.' There is no need to add *et* before *inter* with Victorius and Wesenberg.

*sed . . . debemus*] 'but let the Fortune of our country bear the blame for past times; we ourselves are bound to secure the enjoyment of mutual intercourse at

the present time.' Varro and Cicero were engaged in the service of their country formerly, and accordingly had not leisure to devote themselves to literary pursuits.

*statu civitatis*] 'order of government.' *exercere*, 'to prosecute.'

*quamquam*] 'Although in that case indeed (i.e. if there was a settled order of government, and everything was not done at the caprice of an individual) certain other considerations would present us with an honourable field for thought and action,' i.e. we might engage in politics.

*sine his*] i.e. our studies.

*ipsis vix*] sc. *vivere volumus*.

*Migrationem*] 'your change of residence and new purchase.' For the abstract *emptio* used of 'a thing purchased,' cp. Fam. vii. 23. 2 (126), *prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero*. But here *emptio* may be the abstract. We do not know what was the change of residence to which reference is here made.

2. *Tu tamen*] The *tamen* here presents

nihil. Quando autem illum putas? Nam ego Romam pridie Idus. Bruto ita volui scribere—sed, quoniam tu te legisse scribis, fui fortasse ἀσαφέστερος—me ex tuis litteris intellexisse nolle eum me quasi prosequendi sui causa Romam nunc venire. Sed quoniam iam adest meus adventus, fac, quaeso, ne quid eum Idus impediunt quo minus suo commodo in Tusculano sit. Nec enim ad tabulam eum desideraturus eram. In tali enim negotio cur tu unus non satis es? Sed ad testamentum volebam: quod iam malo alio die, ne ob eam causam Romam venisse videar. Scripsi igitur ad Brutum iam illud, quod putassem, Idibus nihil opus esse. Velim ergo totum hoc ita gubernes ut ne minima quidem re ulla Bruti commodum impediamus. 3. Sed quid est tandem quod perhorrescas quia tuo periculo iubeam libros dari Varroni? Etiam nunc si dubitas, fac ut sciamus. Nihil est enim illis elegantius. Volo Varronem, praesertim cum ille desideret, sed est, ut scis,

δενδς ἀνήρ· τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον αἰτιόωτο.

Ita mihi saepe occurrit vultus eius, querentis fortasse vel hoc, meas

a difficulty, as it often does in the Letters. The connexion seems to be: 'Though I have just said that if you knew anything you would be sure to tell it to me, yet, in writing about Brutus, you don't say a word about yourself.'

*putas*] sc. *profecturum*, 'when do you think he will set out on his journey to meet Caesar?' With *ego* understand *ibo*. For future of verbs of motion understood cp. 590. 3; 669. 2.

*Bruto ita volui*] 'I had meant to say in my letter to Brutus—but as you say you read the letter [and took another meaning from it], perhaps I was *peu clair*—what I meant to write was, that I gathered from your letters that he did not wish me to come to Rome just now, to wait on him.'

*Idus*] This is generally supposed to be the date of the sale of the Scapulan *horti*. But the *tabula* may be the Brinnian auction which on June 25 had been provisionally fixed for the 13th, 626. 4; 627 [14. 1]. Since the conversation on July 8 with Capito (636. 4), there does not appear any certain reference to the purchase of the Scapulan *horti*: cp. note to 644 and to 647 fin. After Ep. 647 we hear no more about them or indeed about the fane to Tullia: possibly Cicero gave up the idea of purchasing them and the project of erecting the fane.

*testamentum*] Hardly Cicero's own will, as he had already made it in March: cp. 551. It was possibly the will under which the auction was being held: and the formal opening of that will may be meant. The will and the auction had some connexion with one another. But we cannot elucidate the matter, or know why Brutus was wanted: cp. 636 fin.

*alio die*] 'to be adjourned'; *alio die* was the formula by which the augurs adjourned the comitia: cp. Phil. ii. 83, *confecto negotio bonus augur—C. Laelium diceres—alio die inquit*, and Mayor's note on § 81.

*iam illud . . . opus esse*] 'that the business I had contemplated need not be done on the Ides.' We cannot be at all sure what was the business here referred to.

3. *perhorrescas quia*] 'tremble at the thought of.'

*Nihil . . . elegantius*] Cicero had a high opinion of the *Academica*: cp. 631. 3. We think that this sentence should precede the former.

*Volo Varronem*] 'I wish for Varro,' as the chief person in the dialogue.

δενδς ἀνήρ] Patroclus says this of Achilles. Hom. Il. xi. 654.

partis in iis libris copiosius defensas esse quam suas, quod mehercule non esse intelleges, si quando in Epirum veneris. Nam nunc Alexionis epistulis cedimus. Sed tamen ego non despero probatum iri Varroni, et id, quoniam impensam fecimus in macrocolla, facile patior teneri. Sed etiam atque etiam dico, tuo periculo fiet. Qua re, si addubitas, ad Brutum transeamus: est enim is quoque Antiochius. O Academiam volaticam et sui similem, modo huc, modo illuc! Sed, quaeso, epistula mea ad Varronem valdene tibi placuit? Male mi sit si umquam quidquam tam enitar. Ergo ne Tironi quidem dictavi, qui totas *περιοχὰς* persequi solet, sed Spintharo syllabatim.

## 643. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 35 AND 36).

TUSCULUM; JULY 13; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De urbe agenda, de Varrone et libris Academicis ei datis, de Bruto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O rem indignam! Gentilis tuus urbem auget quam hoc biennio primum vidit, et ei parum magna visa est quae etiam

*in Epirum veneris*] 'when you come to Epirus [and are at leisure]. Now we must give place to the letters from Epirus of your steward Alexio.'

*teneri*] 'and, as you and I have gone to expense in procuring folio sheets, I am glad that this (design of dedicating the book to Varro) is to be persevered in.' *Macrocollum* was a special kind of large paper: cp. 773. 1. Sir E. Maude Thompson (*Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 25) says it was about 18 inches broad. The word comes from *κολλά* 'glue,' as does also *protocol*. On the various sizes and names of different kinds of sheets cp. Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, p. 802. For *teneri* cp. the common phrase *tenere propositum*.

*transeamus*] 'I will transfer to Brutus Varro's place in the dialogue, as he, too, is an adherent of the philosophy of Antiochus.'

*Academiam*] The school is referred to here, not the treatise, though he appears to call the treatise *Academiam* in 627. 1. Here the thought is, 'How characteristically shifting everything connected with the Academy is; even our treatise is constantly undergoing change'; just as

the Academy changed and shifted its philosophical views, so the treatise was ever shifting its chief personage, being now in the mouth of Catulus or Lucullus, anon of Varro, and again of Brutus. Cp. *sursum deorsum* said perhaps of the same school: Att. v. 10. 5 (198), where see note, ed. 2.

*Male . . . syllabatim*] 'Hang me if I evertake such trouble with anything again. That was why I did not even dictate it to Tiro, who takes down whole clauses, but to Spintharus syllable by syllable.' The mss give the strange reading *ergo at ego*, which Boot ingeniously conceives to have arisen from a gloss 'al. ego.' Tiro was an adept at shorthand, and even invented a system of abbreviations which was known as *Notae Tironianae* (cp. Teuffel, Rom. Lit., § 191, 5). For shorthand among the Romans cp. Reid on Sull. 42.

1. *Gentilis tuus*] Some Athenian architect whom Caesar was employing in his scheme for enlarging the city (cp. 636. 4). He calls the Athenians fellow-citizens or namesakes of Atticus: cp. Cicero's calling Servius Tullius *gentilem meum*, Tusc. i. 38. *parum magna*] 'too small to hold him

ipsum capere potuerit. Hac de re igitur exspecto litteras tuas. 2. Varroni scribis te, simul ac venerit. Dati igitur iam sunt, nec tibi integrum est: hui, si scias quanto periculo tuo! aut fortasse litterae meae te retardarunt: sed eas nondum legeras cum has proximas scripsisti. Scire igitur aveo quo modo res se habeat. [36] De Bruti amore vestraque ambulatione etsi mihi nihil novi adfers, sed idem quod saepe, tamen hoc audio libentius quo saepius, eoque mihi iucundius est quod tu eo laetaris, certiusque eo est quod a te dicitur.

## 644. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 43).

TUSCULUM; JULY 14; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De prorogatione diei gratias agit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ego vero utar prorogatione diei, tuque humanissime fecisti qui me certiore feceris, atque ita ut eo tempore acciperem litteras quo non exspectarem, tuque ut ab ludis scriberes. Sunt omnino mihi quaedam agenda Romae, sed consequemur biduo post.

(the architect) when it has been able to hold the master (Caesar) himself': ep., in Shakspeare's *Julius Caesar*, a passage where there is a play on Rome (formerly pronounced *Room*):—

'Now is it Rome indeed and room enough  
When there is in it but one only man.'

I. 2, 155-6.

2. *Varroni*] sc. *daturum Academiae*: ep. Att. xii. 7. 1 (500) *De liberalitate dixi quantum Publius, quantum flamen Lentulus filio* sc. *darent me daturum*: 715. 1, *multa illis Caesar*, sc. *dedit*.

*integrum*] 'the matter is no longer in your hands.' Schmidt would put a note of interrogation after *integrum*.

*retardarunt*] 'or perhaps my letter (possibly 640) made you slow to act,' and so, perhaps, you have not yet taken the decisive step.

*sed*] So Man. for *si* of the mss. Müller reads *nisi* 'unless it is that you have not read it,' comparing 619 fin.: Att. iv. 3. 2 (92) *nisi caedem*, where M has *si*. Klotz alters to *etsi*.

[36] *ambulatione*] some walk and talk which Atticus had enjoyed with Brutus.

*eoque . . . dicitur*] 'and it gains an added sweetness from your sympathy with it, and an added certitude as coming from you.'

*Ego vero*] 'Yes, I will take advantage of the postponement of the day.' What was this? Was it the day of the sale of the Scapulan gardens (642. 2), as may possibly be inferred from the last words of Ep. 647, or was it the sale of the property left by Brinnius, 627 [14] 1?

*ita . . . scriberes*] 'you have acted very kindly in sending me this information, giving me the pleasure of receiving a letter when I did not expect one, and being good enough yourself to despatch a letter from your seat at the games,' i.e. the Ludi Apollinares, which were held from July 6 to 13. *Scribere a ludis* is like *puppi sic fatur ab alta* (Verg. Aen. viii. 115). Dr. Reid has suggested: 'and learning that you would write after the games': for *a* in this sense ep. 608. 2, Att. i. 5. 4. (1). This letter would then be that mentioned in 646. 1, *O suavis tuas litteras*. We should expect, however, *scripturus sis* for *scriberes*.

## 645. CICERO TO TORANIUS (FAM. VI. 20).

TUSCULUM; JULY; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Toranio exsuli dissuadet M. Cicero consilium Caesari obviam eundi.

CICERO TORANIO SAL.

1. Dederam triduo ante pueris Cn. Planci litteras ad te; eo nunc ero brevior teque, ut antea consolabar, hoc tempore monebo. Nihil puto tibi esse utilius quam ibidem opperiri quoad scire possis quid tibi agendum sit; nam praeter navigationis longae et hiemalis et minime portuosae periculum, quod vitaveris, ne illud quidem non quantivis, subito, cum certi aliquid audieris, te istim posse proficisci. Nihil est praeterea cur adeuntibus te offerre gestias. Multa praeterea metuo quae cum Cilone nostro communicavi. 2. Quid multa? loco opportuniore in his malis nullo esse potuisti ex quo te, quocumque opus erit, facillime et expeditissime conferas. Quod si recipiet ille se ad tempus, aderis; sin—quoniam multa accidere possunt—aliqua res eum vel impedit vel morabitur, tu ibi eris ubi omnia scire possis. Hoc mihi prorsus valde placet. 3. De reliquo, ut te saepe per litteras hortatus sum, ita velim tibi persuadeas, te in hac causa nihil habere quod tibi timendum sit praeter communem casum civitatis; qui etsi est gravissimus, tamen ita vixi-

For Toranius cp. note to Fam. vi. 21 (573). He was at this time living in exile at Coreyra. He appears to have wished to make a voyage, perhaps to Ravenna (as Schmidt, p. 361, suggests), in order to meet and congratulate Caesar on his victories; and also to take that opportunity to beg for permission to return to Rome. As Toranius was not permitted to set foot in Italy, his intention at this time was to meet Caesar close to Italy in Cisalpine Gaul.

1. *Cn. Planci*] who was also living in exile at Coreyra: cp. Fam. iv. 15 (484).

*hiemalis*] owing to the storms of the Adriatic: cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 3, 4, *Auster dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*.

*minime portuosae*] 'with hardly any harbour to run into': usually this adj. is applied to a coast, not to a voyage.

*ne illud quidem non quantivis*] 'that, too, is not a matter of slight importance.' *non quantivis*, lit. 'not of great importance,' that is, 'of trifling importance.'

*adeuntibus*] 'to them on their approach.' It would be time to come to Caesar when he *had* arrived. This is the reading of GL. M has *adventibus*, 'arrivals,' which some editors have altered to *advenientibus*. This reading of M may be right, as Cic. elsewhere uses the plural of *adventus* Arch. 4: 2 Verr. i. 49: cp. Tac. Germ. 2.

2. *Quod si recipiet*] 'But if he (Caesar) returns up to time, you will be at hand.' Schmidt (p. 361) thinks that perhaps we should add *citius* after *recipiet*, where it might easily have fallen out. But it is simpler with Mendelssohn to put the comma after *tempus*.

3. *communem casum civitatis*] cp. 573. 3



mus et id aetatis iam sumus ut omnia quae non nostra culpa nobis accidant fortiter ferre debeamus. Hic tui omnes valent summaque pietate desiderant et diligunt et colunt: tu cura ut valeas et te istim ne temere commoveas.

## 646. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 44).

TUSCULUM; JULY 20 OR 21; A. U. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litteris Attici et rebus urbanis, de Varrone, de Attica, de Cotta, de Libone, de Casca. De nomine Corfidii ex oratione Ligariana tollendo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O suavis tuas litteras!—etsi acerba pompa: verum tamen scire omnia non acerbum est, vel de Cotta—populum vero praeclarum, quod propter malum vicinum ne Victoriae quidem ploditcr. Brutus apud me fuit, cui quidem valde placebat me aliquid ad Caesarem. Adnueram, sed pompa deterret. 2. Tu tamen ausus

*culpa*] ep. 575. 3.

*summaque pietate*] If the sons of Poranious were 'most filial' at this time, one of them did not remain so to the end, inasmuch as he betrayed his father during the proscriptions to the satellites of the Triumvirs: see the touching story in Val. Max. ix. 11. 5.

1. O] We have inserted the interjection, which fell out owing to its having been united with *post* at the end of 644, where that word appears as *posco*. It is specially required here, as it must govern *populum*: cp. note to 617. 4.

*etsi . . . Cotta*] 'How delightful to get your letter, though the procession [at the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* (July 20 to 30), in which the statue of Caesar was carried amongst those of the gods] is a bitter pill. But it is the reverse of bitter to know everything that is going on, including even Cotta's rumoured proposal that, as Parthia was declared by the Sibylline books to be unconquerable save by a king, Caesar should assume that title]. And how well the people have acted!' In speaking of the rumoured proposal of Cotta, Cicero writes in the Div. ii. 110, *Sibyllae versus . . . vorum interpres nuper falsa quadam*

*hominum famadiecturus in senatu putabatur, eum quem revera regem habebamus appellandum quoque esse regem si salvi esse vellemus.*

*pompa*] There had been a previous *pompa* about the middle of May: cp. 604. 3 and 594, 595.

*scire omnia non acerbum est*] Dr. Reid points out that this is a reference to the Greek line *γλυκύτερον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι*. Att. iv. 11, 2 (124).

*malum vicinum*] The statue of Caesar which was beside that of Victory.

*me aliquid ad Caesarem*] 'who strongly approved of my composing a political essay to be addressed to Caesar.' We are to understand *scripturum*, cp. 559. 1 *te aliquid novi*, sc. *scripturum*: Att. xvi. 11. 4 (799), *De tertio pollicetur se deinceps* (sc. *scripturum*), *sed nihil scripsit*, where we erroneously printed *scripturum* in the text.

*deterret*] So Crat. for *videret* of M. Dr. Reid conjectures *pompam vides*, like Fin. iii. 9, *sed aetatem vides*. The meaning is excellent, but the corruption somewhat unlikely.

2. *Tu tamen*] 'so you have ventured after all (*tamen*) to consign the *Academica* to Varro.'

es Varroni dare? Exspecto quid iudicet. Quando autem pel-  
leget? De Attica probo. Est quiddam etiam animum levari  
cum spectatione tum etiam religionis opinione et fama. 3. Cottam  
mi velim mittas. Libonem mecum habeo et habueram ante  
Cascam. Brutus mihi T. Ligari verbis nuntiavit, quod appelletur  
L. Corfidius in oratione Ligariana, erratum esse meum, sed, ut  
aiunt, *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα*. Sciebam Corfidium pernecessarium  
Ligariorum, sed eum video ante esse mortuum. Da igitur, quaeso,  
negotium Pharnaci, Antaeo, Salvio, ut id nomen ex omnibus  
libris tollatur.

### 647. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 34).

ASTURA; JULY 26; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De adventu suo Asturam et de negotiis ab Attico suscipiendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Asturam veni VIII. Kal. *vesperi*. Vitandi enim calor causa  
Lanuvi tris horas acquieveram. Tu velim, si grave non erit,  
efficias ne ante Nonas mihi illuc veniendum sit—id potes per  
Egnatium Maximum—illud in primis cum Publilio me absente

*Est quiddam etiam*] ‘there is something in the relief which the mind gets both from the spectacle itself, and from the general feeling that the games are a religious rite.’ The popular mind always connected the *ludi* with religion: and attendance at a religious ceremony has generally a soothing effect. Cicero seems to have thought that religious emotions especially attach to women: cp. Fam. xiv. 4. 1 (62).

3. *Cottam . . . Libonem . . . Cascam*] The reference is to certain works which he designates by the author’s name, just as we speak of a Virgil or a Horace. Libo’s Annals have been already referred to: Epp. 608, 610. Nothing is known about Casca’s work. Boot thinks the *Cotta* may have been a book on the Roman republic written in Greek by L. Aurunculeius Cotta, Caesar’s lieutenant in Gaul, who was slain by the Eburones in 700 (54): cp. Teuffel 197. 9.

*quod appelletur L. Corfidius*] ‘that my addressing (or ‘speaking of’) L. Corfidius was a mistake’: cp. Lig. 33, *Videsne*

*igitur . . . hunc L. Marcium, C. Caesetium, L. Corfidium, hos omnis equites Romanos qui adsunt veste mulata*, which shows that the *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα* was never corrected. For *appellare* = to speak of, cp. Att. i. 16. 10 (22), *Regem appellas*.

*μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα*] ‘a *lapsus memoriae*.’ This is one of the cases where we use a Latin expression, while Cicero has recourse to Greek. Others are quoted in I<sup>3</sup>, 87.

*Antaeo*] cp. note to 616. 3.

*Lanuvi*] This was the regular place for breaking the journey between Tusculum and Astura. 590. 3: 592. 1.

*Egnatium Maximum*] cp. 662. 1, and Pauly-Wissowa v. 1997, No. 26.

*cum*] ‘what I want you to do first of all is to settle with Publilius in my absence’ [about the repayment of the dower of his sister Publilia now divorced by Cicero]. The mss give me *pene absente*, and *pene* may have arisen from dittography of *absente* written *apsente*, as Dr. Reid (*Hermathena* 354) and Müller point

conficias, de quo quae fama sit scribes. 'Id populus curat scilicet.' Non mehercule arbitror. Etenim haec decantata erat fabula. Sed complere paginam volui. Quid plura? Ipse enim adsum, nisi quid tu prorogas. Scripsi enim ad te de hortis.

## 648. CICERO TO LEPTA (FAM. VI. 19).

ASTURA; JULY 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Q. Leptae significat sibi Maculae Falernum et Leptae Petrinum satis idonea devorsoria esse in quibus vivat. Leptae curationem ludorum quos Caesar erat factururus ne ambiat suadet.

## CICERO LEPTAE.

1. Maculam officio functum esse gaudeo. Eius Falernum mihi semper idoneum visum est devorsorio, si modo tecti satis est ad comitatum nostrum recipiendum: ceteroqui mihi locus non displicet. Nec ea re Petrinum tuum deseram; nam et villa et amoenitas illa commorationis est, non devorsori. 2. De curatione

out: cp. 654. 2, *me absente*. Peerlkamp suggested *me praesente absente*, 'whether it may be after I arrive in Rome, or while I am still here.' This may possibly be right, for, though he says in a subsequent letter (654) that he wishes the negotiations to be carried out in his absence, yet he might have changed his mind (cp. *malo* 654. 2) in the time intervening between this letter and Ep. 654, written some four days subsequently.

*quae fama sit*] 'what people say about the matter.'

*'id populus . . . scilicet'*] Ter. Andr. 185.

*decantata . . . fabula*] 'a twice-told tale.'

People were tired of commenting on Cicero's relations with Publilia: cp. De Orat. ii. 75, *qui mihi pervulgata praecepta decantant*; Senec. Ep. 24. 6, *decantatae . . . fabulae istae sunt*.

*paginam*] shows that the page was very short.

*prorogas*] 'unless you put me off [telling me that the day of the sale is postponed]; for I have asked you to let me know about [the day of the sale of Scapula's] pleasure-ground': cp. note to 644.

For Lepta see Introduction to Fam. vi. 18 (534), and vol. iii, p. 336, ed. 2.

1. *Maculam*] He was possibly P. Pompeius Macula, who was one of the lovers of Fausta, daughter of Sulla. A good story relative to this intrigue is told by Macrobius, Sat. ii. 2. 9.

*Falernum*] sc. *praedium*, 'his property in the Falernian territory.' There does not appear to have been any town from which this district obtained its name. It was close to Sinuessa on the east.

*devorsorio*] As Schmalz (Antib. i. 616) feels no difficulty in the dative after *idoneus* (which usually takes *ad*), cp. Caes. B. G. vi. 10. 2; vii. 35. 6, we have retained the ms reading. Wesenberg (E. A. 15) wishes to read *devorsorium*.

*Petrinum*] cp. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 5, *vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum*; on which passage the Comm. Cruq. says, '*Petrinus* mons est Sinuessanae civitati imminens vel ager Sinuessae vicinus.'

*commorationis, non devorsori*] 'for that villa with its picturesque site is suitable for a sojourn, not merely for a lodging.' It is not quite correct to make a concrete word *devorsorium* balance the abstract *commoratio*, unless we take the latter in a concrete sense like *emptio*, 641. 2: Fam. vii. 23. 2 (126)—a sense it bears

aliqua munerum regionum cum Oppio locutus sum ; nam Balbum, postea quam tu es profectus, non vidi ; tantis pedum doloribus adficitur ut se conveniri nolit. Omnino de tota re, ut mihi videris, sapientius faceres, si non curares : quod enim eo labore adsequi vis nullo modo adsequere ; tanta est enim intimorum multitudo ut ex iis aliquis potius effluat quam novo sit aditus, praesertim qui nihil adferat praeter operam, in qua ille se dedisse beneficium putabit—si modo *id* ipsum sciet—non accepisse. Sed tamen aliquid videbimus in quo sit species ; aliter quidem non modo non adpetendum sed etiam fugiendum puto. Ego me Asturae diutius arbitror commoraturum quoad ille quandoque veniat. Vale.

in late Latin. *Commoratio* is less strong than *habitatio*, and is used elsewhere of a temporary sojourn in opposition to permanent residence : cp. De Sen. 84, *et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo ; commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit.*

2. *regionum*] ‘of the royal shows.’ Cicero calls Caesar elsewhere *rex*: cp. 657. 2: but the adjective *regius* is sometimes even less strong than ‘royal,’ as it may mean little more than ‘princely’: cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 15. 1, *Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae moles relinquent* ; though doubtless it can also bear as strong a meaning as ‘tyrannical,’ Cat. i. 30, *crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent* ; yet this is unusual : cp. Verr. iii. 115, *regie seu potius tyrannice*. Manutius, followed by many commentators, wishes to read *regionum*, which is found also in some MSS, viz. G and Pal primus. But, as Orelli rightly says, ‘vix Latinum est pro munerum regionatim edendorum,’ and on this ground we adhere to the reading of M. For on other grounds *regionum* is not impossible. It is true that the city was not regularly marked out into the fourteen *regiones* (there had of course been the four large *regiones* previously) until the time of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 30 ; Dio Cass. iv. 8), but Suetonius says of Julius Caesar (c. 39), *edidit . . . ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota*, using the word in the untechnical sense of ‘quarters.’ Manutius argues that Cicero might use the invidious word *rex* of Caesar, when writing to an intimate friend like Atticus, but that he would not venture to do so in writing to Lepta. But Lepta was intimate

with Cic. : he had been his *praef. fabrum*. But the shows may have been projected on such a grand scale that they were commonly spoken of in the talk of the day as the ‘royal shows,’ such as might have been witnessed at the courts of the Kings of Syria or Egypt. Accordingly, we think that the balance of probability inclines to the reading of M. Lepta appears to have been endeavouring to obtain a *curatio vini* on the occasion of Caesar’s largesses to the people : cp. also 663. 2.

*ut ex iis . . . aditus*] ‘so that there is more probability of a man’s dropping off from the body than of there being an opening for a new-comer.’

*praesertim qui*] cp. note to Fam. vi. 2. 3 (575), ‘especially if he is a man who has nothing to offer except his own labour, in respect of which (*i.e.* in accepting which, and giving it scope) Caesar, if he comes to know of the matter at all, will consider that he has conferred a favour rather than received one.’ Note *ille*, by itself, for Caesar, cp. 694. 1 : 713. 2.

*id ipsum*] We have added *id* with Ernesti, as in Att. x. 14. 3 (400) : 546. 3 : 583. 2. See Madvig’s note on Fin. ii. 93.

*species*] ‘display,’ ‘splendour,’ ‘distinction,’ such as would not attach to the contract which Lepta was seeking, however lucrative it might be.

*quandoque*] = *aliquando*, ‘some time or other’ ; as far as we know this is the only passage in Cicero where *quandoque* has this indefinite meaning. The use is common in later Latin : cp. Liv. xxi. 3, 6 ; Tac. Ann. i. 4, 4 ; vi. 20, 3. Dr. Reid suggests that we should read *quoad*

## 649. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 9).

ASTURA; JULY 27; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De amoenitate Asturae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ne ego essem hic libenter atque id cotidie magis, ni esset ea causa quam tibi superioribus litteris scripsi. Nihil hac solitudine iucundius, nisi paullum interpellasset Amyntae filius. Ὡ ἀπεραντολογίας ἀηδοῦς. Cetera noli putare amabilia fieri posse villa, littore, prospectu maris, tum his rebus omnibus. Sed neque haec digna longioribus litteris, nec erat quod scriberem, et somnus urgebat.

## 650. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 22).

ASTURA; JULY 27; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero aegrotantem Tironem admonet curandae valetudinis, regere tamen librariorum iubet: addit de rebus domesticis.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO SAL.

1. Spero ex tuis litteris tibi melius esse, cupio certe; cui quidem rei omni ratione cura ut inservias et cave suspiceris contra

<sciam qua> quandoque ('and when') veniat, comparing Att. ix. 1. 2 (353) *quandovē ituri sint*: cp. also ix. 6. 1 fin. (360).

*ea causa quam superioribus litt.*] Most likely the sale of the gardens; but possibly the unpleasant business about the refunding of her dowry to Publilia, mentioned in Ep. 647.

*Amyntae filius*] L. Marcus Philippus, mentioned above in Epp. 548, 549, as being likely to prove a bore, here jocosely termed 'son of Amyntas,' as bearing the name of the celebrated King of Macedonia.

Ὡ ἀπεραντολογίας ἀηδοῦς] *Ah! qu'il est ennuyeux avec son bavardage, or Ah! comme il gêne, ce bavardage.*

*prospectu maris, tum*] This is the mss reading. Lehmann reads (p. 128) *tum*

*mulis* for *tum*, comparing 718. 1, *utrum magis tumultis prospectuque an ambulatione ἀλιτενεῖ delecter*, a very similar passage. But at Astura there is no rising ground that could even be called *tumuli*. Dr. Reid (*Hermathena*, p. 131) conjectures *prospectu maritimo*, which may well be right. But *tum* is at times found in enumerations without a preceding *eum* or *tum*, e.g. Acad. ii. 1, *Magnum ingenium L. Luculli magnumque optimarum artium studium, tum omnis liberalis . . ab eo percepta doctrina*; cp. ib. § 43; Fin. i. 21; Leg. i. 17, *tum haec tractanda*.

*tum his rebus omnibus*] 'moreover, everything here.'

The date of this letter is acutely fixed by Schmidt, pp. 364ff. Cicero appears to have sent Tiro back to Rome when he

meam voluntatem te facere quod non sis mecum : mecum es, si te curas ; qua re malo te valetudini tuae servire quam meis oculis et auribus. Etsi enim et audio te et video libenter, tamen hoc multo erit, si valebis, iucundius. Ego hic cesso, quia ipse nihil scribo ; lego autem libentissime. Tu istic, si quid librarii mea manu non intellegent, monstrabis : una omnino interpositio difficilior est, quam ne ipse quidem facile legere soleo, de quadrimo Catone. De triclinio cura, ut facis. Tertia aderit, modo ne Publius rogatus sit. 2. Demetrius iste numquam omnino Phalereus

left Tusculum for Astura on July 25 (cp. 647 and 651). Tiro probably wrote on July 26, to tell of his safe arrival, and Cicero replied at once in this letter.

1. *cesso*] 'am idling.'

*Tu istic*] 'As you are on the spot, you will kindly explain whatever the copyists cannot make out by reason of my handwriting. Certainly there is one passage inserted which is rather difficult (to decipher), which even I myself cannot easily read, the story about Cato when four years old.' The reference may be to Cicero's work on Cato the Younger, written 46, of which we may suppose that a second edition was brought out in the following year. Or it might be to the *Laudatio Porciae* mentioned in 656. 2. The story alluded to (which Cicero inserted in a cramped and illegible hand in the manuscript after it was written) was, probably, that told by Plutarch (Cat. Min. 2) about Pompaedius Silo, who bade Cato, when a boy, ask his uncle, Livius Drusus, to use his influence in favour of giving the franchise to Italians. Cato simply refused ; whereupon Pompaedius held him out of a window, and swung him backwards and forwards, telling him that he would let him fall if he did not assent. Cato was, however, says Plutarch, quite undismayed and fearless (*ἀνέκπλακτος καὶ ἀδής*). Cato was born in 95, so that in 91, just before the outbreak of the Social War, he was exactly four years old. Schmidt (pp. 365-7) reads *de quadrimo Catonis*, 'concerning the cross-road of Cato,' and thinks that the reference is to the long exposition of the Stoic philosophy which is put into Cato's mouth in *Fin.* iii. 16-75. It is quite true that Cicero was engaged on the *De Finibus* at this time. But (not to speak of the alteration of the text involved in Schmidt's interpretation) the exposition of the Stoic

philosophy by Cato is an essential portion of the *De Finibus* considered as an organic whole, and cannot be regarded as a mere 'interpositio' ; and it would have been a strange manuscript into which that long dissertation could have been inserted as a mere subsequent addition. Further, why it should be called a 'cross-road' we are unable clearly to understand.

The view advocated above is far simpler. Cato, his life, character, and opinions, afforded the theme for most of the literary polemics of the anti-Caesarian party, so that it was quite natural that the book on that hero, written by the greatest literary man at Rome, should be in considerable demand. We learn from 665. 2 that Cicero was interested in works on Cato about this time.

*De triclinio*] Cicero appears to have directed Tiro to have a *triclinium* made specially for some dinner-party he intended to give. To that dinner-party, he says, Cassius's wife Tertia (or Tertulla) will come if Publius (? Doiabella) is not asked.

We find ourselves unable to assent to Schmidt's view of this passage (p. 365). He considers *tertia* = *tertia pensio*, the third instalment of a debt which Cicero had to meet at this time. As Cicero during this summer was interested in repaying to Publilius the dowry of Publilia — cp. 647 ; 654. 2 — Schmidt thinks that this is the debt to which reference is made, and that we should read *modo ne Publilius rogatus sit* < sc. *de pensione proroganda* >, 'always provided that Publilius be not asked (to extend the time of payment).' The corruption of *Publilius* into *Publius* is frequent : cp. 670. 2 ; but we think Schmidt errs by putting more into the words than they can mean.

2. *Demetrius*] cp. 653, 2 : 655.

fuit, sed nunc plane Billienus est : itaque te do vicarium ; tu eum observabis. Etsi : verum tamen ; de illis : nosti cetera. Sed tamen, si quem cum eo sermonem habueris, scribes ad me, ut mihi nascatur epistolae argumentum et ut tuas quam longissimas litteras legam. Cura, mi Tiro, ut valeas ; hoc gratius mihi facere nihil potes. Vale.

## 651. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XII. 10).

ASTURA ; JULY 28 ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

De morte Athamantis Attici, de Alexi curando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Male mehercule de Athamante. Tuus autem dolor humanus is quidem, sed magno opere moderandus. Consolationum autem multae viae, sed illa rectissima : impetret ratio quod dies

Possibly he was Demetrius of Gadara, a favourite freedman of Pompey's, cp. Att. iv. 11. 1 (124), who is probably alluded to also in Phil. xiii. 12, *An is non reddet, qui domini patrimonium circumplexus quasi thesaurum draco, Pompei servus, libertus Caesaris, agri Lucani possessiones occupavit*. There is a good story told by Plutarch (Pomp. 40 ; Cat. Min. 13) of the honours which were paid him in the East. He was very unlike the learned and cultivated Demetrius of Phalerum (Brut. 37 ; Quintil. x. 1. 80), and governor of Athens under Cassander, 317-307 : he was much more like Billienus. This was a slave of a certain Demetrius, who, in 49, murdered Domitius, a noble, at Album Intimilium : cp. Fam. viii. 15. 2 (344) ; and as the murder led to a revolution in the town, it became very notorious throughout Italy. The name Demetrius suggested the reference to Cicero, or possibly the Demetrius here mentioned was the owner of Billienus. Ernesti says that Cicero called him *Billienus* from *bilis*, 'ad perstringendam hominis malitiam.' But Demetrius was regarded by Cicero as only an uncultivated bore, 'homo Ciceroni molestus,' as Orelli says. Klebs in Pauly-Wissowa (iii. 253, No. 7) supposes that this Demetrius was an otherwise unknown

freedman of a certain Billienus. For the name Billienus cp. Brut. 175.

*itaque te do vicarium*] 'Accordingly I give you to him as my substitute (sc. to entertain him) ; you will show all civility to him.' There is not any reference here to the sense of *vicarius* as the slave of a slave.

*Etsi : verum tamen ; de illis*] 'Although—however (cp. 602 fin.)—as to that : you know the rest.' Possibly, as Manutius suggests, Cicero is parodying the jerky style of speaking which Demetrius affected. He used apparently to say only a word or two, and not finish his sentences.

*Male de*] 'poor Athamas,' cp. 730. 1. This is the Latin formula for lamenting a death, which we have met before in a letter, Att. xii. 11 (502), which, through its commencing with these words *male de*, has been wrongly placed next after this letter, though it was written about eight months earlier, and about 150 letters come between the two. The *o factum male* of the pretty poem of Catullus on the death of Lesbia's sparrow will occur to the reader. Athamas was a slave or freedman in the household of Atticus.

*ratio . . . dies*] 'let philosophy bring about what time is sure to do.' Cp. the

impetratura est. Alexin vero curemus, imaginem Tironis, quem aegrum Romam remisi, et, si quid habet collis ἐπιδήμιον, ad me cum Tisameno transferamus. Tota domus vacat superior, ut seīs. Hoc puto valde ad rem pertinere.

## 652. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 21, §§ 1-3).

ASTURA; JULY 28; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De epistula ad Hirtium data, de Torquato, Dolabella, Q. fratre, de verbo 'sustinenti' pro 'inhibendi' reponendo in Academicis.

### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ad Hirtium dederam epistolam sane graudem quam scripseram proxime in Tusculano. Huic quam tu mihi misisti rescribam alias. Nunc alia malo. 2. Quid possum de Torquato, nisi aliquid a Dolabella? Quod simul ac, continuo scietis. Expectabam hodie aut summum cras ab eo tabellarios: qui simul ac venerint, mittentur ad te. A Quinto exspecto. Proficiscens enim e Tusculano IIX. Kal., ut seīs, misi ad eum tabellarios. 3. Nunc ad rem ut redeam, 'inhibere' illud tuum, quod valde

Sophoclean gnome that 'time is a comfortable god,' χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρὴς θεός, El. 179.

*Alexin . . . imaginem Tironis*] Cicero means that Alexis is to Atticus what Tiro is to him. In Att. v. 20. 9 (228), he had called Tiro his 'Alexis.'

*si quid habet collis ἐπιδήμιον*] 'If the Quirinal [where you live] is in an unsanitary state [is visited by an epidemic], let us transfer Alexis to my house [on the Palatine], together with Tisamenus [another slave who was entrusted with the care of the invalid]. The whole upper part of the house is empty, as you know. This I think highly important.' This is a good example of *ad me*, meaning 'to my house in town,' an occasional usage in the letters: cp. Att. iv 5. 3 (108).

*Tisameno*] This is stated by Bosius to come from the Tornesianus (Z). M gives *testamento*. A proper name seems required; but the reading is uncertain. We do not hear of Tisamenus elsewhere.

1. *Huic*] 'the letter from Hirtius, which you enclosed to me, I will answer some other time. Now I prefer to attend to other matters.'

2. *de Torquato*] 'what can I do for Torquatus, unless I hear from Dolabella? As soon as I do, your household shall be informed at once. I expect his couriers to-day or to-morrow at latest.' cp. 623. 1; 662. 2. Boot points out that Cicero uses *summum*, not *ad summum*, in this phrase, quoting Att. xii. 44, 3 (590); Fam. v. 21. 1 (458); Fam. xiv. 3. 5 (84). After *possum* Heidemann (p. 68) understands *scribere*: but the word understood is rather *facere*. We suppose *sit* or *fuert* to be understood after *aliquid* and *simul ac*.

3. *Nunc ad rem ut redeam*] 'to come to business.' He half jokingly calls the question of the diction of his *Academica* business in the true sense of the word, other things, which most people would think far more important, being to him of no consequence. The rest of the letter may be explained best by a continuous paraphrase: 'When (Cicero



mihi adriserat, vehementer displicet. Est enim verbum totum nauticum. Quamquam id quidem sciebam, sed arbitrabar sustineri remos cum inhibere essent remiges iussi. Id non esse eius modi didici heri, cum ad villam nostram navis appelleretur. Non enim sustinent, sed alio modo remigant. Id ab ἐποχῇ remotissimum est. Qua re facies ut ita sit in libro quem ad modum fuit. Dices hoc idem Varroni, si forte mutavit. Nec est melius quidquam quam ut Lucilius :

Sustineas currum, ut bonu' saepe agitator, equosque !

semperque Carneades προβολὴν pugilis et retentionem aurigae similem facit ἐποχῇ. Inhibitio autem remigum motum habet et vehementiorem quidem remigationis navem convertentis ad puppim. Vides quanto hoc diligentius curem quam aut de rumore aut de Pollione, de Pansa etiam, si quid certius—credo enim palam factum esse—de Critonio, si quid tasset certe ne de Metello et Balbino.

writes) I used the word *sustinere* for "pulling up" a horse, and when you advised me to substitute for it *inhibere*, I was charmed with your suggestion at first, but now I do not like it at all. *Inhibere* is essentially a nautical expression; of this I was aware; but I thought *inhibere* meant that the rowers should lie on their oars (and so keep the vessel stationary). I learned that I was wrong when a ship put in here yesterday. *Inhibere* does not mean to keep the vessel stationary, but to row backwards, which is quite unsuitable to illustrate the meaning of ἐποχή, or "philosophic suspense" in my *Academica*. So have *sustinere* restored, and tell Varro to make the same correction in his copy, if he has changed my *sustinere* to the *inhibere* which you suggested, and I at first gladly accepted. We have the authority of Lucilius (1305, ed. Marx) for *sustinere* in the sense of holding in a team (cp. ἀρέχειν, Aesch. Pers. 190); and Carneades constantly uses this act on the part of a harioter, as well as the boxer's "guard" (προβολή), as an illustration of ἐποχή. The philosopher holds his judgment steady, and does not allow it to embrace either of two alternative decisions, just as the crew of a boat hold it steady in the water, not allowing it to go backward or forward, as the driver "holds in" his

team and keeps them still, as the boxer neither hits nor allows himself to be hit, but keeps up his steady "guard." Now *inhibitio* implies motion, that of rowing the vessel backward stern-foremost.' The passage in the *Academica* is ii. 94. Cicero did not know the technical meaning of this word when he wrote De Orat. i. 153 (55 B.C.), ut concitato navigio, cum remiges inhibuerunt, retinet tamen ipsa navis motum et cursum suum intermisso impetu pulsusque remorum; but he seems to have known it when he wrote Lael. 63 (44 B.C.), est igitur prudentis sustinere ut cursum sic impetum benevolentiae. For Latin translations of ἀρέχειν, Dr. Reid (Acad. ii. 59) quotes *sustinere se ab omni adsensu* (§ 48); *retinere adsensum* (§ 57); *ab utraque parte adsensionem sustinere* (i. 45); *adsensionem cohibere* (N. D. i. 1); *iudicium sustinere* in Sen. Ep. 108, 21; *refrenatio et quasi suspensio adsensionis* Augustin. contra Acad. ii. 12.

[de Pollione] We do not know what he wanted to hear about C. Asinius Pollio, who was then with Caesar in Spain; and we are equally in the dark about the other persons mentioned.

si quid est] sc. certum.

si quid . . . de Metello] Orelli reads si quid est, sed certe de (omitting ne) 'and certainly [I care more about the right meaning of *inhibere*] than about the news

## 653. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 17).

ASTURA ; JULY 29, EVENING ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Tironem modeste reprehendit in epistula *fideliter* adverbio non recte usum, et ut valetudini serviat admonet.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Video quid agas: tuas quoque epistulas vis referri in volumina. Sed heus tu, qui *καὶὼν* esse meorum scriptorum soles, unde illud tam *ἄκυρον* 'valetudini fideliter inserviando.' Unde in istum locum 'fideliter' venit? Cui verbo domicilium est proprium in officio, migrationes in alienum multae: nam et doctrina et domus et ars et ager etiam fidelis dici potest, ut sit, quo modo

concerning Metellus and Balbinus.' The sentence is carelessly expressed, *certius* and *certum* bearing a different meaning from *certe*. But perhaps, in the face of so much uncertainty, we should put a full stop at *Pollione*; and suppose that in the following sentence Cicero is asking for information. Possibly the reading of the last line is *si quid est, et (si quid esset mss.) certene de Metello et Balbino?* 'and is the report sure about M. and B.?' *Ne* after *certe* is in M. It is possible that there were rumours afloat that all these men, who appear to have been Caesarians, were going to obtain distinctions and rewards. Critonius made an anti-Caesarian demonstration next year, if we are to believe Appian B. C. iii, 28. We do not know who Metellus or Balbinus was. We hear of a L. Saenius Balbinus who was consul suffectus in 30 B.C.

[*Video*] 'I see what you are trying to do. You want your letters also (as well as mine) to be made into a book.' This is an important passage, as showing that Cicero intended that his letters should be kept for publication.

[*ἄκυρον*] 'solecism.' Schmalz (Antib. i. 537) says that the error consisted in applying the word *fideliter* to conduct towards oneself, whereas it should only be applied to duties towards others. Tiro should have said *diligenter*. But, as

Shuckburgh shows, this is just what Tiro probably meant, 'he took care of his health as in duty bound to Cicero.' He notices that *fideliter*, 'thoroughly,' 'conscientiously,' can be defended by Ovid, Pont. ii, 9. 47, *Adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros*. Cicero adds that *fidelis*, in its metaphorical sense, can be applied to anything which does not play one false and answers to one's expectations; accordingly it can be rightly applied to any branch of study or trade, to a house or land. Cicero was something of an over-purist at times: cp. Phil. iii. 22, *Quid est porro facere contumeliam? quis sic loquitur?* The answer the Dictionaries give is Plautus, Cato, Terence, Pacuvius, Metellus Numidicus (ap. Gell. xii. 9. 4), Livy, Seneca. Quintilian says, ix. 3. 13, *iam evaluit . . 'contumeliam fecit,' quod a Cicerone reprehendi notum est: 'affici enim contumelia' dicebant.*

[*Cui . . . multae*] 'Its proper locus is the sphere of duty, but it takes several excursions into other fields.'

[*ut sit*] 'provided, as Theophrastus says, the metaphorical extension of the word be kept within bounds': *ut* means 'provided that': cp. for the metaphor Brut. 274, *pleraque tralata, sic tamen ut ea non irruisse in alienum locum sed immigrasse in suum diceret*: cp. Nägelsbach, p. 463 (ed. 7). Theophrastus was such a purist, and spoke such exceptionally

Theophrasto placet, verecunda tralatio. Sed haec coram. 2. Demetrius venit ad me, quo quidem comitatu ἀφωμίλησα satis scite. Tu eum videlicet non potuisti videre; cras aderit: videbis igitur; nam ego hinc perendie mane cogito. Valetudo tua me valde sollicitat, sed inservi et fac omnia; tum te mecum esse, tum mihi cumulatissime satis facere putato. Cuspicio quod operam dedisti mihi gratum est; valde enim eius causa volo. Vale.

# 654. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 47a).

ASTURA; JULY 30; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Lepidi litteris ad se missis, de ratione itineris sui, de negotio cum Publilio conficiendo, de Q. fratris litteris.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Lepidus ad me heri vesperi litteras misit Antio; nam ibi erat: habet enim domum quam nos vendidimus: rogat magno opere ut sim Kal. in senatu, me et sibi et Caesari vehementer gratum esse facturum. Puto equidem nihil esse. Dixisset enim

Attic Greek, that an old Attic woman said it proved him a stranger (Quintil. viii. 1, 2.) On Roman ideas as to *tralatio* and metaphor see Quintil. viii. 6, 4 ff.

2. *Demetrius*] cp. 650. 2: 655. *quo quidem comitatu . . . videre*] 'from whose escort I escaped very neatly. You could not have seen him (at Rome): he will be there to-morrow.' ἀφωμίλειν, lit. 'to cease to frequent the society of.' Wes. adds *a* before *quo*, perhaps rightly. Demetrius appears to have proposed to accompany Cicero with some considerable retinue on the journey to Rome which he was projecting. Cicero had complained to Tiro, 650. 2, of having to entertain the bore Demetrius. But the latter came direct to Cicero at Astura; and accordingly Cicero says to Tiro (who probably had mentioned that Demetrius had not called upon him) that of course Tiro could not have seen him, but that Demetrius would be in Rome on the next day. For *satis scite*, cp. Fam. xi. 16. 1 (888). Dr. Reid thinks the sentence *nam . . . cogito* should be transposed back to follow *satis scite*. It would thus

give an explanation of how Cicero escaped the company of Demetrius, because the latter had to return a day sooner. This is possible. As the words stand the *nam* seems to mean 'you will see him' (I will not), 'for I purpose leaving the morning after next.'

*Cuspicio*] Probably the same as the Cuspicio of Fam. xiii. 6. 1 (115).

*valde enim eius causa volo*] 'For I sincerely wish him well,' a phrase apparently of ordinary life = *omnia eius causa volo*. Sometimes *omnia* (or an adverb, as here) is expressed; cp. Fam. xiii. 22. 1 (517); 55. 1 (232): sometimes it is omitted, 666. 1. A large number of Ciceronian examples are given by Lewis and Short, s.v. *volo*, E. 6.

1. *rogat . . . ut sim in senatu*] 'begs me to attend in the senate on the first, and says I will greatly oblige Caesar as well as himself by so doing,' see on Ep. 681. 3. Lepidus was master of the horse at this time, and carried on the government with eight prefects.

tibi fortasse aliquid Oppius, quoniam Balbus est aeger. Sed tamen malui venire frustra quam desiderari, si opus esset: moleste ferrem postea. Itaque hodie Anti: cras ante meridiem domi. Tu velim, nisi te impedivisti, apud nos pridie Kal. cum Pilia. 2. Te spero cum Publilio confecisse. Equidem Kal. in Tusculanum recurram. Me enim absente omnia cum illis transigi malo. Q. fratris epistulam ad te misi, non satis humane illam quidem respondentem meis litteris, sed tamen quod tibi satis sit, ut equidem existimo. Tu videbis.

## 655. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 19).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Tironi scribit de mittendis libris, de Demetrio, de Aufidiano nomine.

TULLIUS TIRONI SUO SAL.

Exspecto tuas litteras de multis rebus, te ipsum multo magis. Demetrium redde nostrum et aliud, si quid potest boni. De Aufidiano nomine nihil te hortor; scio tibi curae esse. Sed confice. Et, si ob eam rem moraris, accipio causam; si id te non tenet, advola. Litteras tuas valde exspecto. Vale.

*aeger*] Balbus suffered from gout in the feet: cp. 648. 2.

*moleste ferrem*] Boot (ed. 2) and Wes. (E. A. p. 134) propose to read *si opus esset*, <et> *moleste ferre postea*, 'and to be sorry for it afterwards.' As M has *ferre* not *ferrem*, this is not at all improbable.

*domi*] 'at Rome,' as often in the letters.

2. *cum Publilio*] about the restitution of Publilia's dower: cp. 647.

*quod tibi satis sit*] 'enough to satisfy you.' We do not know what this letter of Quintus was about. Perhaps it had reference to his domestic troubles: cp. 658; 661; 681.

*Demetrium redde nostrum*] 'get me back the friendship of Demetrius, and anything else good you can.' *Redde* is used playfully in a double sense—(1) 'make again,' cp. Fam. vii. 32. 3 (229), *Dolabellam . . . redde plane meum*; (2) 'send me as in duty bound.' Cicero appears to have treated Demetrius somewhat cavalierly, and the latter took offence. Most probably Cicero did not 'get out of the escort' of Demetrius so very 'cleverly' as he thought: cp. 653. 2.

*Aufidiano*] Aufidius is conjectured to have been a citizen of Tusculum, who owed Cicero some money.

## 656. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 48).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 2; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Attici adventu in Tusculanum expectato, de Leptae hereditate, de laudatione Porciae a se correctae, de M. Varronis et Lollii laudationibus ad se mittendis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Heri nescio quid in strepitu videor exaudisse, cum diceres te in Tusculanum venturum: quod utinam! iterum utinam! tuo tamen commodo. Lepta me rogat ut, si quid sibi opus sit, accurram. Mortuus enim Babullius. Caesar, opinor, ex uncia, etsi nihil adhuc; sed Lepta ex triente. Veretur autem ne non liceat tenere hereditatem, ἀλόγως omnino, sed veretur tamen. Is igitur si accierit, accurram: si minus, neutiquam necesse erit. 2. Tu Pollicem, cum poteris. Laudationem Porciae tibi misi correctam: eo properavi ut, si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur,

1. *in strepitu*] 'I fancy I heard you say yesterday in the noise and bustle of the city that you would come to Tusculum.' We may suppose with Boot that Cicero had seen Atticus in Rome on August 1, and had then returned to Tusculanum, from which he writes both this and the next letter on the same day. Cicero would not have used the words *in strepitu* to convey the meaning which Schütz sees in them *in strepitu aliorum negotiorum multisque interpellantibus*.

*cum diceret*] Dr. Reid (*Hermathena* 355) wishes to read *quasi* for *cum*: the latter word would only be applicable if there was no doubt as to what was said. This may be right. If we adopt this suggestion, the corruption might be more easily accounted for if we read *quasi con-diceret*, the regular word for making an appointment: cp. Fam. i. 9. 20 (153). But perhaps the mss. reading *cum* may stand, as the uncertainty is sufficiently expressed by *videor*. For *in strepitu* he compares ad Brut. ii. 4. 1 (840) *hoc vaullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinae alutationis*.

*Lepta*] Babullius had left (as Cicero has heard) one-third of his property to Lepta, and one-twelfth to Caesar. Lepta, who seems to have been a timid and

suspicious man, feared that the dispositions of the deceased would not be carried out. For Lepta cp. 648 init.

*etsi nihil adhuc*] sc. *certe scimus*, or some such words; the ellipse is not too harsh for the letters: cp. Fam. ix. 2. 5 (461); xii. 23. 4 (792); 24. 2 (817), for ellipse of a verb of knowing. Perhaps, however, the ellipse is only of *sit*: cp. 652. 2.

ἀλόγως] 'sans cause'; Cicero knew the character of Caesar too well to suspect him of rapacity.

*neutiquam*] This is the conjecture of Stürenburg for *antequam*. This is better than to insert *non* before *antequam* with Müller. 'I will not come until it is necessary.' For *neutiquam*, cp. Att. vi. 9. 3 (282).

2. *cum poteris*] sc. *mitte*. Schütz has 'sc. *mittendum*,' which is probably a misprint for 'sc. *mittendum*.'

*Porciae*] sister of Cato of Utica. She married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who opposed Caesar at Corfinium, and perished at Pharsalia. Her son was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cp. vol. iv. p. lx).

*tibi misi correctam*] This is not inconsistent with our explanation of *isto modo* in the next Ep., which see. The corrections were probably those suggested by Atticus.

haec mitteretur. Id si tibi erit commodum, magno opere cures velim, et velim M. Varronis et Olli mittas laudationem, Olli utique. Nam illam legi, volo tamen regustare. Quaedam enim vix mihi credo legisse me.

### 657. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 37).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 2; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De negotiis suis, de Quinto puero, de laudatione Porciae, de rebus urbanis, de Balbo et Offilio.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Has alteras hodie litteras. De Xenonis nomine et de Epiroticis xxxx nihil potest fieri nec commodius nec aptius quam ut scribis. Id erat locutus mecum eodem modo Balbus minor.  
2. Nihil novi sane, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse, omnibus eum locis furere maximeque in conviviis, commulcare me, tum redire ad patrem, nihil autem ab eo tam

*M. Varronis et Olli*] who had also written *éloges* on Porcia. We do not know who Ollius was. Boot conjectures *Oppi*, as Oppius was something of an author (Plut. Pomp. 10, Caes. 17): but it is unlikely that Oppius would write a panegyric on the widow and sister of such decided anti-Caesarians as Domitius and Cato.

*regustare*] used figuratively as in 627. 2: Att. iv. 19. 1 (158) *ille Latinus ἀττικισμὸς ex intervallo regustandus*.

*vix mihi credo legisse*] 'I can scarcely believe I have read,' either because he does not remember these passages of which he has heard from other sources, or because some passages in it were so bad.

1. *Has alteras*] 'this is the second letter I am writing you to-day.' sc. *misi* cp. 656. 2.

*Xenonis nomine*] This was a debt due to Atticus; and it is inferred from 721. 4, that Atticus had proposed to make over this, and the further sum of 40,000 sesterces due to him in Epirus, for the maintenance of young Cicero in Athens, he (Atticus) to be reimbursed in Rome.

For Balbus minor see Index and introd. note to Fam. x. 33 (896).

2. *Quinto*] Quintus junior, who was assailing the character of his uncle.

*furere*] This is the reading of F, and gives excellent sense. M has *facere*, which can only be retained by adding some word like *convicia*.

*commulcare me*] 'belabours me,' 'trounces me.' The mss have *cum multa de me*. This is very flat, especially *cum* and *tum*, 'that he both says much about me and then reverts to his father.' Dr. Reid (*Hermathena* 353) would 'put a semicolon at *conviviis* removing *cum*, which seems to have arisen from an untimely reminiscence on the part of some scribe of the construction *cum . . tum*.' This we feel to be improbable, and have ventured on an emendation which is, however, very close to the mss. (*t* for *c*, and *d* for *r*, both common errors). We think the probability is very great that in Att. i. 14. 5 (20) (where see note), we should read *commulcium* [so Z: *commulticium* M] *Pisoni consuli mirificum facit, si id est commulcium* [commultium Z M] *vox plena gravitatis*, 'gives the consul Piso a wondrous belabouring (or 'trouncing');

ἀξιοπύτως dici quam alienissimos nos esse a Caesare, fidem nobis habendam non esse, me vero etiam cavendum—φοβερὸν ἂν ἦν, nisi viderem scire regem me animi nihil habere—Ciceronem vero meum vexari. Sed id quidem arbitrato suo. 3. Laudationem Porciae gaudeo me ante dedisse Leptae tabellario quam tuas acceperim litteras. Eam tu igitur, si me amas, curabis, si modo mittetur, isto modo mittendam Domitio et Bruto. 4. De gladiatoribus, de ceteris quae scribis ἀνεμοφόρητα facies me cotidie certiorē. Velim, si tibi videtur, appelles Balbum et Offilium. De auctione proscribenda equidem locutus sum cum Balbo. Placebat—puto conscripta habere Offilium omnia, habet et Balbus—sed Balbo placebat propinquum diem et Romae: si Caesar moraretur, posse diem differri. Sed is quidem adesse videtur. Totum igitur considera. Placet enim Vestorio.

and that the verb is used in just the same sense here of a verbal attack. For the word used in its literal sense, cp. Puleius, Met. viii. 28, *arrepto denique agro . . . indidem sese multinodis comulcat ictibus*.

ἀξιοπύτως] ‘*vraisemblablement*.’  
φοβερὸν ἂν ἦν] ‘this would be appalling, were I not aware that the king knows I have no fight in me.’ This seems to be the first place where Cicero actually calls Caesar ‘the king?’ cp. note 648. 2.

Ciceronem . . . suo] ‘Quintus adds that my son is being oppressed by me. Let him say that as much as he pleases.’  
3. *Laudationem Porciae*] cp. note to 6. 2.

isto modo] ‘in your form,’ that is, the age, if sent, is to be forwarded with the corrections and suggestions of Atticus embodied in it. Such seems to be the force of *isto*. Manutius gives quite the opposite meaning, *ut est a me scripta, missa quam tu adhiberi velles correctione*. But, as we learn from the foregoing letter, Cicero had himself even entered the corrections of Atticus in the copy which he sent to Atticus. He now desires that the copies sent to Brutus and Domitius shall be *isto modo*, ‘with your suggestions entered.’

4. *de ceteris quae scribis ἀνεμοφόρητα*] ‘and the other floating rumours you write of.’ This kind of attraction is very rare: cp. Att. i. 18. 8 (24), *ex iis quae ipsissimus tanta*, where see note. Dr.

Reid disbelieves in this attraction altogether, and would read *ut scribis* here; and *antea* for *tanta* in Ep. 24. Possibly *scribis* may mean ‘call in your letter,’ as Shuckburgh translates, ‘call in your letter “airy nothings”’; but we know of no exact parallel.

*De auctione proscribenda*] Cicero, Hordeonius, and others had been named as co-heirs in the will of the deceased Cluvius of Puteoli. This affair is alluded to in 662. 3, but the first mention of Cluvius by name is in 663. 3. The co-heirs had agreed to turn the estate into money, and share it between them. Balbus was managing the transaction for Caesar, who was one of the co-heirs. Offilius, probably one of the co-heirs, had an inventory of all the assets, and so had Balbus, who was in favour of an early day for the sale at Rome (not at Puteoli), immediately after Caesar’s return, which would be very soon. If Caesar made any delay in returning, the auction could be postponed from day to day. We have punctuated in such a way as to account for the *sed* (which is resumptive after the parenthesis). The editors seem to have overlooked the *sed*. But the passage is somewhat doubtful.

*diem*] So Zz, see Adn. Crit. O<sup>2</sup>M has in *diem diem* which may have arisen from the familiar *in diem* having been written by some scribe over *diem*. For *in diem* = ‘for a future time,’ cp. Cael. 59: *Pelit. Cons.* 48; *Plaut. Mil.* 861; *Liv. ix. 9. 19, an deditio in diem*

## 658. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 38).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 4; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De epistula Q. filii ad se data, dein quaerit ex Attico utrum sibi suadeat in Tusculano maneat an Asturae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicurios, de eodem oleo et opera exaravi nescio quid ad te et ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum somno repetito simul cum sole experrectus essem, datur mi epistula a sororis tuae filio, quam ipsam tibi misi, cuius est principium non sine maxima contumelia. Sed fortasse οὐκ ἐπέστησεν. Est autem sic: 'Ego enim quidquid non belle in te dici potest. . . .' Posse vult in me multa dici non belle, sed ea se negat approbare. Hoc quidquam pote impurius? Iam cetera leges—misi enim ad te—iudicabisque. Bruti nostri cotidianis adsiduisque laudibus, quas ab eo de nobis haberi permulti mihi renuntiaverunt, commotum istum aliquando scripsisse aliquid ad me credo et ad te, idque ut sciam facies; nam ad patrem de me quid scripserit nescio: de matre quam pie! 'Volueram' inquit 'ut quam plurimum tecum

*differatur*: so that were it not that Z and Σ omit *in*, we should adopt *in diem*, holding that the second *diem* in M arose from dittography. See Lehmann, 'Att.', 183. Müller reads *in diem ex die*; cp. ad Brut. ii. 1. 1 (836) and note there.

1. *contra Epicurios*] Either in the first book of the *De Natura Deorum*; or, as Manutius says, *Tusculana secunda*. Both these works seem to have been published in the autumn of 45.

*de eodem oleo et opera*] 'by the same lamp and at the same sitting.' Cicero must have been writing about 2 a.m. He often worked in the night, cp. 668 fin., also 591. 2.

*nescio quid*] This letter has probably been lost. It seems to be alluded to in 659 fin.

οὐκ ἐπέστησεν] 'he did not stop to think'; he wrote without thinking what he was saying; ἐπέστησεν, sc. τὴν γνώμην: for the absolute use of the word cp. LS. s. v. ἐφίστημι A. vi.

*Est autem sic*] 'It runs thus: for I of all the unhandsome things that can be said of you. So his meaning is, that many unhandsome things may be said of me, but he does not endorse them. Could anything be more scandalous (odious, offensive) than this?' The editors obelise *enim*, but it is quite right. The words were not necessarily the first words of the letter, though they are quoted from its beginning (*principium*). To insert *non probo* after the words at which Cicero chooses to end his quotation from the letter is 'from the purpose' of criticism. *Impurius* has the idea of a thing being offensive, like *μαρόν*. For the colloquial *pote* cp. Brut. 172. Possibly it should be read in Att. iv. 13. 1 (130), where see Adn. Crit.

*idque ut sciam facies*] Cicero asks Atticus to let him know whether young Quintus has written to him (Atticus), as well as to himself (Cicero), under the influence of Brutus' handsome language about both of them.

'Volueram . . . scis'] These are the



essem, conduci mihi domum, et id ad te scripseram: neglexisti. Ita minus multum una erimus. Nam ego istam domum videre non possum: qua de causa scis.' Hanc autem causam pater odium matris esse dicebat. 2. Nunc me iuva, mi Attice, consilio, *πότερον δίκᾳ τεῖχος ὕψιον*, id est, utrum aperte hominem asperner et respuam, ἢ *σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις*. Ut enim Pindaro, sic *δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν*. Omnino moribus meis illud aptius, sed hoc fortasse temporibus. Tu autem, quod ipse tibi suaseris, idem mihi persuasum putato. Equidem vereor maxime ne in Tusculano opprimar. In turba haec essent faciliora. Utrum igitur Asturam? Quid, si Caesar subito? Iuva me, quaeso, consilio. Utar eo quod tu decreveris.

words of Quintus junior in a letter to his father. Quintus senior had communicated them to his brother, and explained what the *causa* was, viz. hatred felt towards his mother. He afterwards became friendly with her (713. 4); cp. 659. 1.

2. *πότερον δίκᾳ*] The full passage from Pindar is quoted by Maximus Tyrius xii [xviii] init., p. 145, ed. Hobein, *πότερον δίκᾳ* (codd. *δίκᾳ*) *τεῖχος ὕψιον | ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνει | ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνθρώπων, | δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν*: cp. Bergk, p. 451 f. It declares that the poet does not know which is the surer road to success, to try to climb the lofty heights (*edita templa* in the words of Lucretius) of achievement by honesty and straightforwardness, or by the crooked paths of deceit and time-serving. Plato, in the Republic (ii. 365 B), uses the words of Pindar to illustrate the question which he there raises, *ποῖός τις ἂν ὦν καὶ πῇ τορευθεῖς τὸν βίον ὥς ἄριστα διέλθοι*. Cicero explains that the question here is whether he should display openly or conceal his resentment against Quintus, adding, 'the former is more conformable

to my taste, the latter to my circumstances.'

*asperner et respuam*] 'scorn and spurn.'

*opprimar*] sc. *a Quinto*.

*In turba*] 'in the tumult of city life the meeting would be more endurable': cp. *in strepitu*, in Ep. 656. 1. Could *turba* be a copyist's error for *urbe*? cp. Adn. Crit. to Att. v. 10. 5 (198).

*Asturam*] We here make the slight change of *Asturam* for *Asturæ* with Wesenberg and Boot. Cp. 647, where M reads *Adsture*. The latter would mean, 'shall I then arrange (to meet Quintus) at Astura?' But that would be even worse than Tusculanum, as being further from Rome. But 'shall I then fly to Astura?' is quite suitable. Quintus is less likely to surprise him there than in Tusculanum. But a doubt arises—'What if Caesar should suddenly arrive in Rome?' (cp. 664. 2). Would it not then be more convenient to be in Tusculanum than in the more distant Astura? He ends with 'Pray give me your advice. Whatever you decide, I will acquiesce in it.'

## 659. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 39).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 5; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Quinto filio, de Bruto, de libris sibi mittendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O incredibilem vanitatem! ad patrem domo sibi carendum propter matrem: *ad matrem* plenam pietatis! Hic autem iam languescit et ait sibi illum iure iratum. 2. Sed utor tuo consilio. Σκολιὰ enim tibi video placere. Romam, ut censes, veniam, sed invitus: valde enim in scribendo haereo. Brutum, inquis, eadem. Scilicet. Sed nisi hoc esset, res me ista non cogeret. Nec enim inde venit unde mallet, neque diu afuit, neque ullam litteram ad me. Sed tamen scire aveo qualis ei totius itineris summa fuerit. Libros mihi, de quibus ad te antea scripsi, velim mittas et maxime Φαίδρου περὶ θεῶν et †ΠΑΛΛΙΔΟΣ.

1. *vanitatem*] 'hypocrisy,' 'duplicity' (Shuckburgh). The word seldom bears such a condemnatory sense; it is generally merely 'inconsistency, frivolity.'

*domo sibi carendum*] 'that he is compelled to remain away from his home' cp. note to 517.

*ad matrem*] a necessary addition. The words were omitted *ex homoeoteleuto*. For *epistulam* omitted, cp. note to 737. 1.

*Hic autem*] 'yet Quintus (the father) is losing his vigour, and says that his son has reason to be angry with him.'

2. Σκολιὰ] the dissembling of his resentment; 'by - paths and indirect crooked ways,' as Shakespeare says, 2 Hen. IV. Act iv, 5, 185.

*in scribendo haereo*] 'I cling to my writing.' The word would naturally mean, 'I come to a difficulty'; but it bears the present sense in the next letter (660. 2) *in libris haereo*.

*eadem*] This is the abl. fem.; either *via* or *opera* is understood; probably *opera*, for which see Tyrrell's note on Plaut. Mil. 303. Supply *videre poteris*.

*hoc*] the desire to avoid meeting Quintus out of Rome.

*res . . ista*] the fact that he would meet Brutus in Rome.

*inde venit unde*] 'he does not come from the place I should like him to come from,' the camp of Caesar's enemies, not from that of Caesar.

*ullam litteram*] sc. *misit*: for the ellipse cp. 581. 1.

Φαίδρου περὶ θεῶν] There is satisfactory evidence for a work *De Natura Deorum* in Greek by the Epicurean Phaedrus. But for a special work by him on Pallas, or any other individual deity, there is none. It seems safer, then, to give the reading of the mss obelised than to print *περὶ Παλλάδος* (cp. N. D. i. 41), where we hear that Diogenes of Seleucia wrote a book on Pallas; or, as Hirzel suggested, *Ἀπολλοδώρου*. Gurlitt (*Philologus*, 1898, p. 398 ff.) suggests *παντός*, 'on the Universe.' He notices that Ocellus Lucanus, and Hippolytus wrote treatises *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, and holds that Phaedrus may have done the same. Cicero may have wanted it not only for the *De Nat. Deorum*, but also for his *Timaeus*, which is sometimes called *De Universo*.

## 660. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 40).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 7 OR 8; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De nuntio Bruti, quaerit ab Attico utrum sibi advolandum putet an manendum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Itane nuntiat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros? Εὐαγγέλια. Sed ubi eos? Nisi forte se suspendit. Hic autem? Tu 'futilum est.' Ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum, quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam et Brutum? Sed quid faciat? Illud optime, 'sed ne is quidem, qui omnium flagitiorum auctor, bene de nostro.' At ego verebar ne etiam Brutus eum diligeret. Ita enim significarat iis litteris, quas ad me, 'At vellem aliquid degustasses de fabulis.' Sed coram, ut scribis. 2. Etsi quid mihi auctor es? Advolone

1. *Hic autem? Tu 'futilum est.'* The mss give *Hic autem ut fultum est*. We have adopted the conjecture of Schmidt, *futilum*, for the corrupt *fultum*, which is far better for many reasons than to read *stultum*, or to endeavour to elicit some meaning out of *fultum*. Cicero may have had in his mind, as Schmidt suggests, the Ennian verse, 266 (Ribb.), *saeviter suspicionem ferre falsam futilumst*. A rare word like *futilum* would be certain to be corrupted into a common one like *fultum*. The rest of the explanation of Schmidt we cannot quite follow; but by another slight change, that of *tu* for *ut* (a common error in mss), we are able to give a connected train of thought to the passage: 'So Brutus announces the conversion of Caesar to the cause of the good men and true (that of the Optimates). *Noël, Noël!* But where will he find them? Unless, indeed, he hangs himself (and goes to join them in the other world). But what is Brutus himself going to do? [Is he going to take measures to resist the tyranny of Caesar, and restore the Republic?] You say "it is idle to expect it." Where then do you leave that *chef d'œuvre* of yours, the family-tree (cp. Nepos, Att. 18. 3), which exhibits the ancestors of Brutus as far back as Ahala the tyrannicide, and Brutus the first consul, and which I have seen in the room which Brutus calls his Parthenon? [that is, do you not at all take into account the effect of family tradition on Brutus?] But, after all, what could he

do?' For examples of Greek names applied to portions of villas, cp. Cicero's *Academia*, Att. i. 4, 3 (9); *Lyceum*, De Div. i. 8; and perhaps *Eurotas*, applied to a river in the estate of Brutus, 742. 1. The connexion of the plebeian Bruti with the patrician Brutus, the first consul, is doubtful.

The multiplicity of honours which Caesar received on his return from Spain cannot have inspired the optimism of Brutus. It must have arisen from personal conversation with him. Note the attraction of *Ahalam et Brutum* into the case of the relative *quod*, with which they are in apposition.

*Illud optime* 'I was delighted to read not even he who has the responsibility for the whole bad business [Hirtius, who introduced young Quintus to Caesar, cp. Att. x, 4. 11 (382): or it may, perhaps, be Caesar himself who encouraged young Quintus] has a good word to say of him. I was afraid that even Brutus was fond of him. Such was the implication of a passage in a letter of his to me: *I wish you had had a taste of his talks with me*' [or it may be of 'some of his stories']. Young Quintus seems to have been agreeable to talk to: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 5. 2 (106).

2. *quid mihi auctor es* Here, according to the usage of the Comic stage, the compound expression *auctor es* is treated as a transitive verb, and governs *quid*: cp. *ut sitis hanc rem gnarures = ut hanc rem cognoscatis*, Plaut. Most. 100.

*Advolone* 'am I off to Rome, or do

an maneo? Equidem et in libris haereo et illum hic excipere nolo, ad quem, ut audio, pater hodie ad Saxa *summa* acrimonia. Mirum quam inimicus ibat, ut ego obiurgarem. Sed ego ipse κέκέφωμαι. Itaque posthac. Tu tamen vide quid de adventu meo censeas, et τὰ ἅλα eras, si perspici potuerint, mane statim ut sciam.

# 661. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 41).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 8 OR 9; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Quinto et patre et filio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego vero Quinto epistulam ad sororem misi. Cum ille quereretur filio cum matre bellum *esse*, et se ob eam causam domo

I stay here?' The indicative is more vivid than the subjunctive: cp. Palmer on Plaut. Amph. Prol. 56.

*in libris haereo*] cp. 659. 2.

*illum hic . . . nolo*] cp. 658. 2.

*Saxa*] Some mss give *Saxa Aerunoma* or *Acrunoma*, unheard-of (if not impossible) designations. Now the *Saxa Rubra* on the Flaminian road, about nine miles from Rome, are well known, and mentioned in ancient itineraries. Schmidt accepts the *acrimonia* of M, and inserts *summa*, which might have fallen out after *saxa*—‘I hear Quintus has gone in a towering passion as far as the Saxa Rubra, to meet his son. He was amazingly exasperated, so that I had to reprove him for it.’ The word *acrimonia* is peculiarly suitable to the anger of a father against his son, as Schmidt shows by quoting *qua re si patris vim et acrimoniam ceperis ad resistendum hominibus audacissimis*, 1 Verr. i. 52.

κέκέφωμαι] ‘I have been a perfect feather-head’; that is, ‘I have been easily influenced in this direction or that.’ The verb is derived from κέφω, a kind of bird which gave a *sobriquet* to persons easily influenced, and wanting stability of character, τοὺς ἐλαφροὺς φρεσίν (Suid.); τοὺς ἀλογίστοις καὶ ἀνοήτοις (Schol. ad Ar. Plut. 913); τοὺς ὀξέως ἐλκυνομένους (Hesych.), which last explanation exactly suits the present passage. Cicero means ‘I have little right to reproach Quintus for sudden changes of feeling, and for now being so furious with his son, though

a short time ago he was disposed to make excuses for him [as we read in the last letter], I who was myself such a weather-cock in the changes of my designs and sentiments.’

*Itaque posthac*] It is not easy to decide what words should be supplied here, but probably Cicero means that in future he will adopt a demeanour towards both his brother and nephew which will be less variable, ‘So in future (I will be different).’ Or it might be regarded as an aposiopesis. *Itaque posthac*—‘Well, if ever (I do the like again).’

τὰ ἅλα . . . sciam] sc. fac: ‘let me know the ins and outs of the matter, if anything can be divined, by a letter the first thing in the morning.’

1. *Ego vero*] ‘Yes, I did send to Quintus your letter to your sister’ (Pomponia, the wife of Quintus).

*bellum*] For this word applied to domestic quarrels, cp. Att. ii. 1, 5 (27), *ea seditiosa, ea cum viro bellum gerit*, probably taken from a Comic poet: see note there. *Seditio* means what we should call ‘a cat-and-dog life,’ as in Ter. Andr. 830, *filiam darem in seditionem atque in incertas nuptias*.

*domo cessurum filio*] We are not sure that this is right. It ought to mean that he would give up his house to his son. But what good would that be if son and mother were on bad terms with one another? Perhaps we should read *de domo* ‘would give way to his son in the

cessurum filio diceret, dixi illum commodas ad matrem litteras, ad te nullas. Ille alterum mirabatur, de te autem suam culpam, quod saepe graviter ad filium scripsisset de tua in illum iniuria. 2. Quod autem relanguisse se dicit, ego ei tuis litteris lectis *σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις* significavi me non fore. . . . Tum enim mentio Canae. Omnino, si id consilium placeret, esset necesse. Sed, ut scribis, ratio est habenda gravitatis, et utriusque nostrum idem consilium esse debet, etsi in me graviore iniuria et certe notiores. Si vero etiam Brutus aliquid adferet, nulla dubitatio est. Sed coram: magna enim res et multae cautionis. Cras igitur, nisi quid a te commeatus.

## 662. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 45).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 11; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Lamiae ad se adventu et quid ille de adventu Caesaris aliisque rebus sibi nuntiaverit, de Dolabella, de Vestorio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Fuit apud me Lamia post discessum tuum epistulamque ad me attulit missam sibi a Caesare, quae quamquam ante data erat

matter of the house.' Young Quintus wanted his father to hire a house for him: cp. 658. 1.

*commodas*] 'I mentioned to him that he (young Quintus) had sent a conciliatory letter to his mother, and had not written to you at all (cp. 659, 1). He expressed surprise at the former, but (said) that for his conduct to you he was himself responsible, as he had often written strongly to his son about your unfairness to him.'

2. *relanguisse*] cp. 659. 2 *hic autem iam languescit*.

*ego ei . . . non fore*] 'I, acting on the principle (cp. 658. 2) of the *crooked paths* (dat. of manner, like *δὲλαφ*, &c.), told him that I would [bear no malice against his son]. For then we went on to speak of Cana. If that project were approved of, it would be quite necessary to make it up with young Quintus. We should, however, as you say, take account of our dignity, and we should both pursue the same policy, though the wrongs done to me were greater, and certainly more public.' There were some negotiations for a marriage between young Quintus and the

daughter of Q. Gellius Canus. Gellius Canus was a friend of Atticus, and was saved by his influence at the time of the proscriptions (Nepos, Att. 10. 2-4): cp. 607 fin.; 753. 2. Some word like *iratum*, or *timendum*, or perhaps some Greek word like *ἀτεγκτον*, must have fallen out before *tum*.

*aliquid adferet*] Some reason for pardoning Quintus junior.

*commeatus*] sc. est, 'To-morrow then, unless I get some furlough from you': cp. 662. 1 *dies feriarum mihi additos video*. Schmidt thinks that *vesperi* (written briefly *ves*.) lies hidden under the two last letters of *commeatus*, the reading of the ms, and reads *commeat vesperi*. For the word *commeat*, as applied to the interchange of letters, see Att. viii. 9. 3 (340). But there we have reference to *frequent* letters (*crebro*). A single letter, as Müller says, cannot be said *commeare*. Gurlitt suggests *commutatur*, 'you make some change.'

1. *Lamia*] L. Aelius Lamia, a friend of Cicero's: cp. Att. xi. 7. 2 (420).

*post discessum tuum*] Att. had just

quam illae Diocharinae, tamen plane declarabat illum ante ludos Romanos esse venturum. In qua extrema scriptum erat, ut ad ludos omnia pararet neve committeret ut frustra ipse properasset. Prorsus ex his litteris non videbatur esse dubium quin ante eam diem venturus esset itemque Balbo, cum eam epistulam legisset, videri Lamia dicebat. Dies feriarum mihi additos video, sed quam multos fac, si me amas, sciam. De Baebio poteris et de altero vicino Egnatio. 2. Quod me hortaris ut eos dies consumam in philosophia explicanda, currentem tu quidem, sed cum Dolabella vivendum esse istis diebus vides. Quod nisi me Torquati causa teneret, satis erat dierum ut Puteolos excurrere possem et ad tempus redire. 3. Lamia quidem a Balbo, ut videbatur, audiverat multos nummos domi esse numeratos, quos oporteret quam primum dividi, magnum pondus argenti: auctionem praeter praedia primo quoque tempore fieri oportere. Scribas ad me velim quid tibi placeat. Equidem, si ex omnibus esset eligendum, nec diligentiores nec officiosiores nec mehercule nostri studiosiores facile delegissem Vestorio, ad quem accuratissimas litteras dedi, quod idem te fecisse arbitror. Mihi quidem hoc satis videtur. Tu quid dicis? Unum enim pungit, ne negligentiores esse videamur. Expectabo igitur tuas litteras.

paid a short visit to Cicero, as he did on May 18 (Ep. 596) and June 8 (Ep. 618).

*Diocharinae*] 'brought by Diochares': cp. Att. xi. 6. 7 (418).

*ludos Romanos*] held Sept. 15-19.

*Dies feriarum*] 'I see that my holidays will last longer than I thought. How much longer, will you please let me know? You can find out from Baebius and your other neighbour Egnatius.' His holidays were lengthened by the postponement of the sale.

*De Baebio poteris*] sc. scire, cp. 656. 1. For Egnatius cp. 647. 1. We hear of a Baebius in Att. ix. 14. 2 (372), *homo non infans*.

2. *currentem tu quidem*] sc. hortaris. For *currentem* cp. Att. vi. 7. 1 (270).

*Torquati causa*] Torquatus desired that Cicero should use his influence with Dolabella to procure for him a pardon from Caesar: cp. 623. 1; 652. 2: also 575.

*Puteolos*] For the purpose of formally entering on his share of the property of

the deceased Cluvius of Puteoli, of whom he was a co-heir with Caesar.

3. *domi*] at the house of Cluvius in Puteoli.

*praeter praedia*] 'except the farmstead.' The *praedia* and *horti* were not to be included in the sale, so that Caesar (suggests Manutius) might be able to make gifts of some, or all of them, to favoured followers. Malaspina transposes these words to go with the preceding clause *pondus argenti praeter praedia; auctionem primo quoque tempore*.

*nec mehercule nostri studiosiores*] These words are in Cratander's edition, also in Z according to Bosius (except that he does not give *mehercule*): cp. Lehmann 'Att.' 124. They are omitted in ΣΔ. There is the reason of *homoeoteleuton* to explain their loss in the Italian archetype of ΣΔ: we can assign no reason for their interpolation. Cicero perhaps did not think very much of the culture of Vestorius, Att. iv. 19, 1 (158), but he valued his business qualities, 715 fin., cp. 712. 1; Att. vi. 2. 3 (256).

## 663. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 46).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 12; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Pollice, qui sibi Lanuvii praesto fuerit, de Balbo convento, de cretione Cluvii, de hortis Cluvianis, de Vestorio subaccusando, de Cossinio, de Quinto fratre, de Vestorio accusatione liberando.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Pollex quidem, ut dixerat ad Idus Sextilis, ita mihi Lanuvi pridie Idus praesto fuit, sed plane pollex, non index. Cognosces igitur ex ipso. 2. Balbum conveni—Lepta enim de sua tvi incuratione laborans me ad eum perduxerat—in eo autem Lanuvino, quod Lepido tradidit. Ex eo haec primum: ‘Paullo ante acceperam eas litteras, in quibus magno opere confirmat, ante ludos Romanos.’ Legi epistulam: multa de meo ‘Catone,’ quo saepissime legendo se dicit copiosiores factum, Bruti ‘Catone’ lecto se sibi visum disertum. 3. Tum ex eo cognovi cretionem Cluvi—o

1. *pollex, non index*] One of those plays on names which Cicero seems absolutely unable to resist. *Pollex* = ‘thumb,’ *index* = ‘first finger.’ The fact that *Pollex* brought no information, whether it was on the subject of the Cluvian estate, or concerning the fund for the maintenance of young Cicero at Athens, has enabled Cicero to indulge his besetting sin, and say that *Pollex* was no *Index*.

*igitur*] ‘as he has told me nothing, I can’t tell you. Therefore you must get what he has to tell from himself.’

2. *tvi incuratione*] See Adn. Crit. In 648. 2 we read of a *curatio munerum regiorum*, or commissionership for the superintendence of the public entertainments which Caesar was giving to the people on the occasion of his victorious return from Spain, and in which Lepta was interested. *Vini curatio* is read by Wes., and it might mean a contract for supplying the wine, but *vini* rests only on the authority of v. c. and I. and the fictitious Bosian Decurtatus, the other mss. giving *vi in*. Schmidt gives *munerum*, the corrupt *vi in* arising, according to him, from ‘mun. der Abkürzung für *munerum*’; and this is

adopted by the Thesaurus s. v. *curatio*, 1477. 14. But there is no evidence that any such abbreviation was ever in use, nor is it found in 648. 2. Gronovius conjectures *liguritione*, comparing Fam. xi. 21. 5 (893) *cum quidam de collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent*.

*in eo autem Lanuvino*] The force of *autem* seems to be, ‘I had a meeting with Balbus—for Lepta brought me to him—(not at Rome but) at Lanuvium, in the villa he had made over to Lepidus.’

*ex eo haec primum*] sc. *cognovi* or *audivi*: cp. Att. ix. 6. 1 (360) *Nos adhuc Brundisio nihil* and often, see Heidemann, p. 84ff. The *ludi Romani* were held from Sept. 15 to 19.

*de meo ‘Catone’*] This is an interesting criticism of Caesar’s on the respective styles of Cicero and Brutus. The language of Brutus was, as a rule, heavy and cold, cp. 731. 2. On the literature of treatises on Cato written at this time, cp. vol. vi., pp. cii-civ, and note to 665 fin.

3. *Tum*] ‘secondly,’ corresponding to *primum*. It fell out in the archetype after the -tum of *disertum*, as was seen by Gronovius.

*Cluvi . . . cretionem*] The words *Cluvi*

Vestorium neglegentem!—liberam cretionem, testibus praesentibus, sexaginta diebus. Metuebam ne ille arcessendus esset. Nunc

to *cretionem* are omitted in  $\Sigma\Delta$ , but are in  $Z$  according to Bosius (who does not lie wholesale in reference to this manuscript, cp. Lehmann, 'Att.' 107), and are also in Cratander's edition. They are certainly genuine: there is no reason for their interpolation, and they may have been lost *ex homocoteleuto*; cp. 662. 3 for a very similar case in which  $\Sigma\Delta$  have omitted a few words for the same reason. It may be added that, if the words are omitted, it will be difficult to refer *ille* here to Vestorius, as he has not been mentioned before. In 664, written next day, it is quite possible to refer *ille* to Vestorius, as the matter had been treated at some length in this letter, and 664 is a continuation of a matter fresh in the mind of Atticus.

*liberam cretionem*] This whole passage is discussed with his wonted learning and completeness by Mr. Roby in his *Roman Private Law*, i. 396-406; and in what follows we give the outline of his views, and refer professed legal students to his examination of the technical difficulties which seem to be involved in his explanation. *Cretio* is 'the decision,' and is used for the time within which the decision is to be made, and possibly for the written statement of the conditions of *cretio* prescribed by the testator, cp. note to 427. 4, where we take *cretio* in this sense to be understood with *nulla* (Leonhard in Pauly-Wissowa iv. 1709. 4. says *epistula* is to be understood there). The limit of time was the chief reason why a will contained a *cretio*. The legal words are (Gaius ii. 166) *Quod me P. Mevius testamento suo heredem instituit, eam hereditatem adeo cernoque*. The *cretio* might be hedged around with conditions other than the time limit which was essential, e.g. the place, the number of witnesses, the presence of certain persons or other conditions. A *cretio* which was complicated by no such restrictions seems to be referred to as *simplex* in Att. xi. 12. 4 (427), *Galeonis hereditatem crevi: puto enim cretionem simplicem fuisse, quoniam ad me nulla missa est*, where see note: and is called *libera* here, though the term does not seem to be a technical one. Mr. Roby compares such expressions as *libera legatio* and what Gaius says in this connexion (ii.

167) *qui sine cretione heres institutus est, . . . ei liberum est, quocumque tempore voluerit adire hereditatem*. Cic. may have used an untechnical expression in a letter.

*Metuebam ne ille*] 'I feared that I should have to send for Vestorius [to acquaint myself with the details of the legacy, before running over for a hasty visit to Puteoli, to accept the inheritance in person]. Now it is only necessary to send a message directing him to take the inheritance at my order. This same Pollex, then, is the man' (sc. to take the message to Vestorius, cp. 664. 2 *idem Pollex remittendus est ut ille cernat*). Vestorius was the person who would at Cicero's order (*meo iussu*) accept the inheritance. He would act merely as an agent; and probably at a specified place and time, and in the presence of witnesses, would produce and read Cicero's letter authorizing him to act on his behalf; and, in accordance with this *scrupulosa sollemnitas* (cp. note to 427. 4) attaching to the declaration of *cretio*, would say some such words as *Quod Cluvius testamento suo M. Tullium Ciceronem heredem instituit, eam hereditatem iussu eiusdem M. Tulli, nomine eius, adeo cernoque* (Roby, p. 404). Vestorius, a mere agent, fulfilling definite orders (*procurator alienae possessioni praestat ministerium*, Dig. xli. 2. 18 pr.), would be little more than a messenger: and we learn incidentally from the Digest (xxxvi. 1, 67. 3) that acceptance by a messenger was possible (*hereditatem adire, quomodo absentes per nuntium*). In our former edition we supposed that Pollex accepted the inheritance; and as a slave of Cicero's the ownership of the property would at once have reverted to Cicero (cp. for such a case 667. 2): but then we should have either read *cernatur* 'a message must be sent authorizing a declaration at my order,' or have removed the stop after *cernat*, which would put *igitur* in an awkward position: and *ille* cannot refer to Pollex in 664. 2, as it is in the final clause. We are quite convinced by Mr. Roby that Vestorius was the person who was to act for Cicero, and Pollex merely the messenger who brought Cicero's order to Vestorius to act for him.



mittendum est ut meo iussu cernat. Idem igitur Pollex. Etiam de hortis Cluvianis egi cum Balbo : nil liberalius : se enim statim ad Caesarem scripturum, Cluvium autem a T. Hordeonio legare et Terentiae HS. 1000. et sepulcro multisque rebus, nihil a nobis. Subaccusa, quaeso, Vestorium. Quid minus probandum quam Plotium unguentarium per suos pueros omnia tanto ante Balbo, illum mi ne per meos quidem? 4. De Cossinio doleo, dilexi hominem. Quinto delegabo si quid aeri meo alieno superabit et emptionibus, ex quibus mi etiam aes alienum faciendum puto. De domo Arpini nil scio.

5. Vestorium nil est quod accuses. Iam enim obsignata hac epistula noctu tabellarius noster venit et ab eo litteras diligenter scriptas attulit et exemplum testamenti.

*a T. Hordeonio legare*] 'He told me that Cluvius lays various charges on the bequest to Hordeonius, 50,000 sesterces for Terentia, the cost of a tomb, *et cetera*, but that my share is unencumbered.' Hordeonius appears to be also mentioned in 772. 1, though there the mss. give *Hortensio*. The Hordeonii were, like the Cluvii, a commercial family of Campania, who did business with the East; see Pauly-Wissowa viii. 2405. *Legare ab aliquo* is 'to bequeath something to be paid by a person': cp. Clu. 33 *legat grandem pecuniam a filio . . . ab secundo herede nihil legat*. Probably the word *solvendum* is to be supplied: cp. Att. vii. 18. 4 (316) *Quintus laborat ut tibi quod debet ab Egnatio solvat*.

*Subaccusa . . . Vestorium*] Cicero complains that Vestorius had not acquainted him with the Cluvian bequest, though he might have employed Cicero's own couriers for the despatch of a letter; while Plotius, a perfumer, had at once communicated the intelligence to Balbus, who was acting for Caesar, though he had to use his own *tabellarii*. He finds afterwards (§ 5) that Vestorius was not negligent.

4. *De Cossinio doleo*] Cicero thought highly of Cossinius: cp. Att. 1. 19. 11 (25).

*Quinto delegabo*] 'I will make over to Quintus anything that remains after the discharge of my debts and the carrying out of my purchases, which latter will, I think, compel me to borrow more money.' Anything in his share of the Cluvian estate over that sum which would pay for the purchases which Cicero was at present meditating—the Scapulan gardens may have still been in contemplation—and the clearing of his own debts, he would make over to Quintus, i.e. authorize the agent of the estate, probably Vestorius, to pay to Quintus. For *delegare* in Roman business, cp. note to 556. 1, where the word is used of a person as object of the delegation, that person to be the creditor or debtor of the person to whom he is delegated. Considering the usual condition of Cicero's finances, and his extravagance in purchasing properties, we cannot think Quintus got much. For *emptio* used in a concrete sense cp. Fam. vii. 23. 2 (126).

*De domo Arpini nihil scio*] It must be confessed that we do not know anything either. It may have been a house Cluvius had at Arpinum.

5. *Vestorium . . . testamenti*] We could not have a better example of a postscript.

## 664. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 47 a).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 13; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De nuntio ab Attico sibi misso et rebus a se Attici iussu confectis, de rationibus sumptuariis suis, de Dolabellae adventu expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Postea quam abs te, Agamemno, non ut venirem—nam id quoque fecissem, nisi Torquatus esset—sed ut scriberem, tetigit auris nuntius, extemplo instituta omisi, ea quae in manibus habebam abieci, quod iusseras edolavi. 2. Tu velim e Pollice cognoscas rationes nostras sumptuarias. Turpe est enim nobis illum, qualiscumque est, hoc primo anno egere. Post moderabimur diligentius. Idem Pollex remittendus est ut ille cernat. Plane Puteolos non fuit eundum cum ob ea quae ad te

1. *Postea quam . . . edolavi*] The words *auris nuntius extemplo instituta*, which are found in C and Z, as reported by Lambinus, are omitted in  $\Sigma\Delta$ : see Lehmann, 'Att.' p. 124. The early editors detected in them *disiecti membra poetae*. Ribbeck (Frag. Trag. p. 237) considers that the words are from a play of Ennius, possibly the Iphigenia (cp. Eur. Iph. Aul. 633). He thinks the quotation extends only to *extemplo*, and prints thus—

Póstquam abs te, Agamemno, út venirem  
tétigit aures núnctius  
'Extemplo—

but thinks *edolavi* (an Ennian word, cp. Varro ap. Nonium, p. 448. 17, *ego unum Libellum non 'edolem,' ut ait Ennius?*) may have been also in the quotation. We rather think that the word in the quotation may have been *evolavi*, for which Cicero by a sort of pun used *edolavi*, which his own context would require. He himself used a similar expression in 604. 2, *e quercu exculpseram*. Varro has a somewhat facetious adaptation of this passage from the Ennian tragedy, whatever it was, as quoted by Nonius 263. 1 *Curriculum cursus*. Varro in *epistula ad Iulium Caesarem*—

Quem simul ac Romam venisse tetigit mi  
auris nuntius  
Extemplo meos in curriculum contuli pro-  
pere pedes.

Addressing Atticus in words spoken to Agamemnon in the play, Cicero says, '*Soon as from thee, Agamemnon, not to come*, for that I should have done unasked were it not for Torquatus [and his desire to secure the good offices of Dolabella with Caesar, cp. note to 662. 2], but to write, the order touched my ears, forthwith I cast aside what I had in hand, and roughly hewed thy counsel into shape.' We agree with Schmidt that the order, or counsel, of Atticus was to abandon his philosophical works, and to devote himself to some composition in honour of Caesar. But we cannot believe, with him (p. 527) that the words in question were added '*ex aperta interpolatione*.'

2. *illum*] Young Marcus Cicero, who was at Athens. The kindly tone of this passage shows that, whatever is the right interpretation of the difficult passage in 637. 3, Cicero can have had no thought of disinheriting him.

*Idem Pollex . . . ut ille cernat*] 'with an order to Vestorius that he should make the declaration': cp. note to 663. 3. As Cicero had mentioned Vestorius as his representative in that letter written the day before, Atticus would have no difficulty in understanding who *ille* was.

*ob ea quae ad te scripsi*] i.e. about Torquatus: cp. § 1 and 662. 2.

scripsi tum quod Caesar adest. Dolabella scribit se ad me postridie Idus. O magistrum molestum!

## 665. CICERO TO M. FADIUS GALLUS (FAM. VII. 24).

TUSCULUM; ABOUT AUGUST 20; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

Exponit Cicero M. Fadio Gallo quam iniuste sibi Tigellius iratus sit.

M. CICERO S. D. M. FADIO GALLO.

1. Amoris quidem tui, quoquo me verti, vestigia, vel proxime de Tigellio; sensi enim ex litteris tuis valde te laborasse: amo igitur voluntatem. Sed pauca de re. Cippius, opinor, olim 'non omnibus dormio': sic ego non omnibus, mi Galle, servio. Etsi quae est haec servitus? Olim, cum regnare existimabamur, non tam ab ullis quam hoc tempore observor a familiarissimis

*Caesar adest*] cp. 658 fin.

*Dolabella . . . molestum*] 'Dolabella writes that he will come to me on the 14th. Oh, what a tiresome taskmaster I shall find him!' The object of the visit of Dolabella was to instruct Cicero in the attitude which he should adopt towards Caesar.

M. Fadius Gallus, who is not to be confounded with the T. Fadius Gallus to whom Fam. vii. 27 (476) is addressed, is frequently recommended by Cicero to many of his friends, and is mentioned in Att. viii. 12, 1 (345) as a close friend of Atticus, as well as of Cicero. He appears to have been anxious that Cicero should not lose the favour of the Sardinian musician Tigellius, who was very influential with Caesar: cp. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 5. *si peteret per amicitiam patris*. See also next letter.

1. *vestigia*] Some verb like *sunt*, or *apparent*, or *vidi*, or *animadverti*, must be understood, but there is no reason why we should introduce it into the text, as many editors do.

*vel*] 'for instance, just now in the case of Tigellius.' For *vel* = 'for instance' (*adrika*) see note on Fam. ii. 13.1 (257); also Ter. Heaut. 540, 806. Brix gives a large number of examples in his note on Plaut. Mil. 25. For Tigellius see Palmer on Hor. Sat. i. 2. 3.

*amo*] 'am delighted with': cp. Fam. ix. 16. 1 (472).

*Cippius*] The story about Cippius was that he was in the habit of pretending to be asleep, lest he should find himself forced to condemn something in the conduct of his wife; but that on one occasion, when a slave, taking advantage of his apparent slumber, was making away with some wine, he suddenly started up with the words, 'I am not asleep to everyone.' The latter part of the story is, however, told not of Cippius but of one Gabba, jester at the court of Augustus (cp. Plutarch Amat. c. 16, p. 760; Juvenal v. 4), who said 'I am only asleep to Maecenas.' So Cicero here says, 'As Cippius declared there are cases in which he would not play the sleeper, so there are cases in which I will not play the slave, and I will not endure the insolence of this Sardinian singer': cp. *doctus spectare lacunar*, said of a husband, Juv. i. 56, and Mayor's note on that passage. The name Cippius is often found in the inscriptions: see Thesaurus.

*regnare*] Cicero often had to bear this reproach during and after his consulship; see for instance Att. i. 16. 10 (22); Sull. 21. 48; Vat. 23. Dr. Reid notices that this is the very reproach Cicero brought against Hortensius in the Div. in Caecil. (§ 24): cp. 1 Verr. 35.

*non tam ab ullis*] sc. *observabar*.

Caesaris omnibus praeter istum: id ego in lucris pono, non ferre hominem pestilentiorum patria sua; eumque addictum iam tum puto esse Calvi Licini Hipponacteo praeconio. 2. At vide quid suscenseat. Phameae causam receperam, ipsius quidem causa; erat enim mihi sane familiaris. Is ad me venit dixitque iudicem sibi operam dare constituisse eo ipso die quo de P. Sestio in consilium iri necesse erat: respondi, nullo modo me facere posse; quem vellet alium diem si sumpsisset, me ei non defuturum. Ille autem, qui sciret se nepotem bellum tibi-cinem habere et sat bonum unctorem, discessit a me, ut mihi

in lucris pono] cp. Ov. Trist. i. 3. 68, in lucro quae datur hora mihi est; also note to Fam. ix. 17. 1 (480). It is a book-keeping term.

id ego . . . praeconio] 'I regard it as a clear gain no longer to have to endure this fellow, who is more pestilent than his pestilential birthplace; one, moreover, who (as I take it) had been even then (i.e. when he slighted me in a marked way) knocked down as a cheap lot by the seazontic hammer of Calvus.' Sardinia was proverbially unhealthy: cp. Strabo, v. 225, νοσερὰ γὰρ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ θέρους καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς εὐκαρποῦσι χωρίοις; Mart. iv. 60. 6, cum mors Venerit in medio Tibure Sardinia est; Tac. Ann. ii. 85. Addicere is the technical term for knocking down a lot at an auction to the highest bidder: cp. Rab. Post. 45, *Equis est ex tanto populo qui bona C. Rabiri Postumi nummo sestertio sibi addici velit? Tua, Postume, nummo sestertio a me addicuntur? O meum miserum acerbumque praeconium!* The setting forth of the qualification of the goods offered for auction was called *praeconium*, and the auctioneer was *praecon*. The allusion here is to the biting seazons which Calvus wrote against Tigellius, of which the first line has been preserved—

*Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit,*  
'For sale Tigellius the Sardinian oaf.'

The meaning is: Any little vestige of character he ever had, he has lost since he became the subject of the lampoon of Calvus. Otto has ingeniously suggested that for the difficult *tum* we should read *totum*. Lambinus, feeling the same difficulty, had read *dudum*. Hipponax was the Greek writer of seazons (fl. 540 B.C.), who lampooned the brothers Bupalis and

Athenio, two sculptors of Chios who had caricatured his ugliness.

2. quid suscenseat] 'what he is angry at': cp. Tusc. i. 99.

Phameae] grandfather of Tigellius: cp. also 606.1.

P. Sestio] accused under the Pompeian law of 53 for *ambitus*. There is no reference to the trial of Sestius *de vi* in 56, at which Cicero delivered his oration *Pro Sestio*. This case was probably tried in the autumn of 52 or spring of 51: for it appears that Phamea died in 49.

in consilium iri] 'the jury had to consider their verdict in the case of P. Sestius'; the jury were said *ire in consilium*, and the president *mittere iudices in consilium*.

sat bonum] *sat* is very frequently used with *bonus*, cp. 713. 1; Plaut. Cure. 242; Rosc. Am. 89; De Orat. iii. 84. The only example of *satis bonus* appears to be Att. ii. 19. 4 (46), and on that account we should probably there alter to *sat bonorum*. Landgraf on Rosc. Am. l. c. quotes, among many other adjectives with which *sat* is used, *sat multa*, Att. vi. 8. 5 (281); *sat futuus*, Fam. vii. 16. 1 (157).

unctorem] This Latin word has not always replaced the Greek *alipites*: cp. Fam. i. 9. 15 (153); Juv. iii. 76; vi. 422. Both words are used with contempt of the Greek gymnastic trainers. The true Romans always looked with disfavour on the introduction of Greek gymnastics: cp. Friedländer, S. G. ii. 6 485 ff. Manutius suggests *cantorem*, which is possibly correct; the alteration may have arisen from anagrammatism: and the fame of Tigellius was in the domain of music.

videbatur, iratior. Habes Sardos venalis, alium alio nequiores; cognosti meam causam et istius salaconis iniquitatem. 'Catonem' tuum mihi mitte; cupio enim legere: me adhuc non legisse turpe utrique nostrum est.

## 666. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 49).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 20; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Attica et Pilia, de Tigellio et de causa Phameae, dein tecte de alio homine significat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Atticae primum salutem, quam equidem ruri esse arbitror—multam igitur salutem—et Piliae. De Tigellio, si quid novi: qui quidem, ut mihi Gallus Fadius scripsit, μέμψιν ἀναφέρει mihi quamdam iniquissimam, me Phameae defuisse, cum eius causam

*Sardos venalis*] After the conquest of Sardinia by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in 177, Sardinian slaves became a drug in the market. They were of a very poor physique, owing no doubt to the unhealthiness of their native climate. The form of the proverb was—

*Sardi venales: alius alio nequior,*

'A job-lot of Sardinians, one worse than the other.'

cp. Aurel. Vict. de viris illustr. 57. 2; Festus, p. 322 (ed. Müller), who quotes Sennius Capito for the interpretation given, but seems to prefer the following:—*Sardi venales alius alio nequior: ex hoc natum proverbium videtur quod ludis Capitolinis qui fiunt a vicinis praetextatis auctio Veientium fieri solet, in qua novissimus idemque deterrimus producitur a pracone senex cum toga praetexta bullaque aurea, quo cultu reges soliti sunt esse Etruscorum qui Sardi appellantur, quia Etrusca gens orta est Sardinibus ex Lydia:* cp. Plut. Rom. 25 fin., κηρύττει δ' ὁ κῆρυξ Σαρδιανοὺς ὄντιους; Quaest. Rom. 277, 22; Dict. Antiq. s. v. LUDI CAPITOLINI.

*salaconis*] 'snob,' 'swaggerer.' Perhaps the word should be printed in Greek letters σαλάκωνος.

*iniquitatem*] 'unfairness,' 'unreasonableness.'

*Catonem tuum*] cp. note to 650.2; Mommsen, R. H. iv. 449, on the literature of *Catos* by the republicans, says: 'The republican opposition borrowed from Cato its whole attitude, stately, transcendental in its doctrine, pretentiously rigid, hopeless, and faithful to death; and accordingly it began even immediately after his death to revere as a saint the man who in his lifetime was often its laughing-stock and its scandal.' We find Brutus, Cicero, and Gallus writing *Catos*, and Caesar and Hirtius countering with *anti-Catos*. The subject could be easily handled in rhetorical fashion from either point of view.

1. *multam igitur salutem*] Attica had been ailing, and had been sent to the country to recruit. Cicero hopes that she may recover complete health—'Happiness and health to Attica, who, I believe, is now recruiting in the country—complete health therefore.'

*De Tigellio*] cp. 665. 1, 'If there is any news about Tigellius, let me have it. I hear from Fadius Gallus, he has a crow to pluck with me, but quite without reason,' or perhaps 'brings a railing accusation against me.' A familiar or proverbial expression sometimes reproduces the tone of a Greek phrase. For the ellipse of *scribe*, cp. 603. 2 and often.

recepissem, quam quidem receperam contra pueros Octavios Cn. filios non libenter: sed [et] Phameae causa volebam; erat enim, si meministi, in consulatus petitione per te mihi pollicitus, si quid opus esset: quod ego perinde tuebar ac si usus essem. Is ad me venit dixitque iudicem operam dare sibi constituisse eo die ipso quo de Sestio nostro lege Pompeia in consilium iri necesse erat. Scis enim dies illorum iudiciorum praestitutos fuisse. Respondi non ignorare eum quid ego deberem Sestio: quem vellet alium diem si sumpsisset, me ei non defuturum. Ita tum ille discessit iratus. Puto me tibi narrasse. Non laboravi scilicet nec hominis alieni iniustissimam iracundiam mihi curandam putavi. 2. Gallo autem narraui, cum proxime Romae fui, quid audissem, neque nominavi Balbum minorem. Habuit suum negotium Gallus, ut scribit. Ait illum me animi conscientia, quod Phamean destituissem, t̄de suspicari. Qua re tibi hactenus mando, de illo nostro, si quid poteris, exquiras, de me ne quid labores. Est bellum aliquem libenter odisse et quem ad modum non omnibus

*Cn. filios]* The sons of that Cn. Octavius who was consul in 76.

*sed Phameae causa volebam]* This might mean 'for the sake of Phamea I was willing' (to take up his case against the orphan sons of my old friend and political comrade Cn. Octavius). But *velle alicuius causa*, 'to be well disposed to a man,' is frequent in the letters: cp. note to 653. 2 and to Q. Fr. i. 4. 5 (72) and Index s. v. *velle*. M has *sed et*: but *et* is superfluous. Müller supposes that it arose from *ephamee* (for *Phameae*), which is the form in which that name appears in M a few lines before.

*tuebar]* 'I recognized in my conduct this promise on his part as fully as if I had made use of it,' and it had not merely been promised. *Tueri* is 'to bear in mind,' 'not to lose sight of': cp. Plin. Ep. i. 19 fin., *nam sollicitus custodiendus est honor in quo etiam beneficium amici tuendum est*.

*de Sestio nostro]* 'the very day on which the case of my friend Sestius [impeached for *ambitus*], under the act of Pompey, was to come on for trial': cp. note to 665. 2.

*praestitutos]* 'fixed by statute,' whereas Phamea could choose the day for his suit.

2. *neque nominavi]* 'I did not mention as my authority.'

*Habuit suum negotium]* 'He made the matter his business': cp. 558. 3.

*Ait illum]* The usual course to adopt with this passage is to supply *se* after *de* and to suppose that *dicere* is understood, as the verb to which *illum* is subject: Gallus says that Tigellius is giving out that it is the stings of my conscience for my desertion of Phamea, that make me suspect him' [i.e. that he is offended with me]. Müller reads *de < se dicere > suspicari*. Wes. added *dicere* after *me*. It is just possible that *de* is a remnant of *se odisse* 'that I hate him (Tigellius).' But the passage is not yet emended.

*de illo nostro]* Balbus minor. If we take it as referring to Tigellius, we shall have to assume that *nostro* is ironical; though the fact that Atticus intended to see Tigellius on the matter (667. 3) would lend support to this view. It has also been suggested that young Quintus may be referred to by *illo nostro*.

*ne quid]* This is governed by *mando*, as often, e.g. Caes. B. C. ii. 13. 3.

*Est bellum]* 'it is the part of a gentleman to give free vent to his dislikes, and not to be a slave to everyone, just as one is not bound to be asleep to everyone.' For the explanation of the allusion see on the last letter (§ 1). The use of exactly the

*dormire, ita non omnibus servire. Etsi mehercule, ut tu intellegis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est.*

## 667. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 50).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 22; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litteris ad Caesarem conscriptis et ad Dolabellam delatis, de Vestorii postulatione, de adventu Caesaris, de Tigellio, de obviam itione et Murenæ hospitio a se utendo.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Admonitus quibusdam tuis litteris ut ad Caesarem uberiores litteras mittere instituerem, cum mihi Balbus nuper in Lanuvino dixisset se et Oppium scripsisse ad Caesarem me legisse libros contra Catonem et vehementer probasse, conscripsi de iis ipsis libris epistulam Caesari quae deferretur ad Dolabellam: sed eius exemplum misi ad Oppium et Balbum, scripsique ad eos ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam iuberent meas litteras, si ipsi exemplum probassent. Ita mihi rescripserunt nihil umquam se legisse melius epistulamque meam iusserunt dari Dolabellae. 2. Vestorius ad me scripsit ut iuberem mancipio dari servo suo pro mea parte

same allusion in a letter written so near in time to this one almost forces us to accept the introduction of the italicised words, which *homoeoteleuton* would have caused to fall out. Schmidt rejects them, reading *quodammodo* for *quemadmodum*. There is no need to alter *libenter* to *libere*, as we did with Schmidt in our former edition: cp. Cicero Mil. 78, *ne odio mearum inimicitiarum inflammatus libentius haec in illum evomere videar quam verius*.

*si observare*] 'if respectful attention (on the part of the Caesarians) can be called servitude.'

1. *mittere instituerem*] 'set about addressing': see cp. 664. 1.

*libros contra Catonem*] Caesar's *Anticato*.

*Ita*] It looks as if this might be = *Itaque*. But such a usage is doubtful, even in the letters. Thus, in 666. 1, *Ita tum ille discessit iratus* may be translated 'In that way he left me then in a rage.' Here we may render, 'The expression they

used in their reply was that they had never read anything better.'

2. *Vestorius . . . posset*] Cicero had been named with others as co-heir of the estate of one Brinnius, which included some property in the neighbourhood of Puteoli. This property had been purchased by Hetercius, but to confer legal ownership and a perfect title it was necessary that Cicero should make over the property by *mancipatio* to Hetercius. Now Cicero was unwilling to go to Puteoli at this juncture. Vestorius accordingly proposed that he (Vestorius) should send his slave to Cicero, in order that Cicero might make over the property to the slave. The property would thus become vested in Vestorius as being the slave's master (cp. note to 663. 3), and Vestorius could make it over to Hetercius. *Servo* and *Hetercio* are not co-ordinate datives. The meaning is, 'Vestorius wrote to me suggesting that ownership in my share of the property should be given to his slave for (in the interests of) Hetercius, to enable

Hetereio cuidam fundum Brinnianum, ut ipse ei Puteolis recte mancipio dare posset. Eum servum, si tibi videbitur, ad me mittes. Opinor enim ad te etiam scripsisse Vestorium. 3. De adventu Caesaris idem, quod a te, mihi scriptum est ab Oppio et Balbo. Miror te nihildum cum Tigellio. Velut hoc ipsum, quantum acceperit, prorsus aveo scire nec tamen flocci facio. 4. Quaeris quid cogitem de obviam itione; quid censes nisi Alsium? et quidem ad Murenam de hospitio scripseram, sed opinor cum Matio profectum. Sallustius igitur urgetur.

5. Scripto iam superiore versiculo Eros mihi dixit sibi Murenam liberalissime respondisse. Eo igitur utamur. Nam Silius culcitas non habet. Dida autem, opinor, hospitibus totam villam concessit.

him (Vestorius) thus to make over the property duly (*recte*) to Hetereius at Puteoli.' This use of the dat. comm. *Hetereio cuidam* is somewhat doubtful, and in any case exceedingly awkward. But it is the sort of inelegance that would naturally occur in a rapidly written letter when an effort was made to pack a great deal into a sentence. The transaction in 663. 3 is not quite similar: see note there.

3. *Miror . . . facio*] 'I am surprised that you have had as yet no interview with Tigellius: for instance, here is a point I am very curious about, how much he got: yet, after all (*tamen*), I don't care a pin.' For the ellipse of *egisse* or *locutum esse*, or some word of the kind, cp. 626. 4; Att. v. 4. 2 (187). If the reading is right, we can only confess our ignorance of the allusion in *quantum acceperit*. We have adopted the punctuation of Müller. Editors usually punctuate thus: *Miror te nihildum cum Tigellio, velut hoc ipsum quantum acceperit: prorsus aveo scire, nec tamen flocci facio*. To read *quo modo*, or *quo animo*, for *quantum* (as many editors do) would, of course, make the passage easy—'I wonder how he took this very thing

(viz. you having gone to see him on the matter).'

4. *nisi Alsium*] 'have you any suggestion, except that I should go to Alsium (a town in Etruria twenty-four miles from Rome) to meet Caesar?'

*urgetur*] 'will have to be burdened with me.'

5. *Silius*] The passage reads as if Silius and Sallustius were one and the same person. We are almost forced, therefore, to read *Silius*, or *Sallustius*, in both places.

*culcitas*] 'cushions' on chairs and couches. But the expression has the air of a proverb about it, and probably points proverbially to a general absence of comfort in the house. That *culcitae* would seem to have been regarded as a mark of comfort, and even luxury, cp. Varro, L. L. v. 167, *posteaquam transierunt ad culcitas*: Tusc. iii. 46, *collocemus in culcita plumea*. Dr. Reid is doubtful as regards these cushions, and suggests medicinal springs rather than warm baths, cp. Att. i. 16, 10 (22).

*Dida*] We know nothing of the person, but the name is found in inscriptions.



## 668. CICERO TO M. FADIUS GALLUS (FAM. VII. 25).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 25 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero M. Fadio epistulam conscissam non esse nuntiat: monitus ne incautus de Tigellio loquatur gratias agit hortaturque ut stilum exercere pergat.

## M. CICERO S. D. M. FADIO GALLO.

1. Quod epistulam conscissam doles, noli laborare, salva est: domo petes cum libebit. Quod autem me mones, valde gratum est; idque ut semper facias rogo: videris enim mihi vereri ne, si istum *infensum* habuerimus, rideamus γέλωτα σαρδόνιον. Sed heus tu, manum de tabula; magister adest citius quam putaramus:

1. *conscissam*] This probably refers to Ep. 665, in which Cicero had written severely about Tigellius. Fadius Gallus had torn it up, through fear that it might compromise Cicero, for Tigellius enjoyed great influence with Caesar. Cicero assures him that he has a copy. If this interpretation is correct, we may infer that Cicero had copies kept of some (perhaps most) of his letters, and this accounts for the very considerable correspondence which Tiro was able to collect.

*ne si istum*] The reading of M is *vereri nisi istum habuerimus*; now *vereri* must be followed by *ne*, so it is probable that for *nisi* should stand *ne si*, as in GR. The sense then will demand after *istum* some word like *iratum* or *infensum*, but not *infestum* (since *infestum habere* means in Cicero *infestare*, 'to keep in a state of turbulence': see Att. ix. 19. 3 (377); 769. 3). For the meaning is, 'you seem to me to be afraid that if we offend Tigellius we may have to laugh on the wrong side of our mouths.' Possibly the word to be supplied is *Sardum*, 'if we treat him as a Sardinian': then the words that follow are more pointed. Another way of taking the passage is to read *vereri <ne> nisi istum habuerimus* 'unless we have him on our side,' as in Acad. ii. 75, *Atqui habebam molestos vobis . . . cum habeam Chrysippum*. We do not think now that *istum* can refer to Caesar.

γέλωτα σαρδόνιον] So Ernesti for σαρδάνιον of the mss, rightly, as we think, for γέλωτα σαρδάνιον means the 'sneer of

triumphant malice,' which is plainly out of place here. Now σαρδόνιον, which alludes to the famous Sardinian herb (Verg. Ecl. vii. 41), which poisoned those who tasted it, twisting their features into a convulsive grin, is quite appropriate in reference to the Sardinian Tigellius. 'To laugh on the wrong side of the mouth' is a phrase which expresses a laugh which is the sign of pain, not pleasure. We might, of course, preserve σαρδάνιον of the mss, and give to it, not the Homeric (Od. xx. 302) meaning, but a meaning derived from a *Volks-Etymologie* connecting the word with *Sardus*, and forcing on it an allusion to the fabled Sardinian herb.

*manum de tabula*] sc. *tolle*. 'But, I say, hands off the slate; the schoolmaster is here, sooner than we expected him,' i.e. Caesar is returning from Spain. *Tabula*, translated 'a slate' for convenience, was a tablet of wood covered with wax, and was often used by children for doing writing lessons or arithmetic on; see Palmer on Hor. Sat. i. 6, 74. The full term was *tabula litteraria*, cp. Varro, R. R. iii. 5. 10. The evident allusion to a schoolmaster gives verisimilitude to the explanation of the early commentators (which, however, is only a guess) that Roman schoolboys used to scribble on their tablets during the absence of the schoolmaster, and that *manum de tabula* was the form of call to attention which announced his presence. Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 80, adapts the phrase to the signification of *tabula*, 'a picture,' when he

vereor ne in catomum Catonianos. 2. Mi Galle, cave putes quicquam melius quam epistulae tuae partem ab eo loco 'cetera labuntur.' Secreto hoc audi, tecum habeto, ne Apellae quidem, liberto tuo, dixeris: praeter duo nos loquitur isto modo nemo; bene malene videro; sed, quicquid est, nostrum est. Urge igitur nec transversum unguem, quod aiunt, a stilo; is enim est

tells us that Apelles used to say that he *manum aë tabula sciret tollere*, that is, that he knew at what point to stop further elaboration of his pictures; and apparently Petron. 76, *Postquam coepi plus habere quam tota patria mea habet, manum de tabula*, uses it much in the same sense; cp. Petron. 46 (of a good little boy) *caput de tabula non tollit*, i.e. he works very diligently. It is possible, therefore, that Cicero here means 'you must put no more touches to your *Cato*; now is the time to publish it, since Caesar has returned from Spain.' It does not seem that this kind of composition entailed any serious risk of offending Caesar; but if the apprehension expressed in the next words is serious (which we do not believe it to be), we might suppose *manum de tabula* to mean 'you must stop writing *Catos* now.'

*in catomum*] So the mss. The phrase is an adverbial one, and the word formed from *κατ' ὤμῳ*. The full phrase is *levare* or *tollere in catomum*: another form is *catomus* (adverb): cp. Thesaurus s.v. Ducange quotes Acta S. Babylae cap. 2, num. 6, *rex iussit tres infantes levare in catomo et primo dari duodecim plagas*. It means to be hoisted on the shoulders of a man and flogged: cp. *catomidiare* (Petron. 132) *κατωμίδειν*, as in the well-known painting from Herculaneum. The phrase is quoted by Gellius xvi. 7. 4 from Laberius. The verse seems to demand the form *catomium*—

Tóllet bona fidé vos Orcus nûdas in catómium,  
a trochaic septenarius; unless with Rönisch (*Jahrb.* 1883, p. 214) we suppose the metre to be iambic trimeter—

tollit bonâ fidē  
Vos Órcus nûdas ín catomum 20—

The mention of Orcus may there seem to favour the slight change which makes the word *catonium*, a conjecture due to Salmاسius: but what, then, about *nudas*? *Charonium*, probably written *caronium*, has been also suggested. The chief objection to *catonium* is the want of analogy for such a formation from *κατῶ*; it certainly suits the play on words in the Latin

better, though *catomum* lends itself better to an English rendering. Reading *catomum* we might translate 'I am afraid he will give us Catonians the cat'; with *catonium* the sentence means 'I am afraid he will send us Catonians to join our hero below.'

*Catonianos*] So we read with Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 14), who shows that this is the correct form by comparing *Othonianus*, *Varronianus*, *Ciceronianus*: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 4. 5 (105).

2. *Mi Galle*] Gallus had possibly expressed dissatisfaction with the state of affairs at Rome, and the proceedings of the Caesarian government, in some literary work of the 'Cato' series: cp. note to Fam. vii. 24. 2 (665), adding possibly that he was not going to take any part in politics, but devote himself to literature. Cicero's reply is perhaps purposely enigmatical; Gallus would understand it of the matter of his composition, but it could be explained away as an admonition concerning the mere style.

*tecum habeto*] Mendelssohn compares Plaut. Poen. 890, *hoc tu tecum tacitum habeto*; Att. iv. 15. 6 (143) *haec tu tecum habeto*. He punctuates *secreto hoc—audi—tecum habeto*.

*Apellae*] Apella was apparently a confidential freedman of Gallus, as Tiro was of Cicero.

*bene malene videro*] 'Whether well or ill—to that I shall look at another time; it may be a poor style, but it is our own,' i.e. others do not write after this manner: possibly Cicero may mean in such a candid and patriotic way. For *videro* in putting off a consideration, cp. 557 init. and Roby, § 1593, who at p. cvi gives a full list of all the cases in which this *videro* appears.

*transversum unguem*] sc. *discesseris*, 'a nail's breadth.' This and *digitum transversum* are common enough in Cic. and the comic drama, e.g. Plaut. Aul. 57 *si hercle tu ex istoc loco Digitum transversum aut unguem latum excesseris*: Cic. Acad. ii. 58; Att. xiii. 20. 4 (634). For many more examples cp. Otto, p. 356.

*a stilo*] 'from the pen,' that is, 'from the practice of writing.'

dicendi opifex. Atque equidem aliquantum iam etiam noctis adsumo.

## 669. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 51).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST 24; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De litteris ad Caesarem datis, de Attica, de Tigellio, de Q. fratris adventu expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ad Caesarem quam misi epistolam, eius exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere, nec id fuit, quod suspicaris, ut me puderet tui, ne ridicule amicillus, nec mehercule scripsi aliter ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοίονque scriberem. Bene enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi

*dicendi opifex*) 'writing is the artificer of oratory.' This is a favourite maxim of Cicero's; see De Or. i. 150, *stilus optimus et praestantissimus dicendi effector ac magister*: cp. 257; iii. 190, *stilo . . . formanda nobis oratio est*. It is probable that Cicero here urged his friend to further work on his 'Cato.' It is to be remembered that Cicero appears to call the 'Anti-Cato' of Hirtius *epistula*: cp. 588. 4; so he may here similarly describe a 'Cato' of Gallus. But it is better to consider the *epistula* here to be a private communication to Cicero.

*aliquantum iam etiam noctis adsumo*] The Romans seldom worked at night. Cicero says that Sulpicius in his province may keep up his reading by devoting the night to it. The phrase is almost proverbial for intense industry: cp. *noctem addens operi*, Verg. Aen. viii. 411; *nox parandis operibus adsumpta*, Tac. H. ii. 21. Cicero himself often worked at night: cp. 658 init.

1. *quam misi epistolam eius exemplum*] For the attraction of *epistolam* into the relative clause cp. Madv. § 319, who quotes, in addition to this passage, Liv. i. 1. 3, *in quem primum [Eneti Troianique] egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur*.

*fugit me . . . mittere*] cp. Att. vii. 18. 3 (316); v. 12. 3 (202); and Index. *ut me . . . scriberem*] We have given the passage in its corrupt state; for corrections suggested see Adn. Crit. Possibly we have here one of those strange diminutives which abound (often as ἀπαξ εἰρημένα) in these letters. We think the passage possibly ran thus: *nec id fuit quod suspicaris ut me puderet tui. Fui nec ridicule amicillus, nec mehercule scripsi aliter ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοίονque scriberem*. The reading is Boot's except the diminutive ἀπαξ εἰρημένον *amicillus* (which is ours), 'a humble friend' or 'poor relation'; for strange diminutives compare *integellus* diminutive for *integer*, Fam. ix. 10. 3 (537); *Tertulla* diminutive for *Tertia*, 727. 2; *hilarula*, Att. xvi. 11. 8 (799); and the list of diminutives in I<sup>3</sup>, p. 88. As exactly parallel formations to *amicillus* from *amicus* it is easy to point to *tantillus* from *tantus*, *auricilla* from *auricula*, *haedillus* from *haedus*. That diminutives of this kind are not necessarily terms of endearment is shown by *homullus*. The meaning would be: 'it was not, as you suspect, that I was ashamed to show you a copy of the letter. I was not the humble friend to an absurd degree, nor, by heavens, did I write otherwise than as to one who was my peer and equal. I have really a high opinion of his *Anti-Cato*, as I told you when we met. So I wrote to him without any soft sawder, and yet in a way which I fancy would be very pleasing to him.' Another diminutive which might be suggested would be *humiliculus*. Schmidt (*Briefwechsel*, 352 n.) read *micidus*, which he rendered 'winzig, zwergenhaft,' 'dwarf-fish,' and derived from *mica*, 'a crumb,' quoting in attestation of the word '*micidiores hoc est minores*' (sc. *termini*)

coram. Itaque scripsi et ἀκολακεύτως et tamen sic ut nihil eum existimem lecturum libentius. 2. De Attica nunc demum mihi est exploratum. Itaque ei de integro gratulare. Tigellium totum mihi et quidem quam primum: nam pendeo animi. Narro tibi, Quintus cras; sed ad me an ad te nescio. Mi scripsi Romam VIII. Kal. Sed misi qui invitaret: etsi hercle iam Romam veniendum est, ne ille ante advolet.

## 670. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 18).

ROME; OCTOBER; A. U. C. 708 OR 709; B. C. 46 OR 45;

AET. CIC. 60 OR 61.

Infrequentiam litterarum excusat M. Cicero, Cornificium laudat, de rep. queritur, excusat Caesarem.

### CICERO S. D. CORNIFICIO COLLEGAE.

1. Quod extremum fuit in ea epistula quam a te proxime accepi, ad id primum respondebo; animum advorti enim hoc

Gromat. vet. 321, 24. But he has since (*Rh. Mus.* 1898, p. 221) approved of Baiter's *Micyllus*. Μίκυλλος would be a diminutive from μικρός (aeol. μίκκος): and Schmidt compares Micyllus, the humble shoemaker, in Lucian's *Gallus*: cp. Lucian's *Cataplus*, c. 14. Bosius conjectured *hemicillus*, 'a mule,' which is a very unacceptable suggestion. Perhaps we might suggest *essem κόλαξ*, which would suit well with ἀκολακεύτως.

*coram*] sc. *dixi*.

2. *exploratum*] 'At last I have learned the truth about Attica's health,' namely, that she has completely recovered.

*Tigellium totum mihi*] sc. *narra, exhibe*; 'give me a full account of what Tigellius says' (how he takes what I have said about him, and so forth). So Mongault and Schütz. The ellipse suggested is quite within the bounds of that figure in the letters. Words like *narra, scribe, dic*, may always be supplied. But *reconcilia, or restitue, or placa*, as suggested by Wieland, could not easily be supplied, any more than *abiicito* or any word having the very opposite meaning to *placa*. Still that sense of *placa* may emerge if we understand *fac* or *reddo*: cp. 655 *Demetrium reddo nostrum*—a

perfectly allowable ellipse: cp. Heide-mann, p. 4. Cicero was plainly more solicitous to be reconciled to Tigellius than he pretends to be in 665. 1: 662. 2. Tigellius, with whom Caesar was very friendly (cp. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 5), might readily injure Cicero by misrepresenting him to Caesar, and Cicero wanted to be on good terms with Caesar at this time, and obtain Caesar's favourable judgment on his 'Cato.'

*Quintus cras*] sc. *veniet*, cp. 592 fin. The words *narro tibi* are often used to introduce an important statement or announcement. The reference is to Quintus junior.

*Sed*] The force of *sed* appears to be: Young Quintus said he would come to Rome; but I sent an invitation to him to come here; though indeed I should be going to Rome myself. The latter clause seems a possible justification of the omission of *huc* with *invitaret*. Yet the omission is strange. Could *Sed* be an error for *Sept.*?

*ille*] Caesar, as sometimes in the letters of this time: cp. 648, 2: 694, 1.

For Cornificius see note to Fam. xii. 17 (493). He was a fellow-augur

vos magnos oratores facere nonnumquam : epistulas requiris meas ; ego autem numquam, cum mihi denuntiatus esset a tuis ire aliquem, non dedi. Quod mihi videor ex tuis litteris intellegere te nihil commissurum esse temere nec ante quam scisses quo iste nescio qui Caecilius Bassus erumperet quicquam certi constitutum, id ego et speraram prudentia tua fretus et ut confiderem fecerunt tuae gratissimae mihi litterae ; idque ut facias quam saepissime, ut et quid tu agas et quid agatur scire possim et etiam quid acturus sis, valde te rogo. Etsi periniquo patiebar animo te a me digredi, tamen eo tempore me consolabar quod et in summum otium te ire arbitrabar et ab impendentibus magnis negotiis discedere. 2. Utrumque contra accidit ; istic enim bellum est exortum, hic pax consecuta, sed tamen eius modi pax in qua, si adesses, multa te non delectarent, ea tamen quae ne ipsum Caesarem quidem delectant ; bellorum enim civilium ii semper exitus sunt ut non ea solum fiant quae velit victor, sed etiam ut iis mos gerendus sit quibus adiutoribus sit parta victoria. Equidem sic iam obdurai ut ludis Caesaris nostri animo acquissimo viderem

with Cicero ; hence COLLEGAE : cp. C. I. L. vi. 1300 a. Groebe (in his ed. of Drumann ii, p. 532) says that Cornificius was sent as Governor of Cilicia, and when Sext. Caesar was murdered by Caecilius Bassus in 46, he was put by Julius Caesar temporarily in command of Syria. It is probable, therefore, that this letter belongs to 46, cp. note to § 2.

1. *vos magnos oratores*] cp. Fam. ii. 14 (245) *Novi ego vos magnos patronos : hominem occidat oportet qui vestra opera uti velit.*

*cum mihi denuntiatus esset*] The iterative subjunctive is rare in Cicero and Caesar : cp. Madvig, § 359, Roby, 1716. Yet it is occasionally found. Riemann-Göelzer quote Verr. iv. 48 *cum . . . venisset* : Brut. 143 *cum . . . disputaretur* : De Div. i. 102 *cum . . . lustraret* : Caes. B. G. vii. 16. 3 : B. C. ii. 41. 6 : iii. 47. 7.

*quo . . . erumperet*] 'the extent of the outbreak of that Caecilius Bassus fellow.' This man was an obscure knight who drew away two legions from Sextus Caesar to whom Julius had entrusted Syria. Sextus was murdered by his soldiers, and Bassus occupied Apamea. Bassus escaped from punishment owing to the death of Julius Caesar. When Cassius in 42

came to Syria, as governor appointed by the Senate, Bassus refused to give up the command to him, but was deserted by his soldiers, with whom the name of the Senate was still powerful. Cassius, in consideration of his hostility to Caesar, dismissed him unpunished : cp. Dio Cass. xlvii. 26-28 ; Merivale ii. 383, iii. 219 (ed. 1865).

*quid tu agas . . . acturus sis*] 'what you are doing, what is being done, and also what you are going to do.'

*in summum otium*] Watson justly says that this is a strong proof that Cornificius had not gone to Africa *before* he was sent to Syria. It would be impossible to suppose that Africa had been *completely* tranquillized after the campaign in which Thapsus was fought. The impending troubles from which Cornificius escaped were probably the Spanish Wars, and perhaps apprehended disturbances during Caesar's absence.

2. *sed etiam . . . victoria*] cp. Fam. iv. 9, 3 (487), *multa enim victori eorum arbitrio per quos vicit etiam invito facienda sunt.*

*ludis*] Caesar held games in October, 709 (45) : cp. 648. 2. But if we suppose, as is probable (cp. note to § 1), that this letter belongs to 46, then the games referred to are the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*

T. Plancum, audirem Laberi et Publili poëmata. Nihil mihi tam deesse scito quam quicum haec familiariter docteque rideam : is tueris, si quam primum veneris; quod ut facias non mea solum sed etiam tua interesse arbitror.

### 671. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 19).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN; A. U. C. 708 OR 709; B. C. 46 OR 45;  
AET. CIC. 60 OR 61.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio gratulatur de Syria provincia quam Caesaris beneficio acceperat.

#### CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Libentissime legi tuas litteras, in quibus iucundissimum mihi fuit, quod cognovi meas tibi redditas esse; non enim dubitabam quin eas libenter lecturus esses: verebar ut redderentur. Bellum quod est in Syria Syriamque provinciam tibi tributam esse a Caesare ex tuis litteris cognovi: eam rem tibi volo bene et feliciter evenire; quod ita fore confido fretus et industria et prudentia tua. 2. Sed de Parthici belli suspicione quod scribis, sane me commovit. Quid enim copiarum haberes cum ipse

held at the end of Sept. of that year: cp. vol. iv, p. liv, note. Schmidt (p. 253 ff.) and Ganter in *Philologus*, 1894, pp. 134, 137, put this letter in 46.

*T. Plancum*] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa was a most determined enemy of Cicero: cp. Fam. vii. 2. 2 (182); viii. 1. 5 (192). He was condemned *de vi* in connexion with the burning of the Senate House in 702 (52), and exiled. He was restored by Caesar, and after the latter's assassination was an active supporter of Antony: cp. Phil. vi. 10; xiii. 27, *Illud tamen mirum quod in hoc Planco proverbii loco dici solet: perire eum non posse nisi ei crura fracta essent. Fracta sunt et vivit*: cp. Mr. King's note on this passage, and Otto, p. 99. Plancus was driven out of Pollentia by Aquila with a broken thigh: cp. Phil. xi. 14. We do not know what part he took in Caesar's games. Drumann iv. 215 (= 231 ed. Groebe) says he fought as a gladiator; but we do not know on what evidence he bases this assertion.

*Laberi*] Decimus Laberius was a Roman knight whom Caesar requested (i.e. ordered) to act in his own mimes in competition with Publilius Syrus. The

fine prologue he delivered is still preserved (Macrob. Sat. ii. 7: cp. Suet. Jul. 39). Horace appears to have had a poor opinion of his works (Sat. i. 10, 6), and Gellius (xvi. 7. 4, xix. 13. 3) censures his use of low and vulgar words. We must, with Sillig and Wölfflin, read *Publili* here for *Publi*. For the works of Laberius and Syrus cp. Ribbeck, Frag. Com., pp. 279 ff. (ed. 2).

*familiariter docteque rideam*] 'I may have a friendly and cultured laugh.'

We are not certain as to the year or month in which this letter was written. We have accordingly placed it in connexion with the preceding letter to Cornificius.

1. *meas*] probably not 670, as it was hardly a letter Cornificius would have read with pleasure, but one of the letters which Cicero says, in § 1 of that epistle, he sent when he heard messengers were leaving Rome.

*Bellum*] sc. the revolt raised by Caecilius Bassus.

2. *Quid enim*] So HD: omitted by M. Klotz inserts *Quantum* (the reading

coniectura consequi poteram tum ex tuis litteris cognovi; itaque opto ne se illa gens moveat hoc tempore dum ad te legiones eae perducantur quas audio duci. Quod si pares copias ad confligendum non habebis, non te fugiet uti consilio M. Bibuli, qui se oppido munitissimo et copiosissimo tam diu tenuit quam diu in provincia Parthi fuerunt. 3. Sed haec *tu* melius ex re et ex tempore constitues. Mihi quidem usque curae erit quid agas, dum quid egeris sciero. Litteras ad te numquam habui cui darem quin dederim; a te ut idem facias peto, in primisque ut ita ad tuos scribas ut me tuum sciant esse.

## 672. CICERO TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA (FAM. XIII. 4).

ROME; AUTUMN; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio, quem C. Caesar agris militibus adsignandis praefecerat, Volaterranos commendat, ut de iis agris caveat.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE LEGATO PROPR.

1. Cum municipibus Volaterraneis mihi summa necessitudo est; magno enim meo beneficio adfecti cumulatissime mihi gratiam

of the Heilbronn Fragment): Baiter inserts *Quid*.

*consilio M. Bibuli*] cp. Att. vi. 8, 5 (281); vii. 2, 6 (293), *Bibulus qui pedem porta quondam hostis cis Euphratem fuit non extulerit*.

*oppido*] Antioch.

3. *Sed haec tu melius*] We have added *tu* with Wes. (E. A. 4).

*Litteras . . . dederim*] 'I never found anyone to whom I could give letters for you, and failed to give them.' For *quin* cp. Att. i. 1. 3 (10), *Dies fere nullus est quin hic Satrius domum meam ventilet*: vii. 15. 1 (311): Ter. Eun. 1092 *numquam etiam fui usquam quin me amarent omnes plurimum*.

Orca had been praetor in 697 (57), and aided in the restoration of Cicero (Red. in Sen. 23). Next year he was governor of Africa: cp. Fam. xiii. 6a. 2 (115). He was now one of the Land Commissioners appointed by Caesar for carrying out the

allotments of land to his veterans, and as such Orca was invested with pro-praetorian authority. For Caesar's distribution of lands, cp. Suet. Caes. 38, *adsignavit et agros sed non continuos ne quis possessorum expelleretur*: also note to Fam. ix. 17. 1 (480). These three letters (672, 673, 674) give us a clear insight into the economic difficulties caused by the division of lands among Caesar's veterans.

1. *Volaterranis*] Volaterrae, in Etruria, was besieged by Sulla for having sheltered some of those who had been proscribed. On its being captured after a severe siege (Strabo, v. p. 223), Sulla declared its lands confiscated and its rights of Roman citizenship, which had been obtained by the Lex Julia of 664 (90), cancelled. But the Roman courts did not recognize this deprivation of citizenship, and the lands were never actually confiscated: cp. Caec. 18; 102; Pro Domo 79, quoted by Watson; also Att. i. 19. 4 (25), cp. C. I. L. xi, p. 325.

rettulerunt; nam nec in honoribus meis nec in laboribus umquam defuerunt. Cum quibus si mihi nulla causa intercederet, tamen, quod te vehementissime diligo quodque me a te plurimi fieri sentio, et monerem te et hortarer ut eorum fortunis consuleres, praesertim cum prope praecipuam causam haberent ad ius obtinendum: primum quod Sullani temporis acerbitem deorum immortalium benignitate subterfugerunt, deinde quod summo studio populi Romani a me in consulatu meo defensi sunt. 2. Cum enim tribuni plebi legem iniquissimam de eorum agris promulgavissent, facile senatui populoque Romano persuasi ut eos civis quibus fortuna pepercisset salvos esse vellent. Hanc actionem meam C. Caesar primo suo consulatu lege agraria comprobavit agrumque Volaterranum et oppidum omni periculo in perpetuum liberavit, ut mihi dubium non sit quin is qui novas necessitudines adiungat vetera sua beneficia conservari velit. Quam ob rem est tuae prudentiae aut sequi eius auctoritatem cuius sectam atque imperium summa cum tua dignitate secutus es, aut certe illi integram omnem causam reservare; illud vero dubitare non debes quin tam grave, tam firmum, tam honestum municipium tibi tuo summo beneficio in perpetuum obligari velis. 3. Sed haec quae supra scripta sunt eo spectant ut te horter et suadeam: reliqua sunt quae pertinent ad rogandum, ut non solum tua causa tibi consilium me dare putes, sed etiam quod mihi opus sit me a te petere et rogare. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris si Volaterranos omnibus rebus integros incolumisque

*nec in honoribus meis nec in laboribus*] 'neither in my days of glory nor my days of trouble': cp. Fam. xiii. 7. 4 (674), *nullum unquam fuisse tempus neque honorum nec laborum meorum*. We have added, with Vict., *nec in*, as the corruptions in M (*meis* [four letters omitted at the end of a line] *laboribus*), and HD (*nec meis laboribus*) can be thus easily accounted for.

*defuerunt*] 'failed me.' sc. with their votes.

*causa intercederet*] 'if no such relation as this existed between me and them.' Watson quotes Pro Quinct. 48 *quicum tibi affinitas, societas, omnes denique causae et necessitudines veteres intercedebant*.

*prope praecipuam causam*] 'an almost paramount claim.'

2. *enim*] added by Vict.; Wesenberg reads *qui cum*.

*tribuni plebi*] Rullus and Flavius: cp. Att. i. 19. 4 (25).

*C. Caesar*] He would naturally have kindly feelings towards the Volaterrans, as being the representatives of the Marians who had been proscribed.

*sectam*] often used of a political party: cp. Liv. xxix. 27. 2 (Scipio speaking), *quique meam sectam imperium auspiciumque terra marique sequuntur*. The word is nearly always used with *sequor* following: cp. note to ad Brut. i. 3. 4 (846).

*tam grave . . . honestum*] 'so respectable, prosperous, and honourable.'

3. *reliqui sunt . . . ad rogandum*] 'What remains is of the nature of a personal request.'

*feceris . . . volueris*] For the fut. perf. in both clauses of a conditional sentence cp. Att. i. 20. 7 (26). Madvig, § 340, obs. 2, says that it indicates that the one



esse volueris : eorum ego domicilia sedes, rem fortunas, quae et a diis immortalibus et a praestantissimis in nostra re publica civibus summo senatus populiue Romani studio conservatae sunt, tuae fidei, iustitiae bonitatieque commendo. 4. Si pro meis pristinis opibus facultatem mihi res hoc tempore daret ut ita defendere possem Volaterranos quem ad modum consuevi tueri meos, nullum officium, nullum denique certamen in quo illis prodesse possem praetermitterem ; sed quoniam apud te nihilo minus hoc tempore valere me confido. quam valuerim semper apud omnis, pro nostra summa necessitudine parique inter nos et mutua benevolentia abs te peto ut ita de Volaterranis mereare ut existiment eum quasi divino consilio isti negotio praepositum esse apud quem unum nos eorum perpetui defensores plurimum valere possemus.

673. CICERO TO THE SAME VALERIUS ORCA  
(FAM. XIII. 5).

ROME ; AUTUMN ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Q. Valerium rogat ne ager C. Curtii dividatur.

CICERO S. D. Q. VALERIO LEG. PROPR.

1. Non moleste fero eam necessitudinem quae mihi tecum est notam esse quam plurimis, neque tamen ob eam causam—quod tu optime existimare potes—te impedio quo minus susceptum negotium pro tua fide et diligentia ex voluntate Caesaris, qui tibi rem magnam difficilemque commisit, gerere possis ; nam cum multi a me petant multa, quod de tua erga me voluntate non dubitent, non committo ut ambitione mea conturbem officium tuum. 2. C.

action will be completed at the same time as the other : cp. Roby, § 1482.

*bonitatieque*] ‘goodness of heart.’

4. *apud omnis*] Orelli adds *bonos* : but it is not found in any ms and is not absolutely required. Cicero means—‘if my influence with you now is not less than it has been generally in the state.’ There never was a time when Cicero was not of considerable influence, though of course that influence was very much greater at some times than at others.

*isti negotio*] sc. this division of lands :

‘as to lead them to think that in the wisdom of Providence there has been set over that business the one man with whom I, their constant defender, can have the greatest influence.’

1. *quod . . . potes*] ‘and you can best judge of this,’ viz. that I should not wish to make undue claims on your services : *quod* is in apposition to the whole sentence.

*cum multi*] ‘although many.’

*ut . . . tuum*] ‘that by any private

Curtio ab ineunte aetate familiarissime sum usus. Eius et Sullani temporis iniustissima calamitate dolui, et cum iis, qui similem iniuriam acceperant, amissis omnibus fortunis reditus tamen in patriam voluntate omnium concedi videretur, adiutor incolumitatis fui. Is habet in Volaterrano possessionem, cum in eam tamquam e naufragio reliquias contulisset; hoc autem tempore eum Caesar in senatum legit, quem ordinem ille ista possessione amissa tueri vix potest; gravissimum autem est, cum superior factus sit ordine, inferiorem esse fortuna, minimeque convenit ex eo agro qui Caesaris iussu dividatur eum moveri qui Caesaris beneficio senator sit. 3. Sed mihi minus libet multa de aequitate rei scribere, ne causa potius apud te valuisse videar quam gratia; quam ob rem te in maiorem modum rogo ut C. Curti rem meam putes esse; quicquid mea causa faceres, ut, id C. Curti causa cum feceris, existimes quod ille per me habuerit id me habere abs te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

interest on my part I should embarrass you in the performance of your duty.'

2. *calamitate*] opp. to *incolumitatis*, 'rehabilitation': cp. Fam. iv. 9. 4 (487) and note. Curtius had been proscribed and lost his citizenship and property: cp. note to 672. 1.

*in eam . . . contulisset*] 'he has put all that remained to him (of his wealth) into it.'

*tueri vix potest*] No property qualification was legally required in order to be a Senator during the period of the Republic (cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, i. 189-194; Momms., *St. R.* iii. 876); but as a matter of fact wealth was taken into consideration in the case of election to the Senate; and a 'pauper senator,' just as a 'pauper peer' with us, was at a disadvantage in being unable to keep up his proper position in society.

*fortuna*] 'wealth,' 'fortune.' The plural is generally used to express this idea; but cp. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 12, *Quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti*: Quintil. vi. 1. 50.

3 *causa . . . gratia*] 'to have prevailed on you by the justice of the case rather than by my personal influence.' To-day one would hardly hint, even in a private letter, that influence should have a preponderating weight in comparison with the merits of a case.

*quicquid . . . abs te*] 'and in whatever you do for my sake, be assured that, in furthering (or perhaps 'although you are furthering') the interests of Curtius, any favour he obtains through my influence I shall regard as a favour to myself from you.'

## 674. CICERO TO GAIUS CLUVIUS (FAM. XIII. 7).

ROME; AUTUMN; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero petit a C. Cluvio, quem Caesar agris in Gallia Cisalpina dividendis praefecerat, ne municipii Atellani vectigalem agrum dividat, causam integram Caesari reservet.

CICERO CLUVIO SAL.

1. Cum in Galliam proficiscens pro nostra necessitudine tuaque summa in me observantia ad me domum venisses, locutus sum tecum de agro vectigali municipi Atellani qui esset in Gallia, quantoque opere eius municipi causa laborarem tibi ostendi; post tuam autem protectionem cum et maxima res municipi honestissimi mihiq[ue] coniunctissimi et summum meum officium ageretur, pro tuo animo in me singulari existimavi me oportere ad te accuratius scribere, etsi non sum nescius et quae temporum ratio et quae tua potestas sit, tibiq[ue] negotium datum esse a C. Caesare, non iudicium, praeclare intellego: qua re a te tantum peto quantum et te facere posse et libenter mea causa facturum esse arbitror.

This Cluvius cannot have been the banker of Puteoli, cp. Fam. xiii. 56. 1 (231), as the latter appears to have died before the autumn of 709 (45), cp. 663. 3. We should rather consider him to have been the Cluvius who was *praefectus fabrum* of Caesar in Spain, in the early part of this year (cp. C. I. L. i. p. 451). He is considered by Orelli (Onom.) and Mommsen to be the Cluvius who is often mentioned in the celebrated address of the consular, Lucretius Vespillo, to his dead wife Turia: C. I. L. vi. 1527: cp. Mr. Warde Fowler, *Social Life in the Age of Cicero*, p. 160 ff., and *Classical Review*, 1905, pp. 261-6. In 33 he is said to have been made consul by Antony, but to have been soon removed: cp. Dio Cass. xlix. 44. 3, where his praenomen is, however, given as *Lucius*. This has been sometimes supposed to be a mistake for *Gaius*; but it is more probable that the mistake is in the nomen, and that we should read Δούκιον Φλασίου (for Χλανούιον) and understand the reference to be to L. Flavius, who was consul suffectus in 33 (C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 160). In 725 (29)

Augustus nominated this Cluvius to the Senate, *inter consulares* (Dio Cass. lii. 42. 4).

1. *agro vectigali*] 'rent-bearing land,' 'leased estates': cp. Fam. xiii. 11. 1 (452). Atella was in Campania, between Naples and Capua. For other examples of municipalities which owned property in a distant land, cp. Arpinum, which held land in Gaul: see Fam. xiii. 11, 1 (452), and note; and Capua, which was given lands in Crete (Vell. ii. 81).

*cum et maxima . . . ageretur*] 'when it became a question of the vital interests of a municipality which was most honourable and attached to me, as well as of the performance of my duty in the highest sense.' Cicero was patron of the Atellans: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 12 (14), 3 (139), *est ex municipio Atellano quod scis esse in fide nostra*. Atella lost its municipal rights in the second Punic War, but regained them some time before the age of Cicero. The Harlequinades, known as *fabulae Atellanae*, had their origin in this town.

*tibiq[ue] . . . iudicium*] 'and that a definite business has been given you by

2. Et primum velim existimes, quod res est, municipi fortunas omnis in isto vectigali consistere, his autem temporibus hoc municipium maximis oneribus pressum, summis adfectum esse difficultatibus. Hoc etsi commune videtur esse cum multis, tamen mihi crede singularis huic municipio calamitates accidisse, quas idcirco non commemoro, ne de miseriis meorum necessariorum conquerens homines quos nolo videar offendere. 3. Itaque, nisi magnam spem haberem C. Caesari nos causam municipi probaturos, non erat causa cur a te hoc tempore aliquid contenderem; sed quia confido mihi que persuasi illum et dignitatis municipi et aequitatis et etiam voluntatis erga se habiturum esse rationem, ideo a te non dubitavi contendere ut hanc causam illi integram conservares: 4. quod etsi nihilo minus a te peterem, si nihil audivissem te tale fecisse, tamen maiorem spem impetrandi nactus sum, postea quam mihi dictum est hoc idem a te Regiensi impetravisse, qui etsi te aliqua necessitudine attingunt, tamen tuus amor in me sperare me cogit te, quod tuis necessariis tribueris, idem esse tributurum meis, praesertim cum ego pro his unis petam, habeam autem qui simili causa laborent compluris necessarios. Hoc me non sine causa facere neque aliqua levi ambitione commotum a te contendere etsi te existimare arbitror, tamen mihi adfirmanti credas velim me huic municipio debere plurimum, nullum umquam fuisse tempus neque honorum nec laborum meorum in quo non huius municipi studium in me exstiterit singulare. 5. Quapropter a te etiam atque etiam pro nostra summa coniunctione proque tua in me perpetua et maxima benevolentia maiorem in modum peto atque contendo ut, cum fortunas agi eius municipi intellegas, quod sit mihi necessitudine, officiis, benevolentia coniunctissimum, id mihi des, quod erit huius modi ut, si a Caesare quod speramus impetrarimus, tuo beneficio nos id consecutos esse iudicemus; sin

Caesar, and not the discretionary power of a judge.'

2. *vectigali*] 'rent.'

*meorum necessariorum*] 'of those connected with me.'

*homines quos nolo*] i.e. the partisans of Caesar, who appear to have acted harshly.

4. *Regiensi*] i.e. the inhabitants of Regium Lepidi, a Roman colony on the Aemilian road between Mutina and Parma.

*neque . . . commotum*] 'not from any unprincipled motive of self-interest.'

*nec honorum nec laborum meorum*] 'either in my days of glory or of trouble': cp. 672. 1.

5. *id mihi des, quod*] Editors usually place a long stop after *des*; but that would make the apodosis unduly short considering the length of the protasis, and would lay too great weight of emphasis on *id*. Accordingly we have put a comma after *des* with Wes. and Mendelssohn.

minus, pro eo tamen id habeamus, quod a te data sit opera ut impetraremus. Hoc cum mihi gratissimum feceris, tum viros optimos, homines honestissimos eosdemque gratissimos et tua necessitudine dignissimos, summo beneficio in perpetuum tibi tuisque devinxeris.

## 675. CICERO TO MARCUS RUTILIUS (FAM. XIII. 8).

ROME; AUTUMN; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero a M. Rutilio petit ut C. Albinii senatoris praedia ne attingat.

M. CICERO M. RUTILIO SAL.

1. Cum et mihi conscius essem quanti te facerem et tuam erga me benevolentiam expertus essem, non dubitavi a te petere quod mihi petendum esset. P. Sestium quanti faciam ipse optime scio; quanti autem facere debeam et tu et omnes homines sciunt. Is cum ex aliis te mei studiosissimum esse cognosset, petivit a me ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem de re C. Albinii senatoris, cuius ex filia natus est L. Sestius, optimus adulescens, filius P. Sesti. Hoc idcirco scripsi ut intellegeres non solum me pro P. Sestio laborare debere, sed Sestium etiam pro Albinio. 2. Res autem est haec. A M. Laberio C. Albinus praedia in aestimationem accepit, quae praedia Laberius emerat a Caesare de bonis Plotianis. Ea si dicam non esse e re publica dividi, docere te videar, non rogare; sed tamen

*pro eo . . . impetraremus*] In this perplexing sentence we have ventured to read *quod* for the mss *quoniam*, 'but if not, that at all events in place thereof we may have this, that you have done your best that we should obtain it.' We do not know of any example of the collocation *id . . . quoniam*.

*Rutilio*] We do not know of any other certain reference to this Rutilius.

1. *quam accuratissime scriberem*] 'make a special (or 'specific') appeal to you.' The word is most commonly used with *dicere* and *scribere*.

*C. Albinii*] He was father-in-law of

P. Sestius, the client of Cicero: cp. Sest. 6.

2. *Res autem est haec*] Laberius had bought the confiscated goods of a certain Plotius, who was either one of the Pompeians, or possibly Plautius Hypsaëus, condemned for bribery under Pompey's law of 52: cp. Dio Cass. xl. 53. 1. As Laberius was a debtor of Albinus, he, in accordance with Caesar's law, made over these lands in payment of the debt, these lands having been valued at the price they would have fetched before the Civil War began: cp. note to Fam. ix. 16. 7 (472). This is the meaning of *in aestimationem accepit*.

cum Caesar Sullanas venditiones et adsignationes ratas esse velit, quo firmiores existimentur suae, si ea praedia dividuntur quae ipse Caesar vendidit, quae tandem in eius venditionibus esse poterit auctoritas? sed hoc quale sit tu pro tua prudentia considerabis.

3. Ego te plane rogo atque ita ut maiore studio, iustiore de causa, magis ex animo rogare nihil possim, ut Albinio parcas, praedia Laberiana ne attingas. Magna me adfeceris non modo laetitia, sed etiam quodam modo gloria, si P. Sestius homini maxime necessario satis fecerit per me, ut ego illi uni plurimum debeo; quod ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Maius mihi dare beneficium nullum potes: id mihi intelleges esse gratissimum.

### 676. CICERO TO VATINIUS (FAM. V. 11).

ROME; OCTOBER (END); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

P. Vatinius roganti promittit M. Cicero eius uxori se adfuturum. Addit de Dionysio fugitivo et de spe triumphi Dalmatici.

#### M. CICERO VATINIO IMP. S.

1. Grata tibi mea esse officia non miror; cognovi enim te gratissimum omnium, idque numquam destiti praedicare; nec enim tu mihi habuisti modo gratiam, verum etiam cumulatissime rettulisti: quam ob rem in reliquis tuis rebus omnibus pari me studio erga te et eadem voluntate cognosces. 2. Quod mihi feminam primariam, Pompeiam, uxorem tuam, commendas, cum Sura

*venditiones et adsignationes*] 'sales and allotments,' viz. of property confiscated in connexion with the Sullan proscriptions.

*auctoritas*] 'right of property,' 'title': cp. Off. i. 37, from the XII. Tables, *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas*, 'against a stranger right of property never expires.'

3. *debeo*] So Ernesti and most editors; MSS *debeam*. This is a simpler change than to read *cum* for *ut* with Cratander.

1. *mea esse officia*] Vatinius wrote Fam. v. 9 (636) on July 11th. This probably reached Cicero about the beginning of August. The supplication was not decreed until September, when Caesar returned to Rome. Cicero's letter announcing this decree, and the letter of

Vatinius thanking Cicero for his aid in the matter, are both lost; but that such letters were written can be gathered from the opening words of this epistle. The distance between Rome and Narona was a journey of about twenty days, so that this letter was written about a month and a half after the supplication was decreed.

*praedicare*] 'proclaim': cp. note to 622. 2.

*in reliquis*] We have added *in* with Martyni-Laguna, as *rebus* can hardly be the dative. He omits *rebus*; and if this is not a mere error (which probably it is), *tuis omnibus* may be the dative, and mean 'I am as zealous in your interest as all the rest of your friends are.'

2. *feminam primariam*] cp. Verr. iii. 97. *Sura*] Probably a confidential freed-

nostro statim tuis litteris lectis locutus sum, ut ei meis verbis diceret ut quicquid opus esset mihi denuntiaret; me omnia quae ea vellet summo studio curaue facturum: itaque faciam eamque, si opus esse videbitur, ipse conueniam. Tu tamen ei velim scribas ut nullam rem neque tam magnam neque tam parvam putet quae mihi aut difficilis aut parum me digna videatur: omnia quae in tuis rebus agam et non laboriosa mihi et honesta videbuntur. 3. De Dionysio, si me amas, confice: quaecumque ei fidem dederis praestabo; si vero improbus fuerit, ut est, duces eum captivum in triumpho. Delmatis di male faciant qui tibi molesti sunt! sed, ut scribis, brevi capientur et inlustrabunt res tuas gestas; semper enim habiti sunt bellicosi.

## 677. CURIUS TO CICERO (FAM. VII. 29).

PATRAE; OCTOBER 29; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Curius M. Ciceronem laudatis eius erga se beneficiis rogat ut Ser. Sulpicii se successori commendet.

## CURIUS M. CICERONI SUO SAL.

1. S. v. b.; sum enim *χρήσει μὲν* tuus, *κτήσει δὲ* Attici nostri; ergo fructus est tuus, mancipium illius; quod quidem si inter senes

man of Vatinius, as Apella was of Fadius Gallus (668. 2).

*meis verbis*] 'from me': cp. note to Fam. xv. 8 (215).

*denuntiaret*] 'intimate.'

3. *Dionysio*] cp. 638. 2; 639. 2.

*quaecumque . . . praestabo*] 'whatever engagement you make with him I shall fulfil.'

*si vero improbus fuerit*] 'if he has proved himself a villain, as he is, you will please lead him captive in your triumph.' This means that if he has had friendly dealings with the Dalmatians, who were at war with the Romans, he may be dealt with according to the laws of war. Perhaps, however, the meaning is no more than 'if he prove an obstinate rogue, as he is,' i.e. if he will not return, no matter what assurance you give him.

*sumt*] 'who are troubling you'; *sint* would mean 'for troubling you.'

*inlustrabunt*] 'shed lustre on your ex-

ploits': cp. Fam. i. 6. 2 (104), *inlustrabit tuam amplitudinem hominum iniuria*.

The language of Curius is discussed at length by J. H. Schmalz in the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen*, xxxv. (1881), 137-140.

1. S. v. b.] = *si vales bene* (est).

*χρήσει*] The opposition of *χρησις* and *κτήσις* is very common in Greek, especially in the Politics and Ethics of Aristotle.

*fructus*] put simply for *usus fructus*: cp. Cicero's reply to this letter, Fam. vii. 30. 2 (694). The *fructus* includes the *usus*, but not the *usus* the *fructus*: cp. Munro on Lucr. iii. 971—

Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.

*mancipium* = *dominium* here, as also in the passage from Lucretius.

*senes comptionalis*.] At slave-sales old and worthless slaves were often put up, not individually, but in a lot; hence the

comptionalis venale proscrisperit, egerit non multum. At illa nostra praedicatio quanti est, nos, quod simus, quod habeamus, quod homines existimemur, id omne abs te habere! Qua re, Cicero mi, persevera constanter nos conservare et Sulpici successori nos de meliore nota commenda, quo facilius tuis praeceptis obtemperare possimus teque ad ver libentes videre et nostra refigere deportareque

word here means 'a cheap job lot'; so in Plaut. Bacch. 976, *Nunc Priamo nostro si est quis emptor, comptionalem senem Vendam ego venalem quem habeo*, where see Ussing. There is no reference to the *senes qui ad coemptiones faciendas interimendorum sacrorum causa reperti sunt*, Mur. 27, where see Mr. Heitland's note. The form *comptionales*, which is found in M, is well defended by Lachmann on Lucr. p. 135 (on ii. 1061). Perhaps we should have read *coptari* for *cooptari* in Fam. iii. 10. 9 (261).

*proscrisperit*] 'advertise for sale.'

*egerit non multum*] 'he won't do much good,' that is, 'he will not make much profit,' a colloquial expression: cp. Planc. 83, *non nihil egisti*, where Holden compares Ter. Ad. 935, Prop. i. 10. 20, and many more examples. Schmalz (p. 138) adds Matus ap. Fam. xi. 28. 4 (785), *sed nihil agunt*; Galba ap. Fam. x. 30. 4 (841), *nec egit quicquam*; Fronto, p. 164 N., *ad ostentandum mihi animum tuum non multum egit*.

*at . . . habere!*] 'but that constant asseveration of mine—namely, that all I am, all I have, all my recognition as a member of society, is solely due to you—how that enhances my value!' Curius is pointing out that though his real value is very small, and therefore *κτῆσαι* or as a *mancipium* he is almost worthless, yet the fact that he is able to boast the refining influences of Cicero's society and advice is of such importance that *χρήσει* or as a *fructus*, as a useful instrument, he has a high value. This effusiveness seems quite excessive to us, but Cicero says of him *est, quam facile diligas, αὐτόχθων in homine urbanitas*, Att. vii. 2. 3 (293). As *quod* seems to be the conjunction, *habeamus* has the absolute sense of 'owning property': cp. 787. 7 note. Hofmann notices that Cicero is decidedly prone to 'pregnant' uses of *homo*. Not only does he use it in the sense of one subject to the changes and chances of this mortal life, and not above the weaknesses of humanity, e.g. Tusc. ii. 53; Fam. v. 17. 3 (179), but

also as (1) 'one who possesses the dignity and moral worth of a man,' e.g. Tusc. iii. 77, *cum Socrates Alcibiadi persuasisset eum nihil hominis esse*: Fam. xi. 29. 2 (762), *Quod tuum iudicium nisi mea summa benevolentia erga te . . . comprobaro, ipse me hominem non putabo*; (2) 'a man of taste,' e.g. in this passage, in Att. xiii. 52. 2 (679), and the celebrated Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4 (132), where see note; (3) 'a man of understanding,' e.g. Att. ii. 2. 2 (28), where Boot compares Ter. Ad. 107 *illum tu tuum, si esses homo, sineres nunc facere dum per aetatem licet*; (4) 'a man of feeling,' cp. Att. xii. 38. 3 (582), *si modo homines sint, existiment me . . . reprehendendum non esse*: Fam. xv. 17. 3 (541), *se in his malis hominem praebeuit*. As far as the sense is concerned, Dr. Reid refers us to Liv. vi. 14. 7, 8 (*se*) *videre lucem forum civium ora M. Manli opera; omnium parentium beneficia ab illo se habere*; . . . *quodcumque sibi cum patria, penatibus publicis ac privatis, iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine esse*; and suggests that possibly among the many services Cicero had done to Curius had been a successful defence in a law court: cp. Fam. xiii. 50. 1 (695).

*persevera . . . conservare*] For the infinitive after this verb, cp. Fam. ix. 16. 8 (472); it usually takes in with ablative.

*Sulpici successori*] Marcus Acilius: cp. 682 init.

*de meliore nota*] 'give me an introductory letter of a superior brand,' a metaphor drawn from wines: cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 3. 8, *interiore nota Falerni*: Catull. 68. 28, *quisquis est de meliore nota*: Petron. 83, *ut facile appareret eum ex hac nota litteratorum esse*; 123, *ex hac nota domina est mea*; 132, *severioris notae homines*: Plin. Epp. ix. 26. 9. It was plainly an expression belonging to the language of ordinary life.

*refigere*] 'to break up my establishment.' This too is a phrase partaking of the nature of slang; we might render 'déménager' or 'flit.'

*deportareque*] 'and to fetch home,' i.e. to Rome: cp. Fam. vii. 15 fin. (174), *mihi*



tuto possimus. 2. Sed, amice magne, noli hanc epistulam Attico ostendere; sine eum errare et putare me virum bonum esse nec solere duo parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare. Ergo, patrone mi, bene vale Tironemque meum saluta nostris verbis. Data a. d. IIII. Kal. Nov.

## 678. VATINIUS TO CICERO (FAM. V. 10 a).

NARONA; DECEMBER 5; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

P. Vatinius post supplicationes sibi decretas scribit se propter nives, frigora, imbres coactum esse oppidum captum in Dalmatia et bellum confectum relinquere: rogat M. Ciceronem ut, si opus sit, ad Caesarem tum consulem causam suam agat.

[VATINIUS CICERONI SUO SAL.]

. . . Ego post supplicationes mihi decretas in Dalmatiam profectus sum: sex oppida vi oppugnando cepi . . . †unum hoc, quod

*crede nihil ex ista provincia potes, quod iucundius sit, deportare.* Dr. Reid, on De Sen. 1, says—"The verb *deportare* is nearly always in the best writers used of bringing things from the provinces to Italy or Rome, and not *vice versa*, the Romans using 'down' of motion towards the capital where we use 'up.'" Curius had been settled at Patrae for a long time, and was now thinking of breaking up his establishment there and returning to Rome.

*possimus*] The repetition of this word need not surprise us in the letter of such an indifferent stylist as Curius.

2. *amice magne*] 'powerful,' 'influential,' the sense which Verrall rightly ascribes to μέγας φίλος in the Medea 549 (cp. Div. in Caec. 23, *magnus ille defensor et amicus eius tibi suffragatur*; Juv. vi. 313, *magnum visurus amicos*).

*duo parietes*] 'to whitewash two walls from the same pot' is like our proverb 'to blow hot and cold,' or 'to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.' It is said of one who pretends to be altogether devoted to one person, while at the same time offering his services to another: cp. Paroemiographi Graeci, p. 36 (Gaisford), δύο τοίχους ἀλείφειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμφοτερίζοντων καὶ διὰ μέσου χωροῦντων ἐν μάχαις ἢ φιλίαις: Petron. 39, in *Geminis autem nascuntur bigae et boves et*

*colei et qui utrosque parietes linunt.* The proverb is not akin to 'killing two birds with one stone.' That idea is otherwise expressed, Rosc. Am. 80, *una mercede duas res adsequi*; Plaut. Cas. 476, *uno in saltu lepide apros capiam duos*.

*nostris verbis*] 'in my name': cp. 676.

2. Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 15), with some probability, wishes to read *Tironemque nostrum saluta meis verbis*.

This is the conclusion of a letter, the beginning of which is lost. It was written before Fam. v. 10 (696), to which, in the mss, it is joined without any sign that it is part of another letter.

*decretas*] These supplications were probably decreed in September after Caesar's return to Rome: cp. 676. 1.

*vi oppugnando*] Of course *pugnando* would be more usual, as Cobet points out: cp. Sall. Cat. 7. 7; but as it is allowable to use such an expression as *pecunia oppugnare*, Fam. i. 1. 1 (95), there is no impossibility in such an overloaded phrase as 'storming by force,' especially in Vatinius: cp. also Bell. Afr. 36. 4, *castellum . . . vi expugnando est potitus* (where, however, Wölfflin reads *pugnando*).

*unum*] So the mss. Possibly, as has been suggested, this is the remnant of *Ulcinium*, which was a coast town a

erat maximum, quater a me iam captum; quattuor enim turris et quattuor muros cepi et arcem eorum totam, ex qua me nives, frigora, imbres detruserunt, indigneque, mi Cicero, oppidum captum et bellum confectum relinquere sum coactus. Qua re te rogo, si opus erit, ad Caesarem meam causam agas meque tibi in omnis partis defendendum putes, hoc existimans, neminem te tui amantiores habere. Vale. Data Nonis Decembribus, Narona.

### 679. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 52).

PUTEOLI; DECEMBER 19; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De Caesaris adventu et quem ad modum se gesserit exponitur.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O hospitem mihi gravem tamen ἀμεταμέλητον: fuit enim periucunde. Sed cum secundis Saturnalibus ad Philippum vesperi

little north of Dyrrhachium, near Scodra. It is probable that Vatinius gave the names of all the six towns. Mendelssohn, however, thinks that this was not the case, and that, if any change at all is made, *Docleae* (Ptol. ii. 16. 12) or *Docleatium* (C. I. L. iii. 1705; Plin. H. N. iii. 143) should be substituted for *hoc*. *Docleae* lies about thirty miles north of Scodra.

*indigneque*] goes with *coactus sum*, 'and I did not deserve to be thus forced to leave the town.' This is no doubt the retreat of Vatinius to which Appian (Illyr. 13) refers, though the latter erroneously places it *after* Caesar's death. The embassy of the Dalmatians, which is mentioned in that chapter, probably came to Caesar in 46, after he had won the battle of Thapsus.

*ad Caesarem*] This is interesting as showing the strict account which Caesar exacted of any failure on the part of his generals; and also the influence which Cicero must have been considered to possess with Caesar, when one of the latter's most able lieutenants asked for his good offices in such a case as the present. For *ad* = *apud* (cp. 546 init.). Schmalz (p. 23) compares Plaut. Cas. 192, *ius suum ad mulieres obtinere*, and Weissenborn on Liv. viii. 23. 8; xxviii. 18. 2; cp. Sonnenschein on Plaut. Rud. 1282, and Thesaurus s.v. *ad*, p. 520, 21 ff.

*in omnis partis*] cp. Fam. iv. 10. 2 (536), *idque in omnis partis valeret*; Att. xi. 6. 2 (418), *Brundisi iacere in omnis partis est molestum*.

This is one of the most celebrated letters in Cicero's Correspondence.

1. *O . . . ἀμεταμέλητον*] We have introduced the slight change suggested by Boot in the reading of the MSS, which is *O hospitem mihi tam gravem ἀμεταμέλητον*. This would naturally mean 'O how little reason I have to regret the visit of my so formidable guest,' but *O* and *tam* suit very ill together. Now 'O what a formidable guest, yet I have no reason to regret his visit,' gives an excellent sense, and *tam* and *tamen* are constantly confounded. We certainly desire some adversative conjunction to precede *ἀμεταμέλητον*. Possibly, however, we should add *ἀλλ'*; as *ΑΑΑ* might easily have been lost before *ΑΜ*. Boot, who in his text gives the reading of the MSS, strangely proposes to get rid of the incompatibility of *O* and *tam* by omitting *O* and governing *hospitem* by *ἀμετ.*, a construction which would be possible only if there were such a verb as *ἀμεταμελεῖν*.

*fuit enim periucunde*] 'for it was quite pleasant': cp. *opipare sane et apparate*

venisset, villa ita completa a militibus est ut vix triclinium ubi cenaturus ipse Caesar esset vacaret: quippe hominum *cio cio*. Sane sum commotus quid futurum esset postridie, ac mihi Barba Cassius subvenit: custodes dedit. Castra in agro: villa defensa est. Ille tertiis Saturnalibus apud Philippum ad horam VII, nec quemquam admisit: rationes opinor cum Balbo. Inde ambulavit in littore. Post horam VIII in balneum: tum audivit de Mamurra: vultum non mutavit. Unctus est, accubuit. Ἐμετικὴν agebat; Itaque et

below: *libenter fuit*, § 2; *ut familiariter essem et libenter*, 783. 1; *Antonio volo peius esse*, 733. 3; *mi gravius esse*, 568. 1.

*Sed*] 'however,' announces the beginning of the detailed description of the incident first briefly characterized by an exclamation.

*secundis Saturnalibus*] December 18. The *Saturnalia*, originally lasting one day, afterwards extended over three; they began fourteen days before the kalends of January, which previously was December 17. After the reformation of the calendar by Caesar, December 17 was sixteen days before the kalends of January; the day for the beginning of the *Saturnalia* remained unchanged, the 17th. *Macrobius* i. 10. 2.

*Philippum*] consul, 56, stepfather of Octavian. He had a villa near Puteoli, which must have been a large one to hold two thousand men.

*completa a militibus*] This is a stronger expression than the more usual *completa militibus*. It indicates that soldiers crowded into every room; hence 'there was hardly a room to spare for Caesar to dine in.' For *compleri* a cp. *Tusc.* v. 112 *Drusi domum compleri a consultoribus*: and perhaps the mss are right in *Att.* iv. 1. 5 (90) *gradus templorum ab infima plebe completi sunt*.

*commotus quid*] 'I was made anxious (by the doubt) what would befall me the next day.' For such a pregnant constr. *Hofmann* compares 771. 1, *earum exemplum nobis legit si quid videretur*, 'to see if anything should occur to me.' Caesar had intimated his intention of visiting Cicero the following day, and Cicero did not know what he would do with the two thousand armed men.

*ac*] For this use of *ac* cp. *Verg. Ecl.* vii. 6, *Huc mihi, dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos, Vir gregis ipse caper deeraverat, atque ego Daphnin Aspicio*; on which passage *Papillon* says, "atque

expresses the immediate sequence of one event upon another where a temporal conjunction (*quum*) would be the more strictly logical way of expressing the relation between the two clauses": cp. *G.* i. 203, ii. 80, *Aen.* ii. 692. iii, 9, v. 858, and *L. S.* s. v. *atque*, 5 a. But though *ac* can thus be defended, it is very likely, in a plain narrative like this, that it is a mere copyist's mistake for *at*, which is read by *Ernesti* and *Wesenberg*.

*Barba Cassius subvenit*] *Barba Cassius* (a friend of Caesar and Antony, *Phil.* xiii. 3) came to his assistance by compelling the soldiers to encamp in the open country, and setting a guard over Cicero's villa to prevent their entering it.

*ad horam vii*] 'till about twelve.' See *Dict. Antt.* s. v. *hora* (art. by A. S. Wilkins).

*rationes . . . cum Balbo*] 'accounts, I fancy, with Balbus.' Balbus was his agent. *Prof. Goligher* notices that there is no clear indication at what hour Caesar came from *Philippus* to Cicero's house.

*audivit de Mamurra*] *Mamurra* was Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in Gaul, and was assailed in two bitter epigrams of *Catullus* (29 and 57). We do not know what news was conveyed concerning *Mamurra*, certainly not the news of *Catullus'* lampoons, which were written some years before this time. It has been supposed that it was his death.

*vultum non mutavit*] *Vultum* is found only in Z, not in M. It seems required, and suggests that the intelligence may have been the death of *Mamurra*. *Boot* ingeniously suggests that the true reading might be *non mutavit*, 'he did not say a word.'

Ἐμετικὴν] This means 'he was undergoing a course of emetics,' as is shown by the deviation from the tense of the two preceding verbs. Some word like *διατανα* seems to be understood. Others say *τέχνην*, but that seems less appropriate.

edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et iucunde : opipare sane et apparate, nec id solum, sed

bene cocto et

Condito, sermone bono, et, si quaeris, libenter.

2. Praeterea tribus tricliniis accepti οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν valde copiose. Libertis minus lautis servisque nihil defuit. Nam lautiores eleganter ἀέπει. Quid multa? homines visi sumus. Hospes tamen non is quoi diceret 'Amabo te, eodem ad me, cum revertere.' Semel satis est. Σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν in sermone : φιλόλογα multa. Quid quaeris? Delectatus est et libenter fuit. Puteolis se aiebat unum diem fore, alterum ad Baias. Habes hospitium sive ἐπισταθ-  
μίαν odiosam mihi, dixi, non molestam. Ego paullisper hic, deinde in Tuseulanum. Dolabellae villam cum praeteriret, omnis arma-

See Munro, 'Elucidations to Catullus,' pp. 92-95, on the question whether this practice of *vomitus* implied a gluttonous disposition. We hear elsewhere of Caesar's undergoing this treatment (Deiot. 21). Caesar was no glutton or hard drinker.

ἀδεῶς] 'without fear' of indigestion.  
opipare sane et apparate] These adverbs might be taken with *edit* and only a comma put at *iucunde*. But *apparate* would be rather harsh in this connexion. Rather supply *erat*, 'it (the dinner) was quite sumptuous and well-served.'

bene cocto . . . libenter] from Lucilius (1122 Marx), quoted in Fin. ii. 25. There Cicero distinguishes between *libenter* and *bene cenare*. A glutton might dine *libenter*, but not *bene*. Bene cocto et condito (the mss. of Fin. ii. 25 omit *et*) indicates that the food was good; then he adds that 'the talk was agreeable, and in a word (*si quaeris* = *quid quaeris*, below) the dinner was pleasant.' It is a mistake to make *cocto condito* agree with *sermone*; the participles agree with some such word as *cibo* or *apparatu* understood, or possibly supplied in an unquoted portion of the original verse of Lucilius.

2. tribus tricliniis] Cicero divides Caesar's retinue (οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν) into three classes, each class being entertained in a separate room. The three classes seem to have been (1) the *liberti lautiores*; (2) the *liberti minus lautī*; (3) the *servi*. All three were entertained in very abundant style. The second and third had plenty, and the upper class of freedmen, the *lautiores*, had quite an elegant dinner.

homines] 'a social figure,' 'a man of the world': see on Ep. 677. 1. However, here the meaning might also be 'we were quite friendly together'; Caesar did not 'assume the god.'

Amabo . . . revertere] Peerlkamp says this is an iambic line taken from some comic poet; and he would read *ehodum* (comparing Ter. Andr. 184) for *eodem*. If so, there must be *hiatus* after *eodem* (which is quite possible), and *revertere* must be the present used for the future, 'when you are on your way back'; this too is possible: cp. Verg. G. i. 209, (*Libra ubi*) *medium luci atque umbris iam dividit orbem Exercete, viri, tauros*, and Madvig 339, obs. 1. But *ehodum* after *amabo te* is surplusage, and the future *revertēre* is more natural; this form of the future second person singular is often used by Cicero, e.g. *consequere*. Fam. vii. 11 fin. (167). It is more likely that the words are Cicero's, 'my dear fellow, come back here and dine with me on your return.' *Eodem* = 'to this same place.'

Σπουδαῖον . . . multa] 'no serious (political), but much literary, talk.' cp. Fam. xv. 18. 1 (530) *Longior autem* (sc. *epistula fuisset*) *si φλύαρον aliquem habuisset, nam σπουδάζειν* ('to discuss politics') *sine periculo vix possumus*: cp. note to 634 fin: 632. 5.

ad Baias] 'in the neighbourhood of Baiae.'

Habes . . . molestam] 'Now you have the whole story of his visit—or perhaps I should call it his *billeting* on me—which was troublesome, as I have told you, but

torum copia dextra sinistra ad equum nec usquam alibi. Hoc ex Nicia.

## 680. CICERO TO DOLABELLA (FAM. IX. 12).

POMPEII, OR FORMIAE; DECEMBER 17 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45;  
AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero P. Dolabellae gratulatur de Baiarum salubritate et orationem pro rege Deiotaro mittit.

## CICERO DOLABELLAE.

1. Gratulor Baiis nostris, si quidem, ut scribis, salubres repente factae sunt, nisi forte te amant et tibi adsentantur et tam diu, dum tu ades, sunt oblitae sui; quod quidem si ita est, minime miror caelum etiam et terras vim suam, si tibi ita conveniat, dimittere.  
2. Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas, habebam mecum, quod non putaram: itaque eam tibi misi; quam velim sic legas ut causam tenuem et inopem nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui levidense

really not disagreeable.' The Latin word for ἐπισταθμεία is *deductio* (Phil. ii. 62).

*dextra sinistra ad equum*], sc. *se prae-stabat* or something of the kind; 'the whole guard paraded under arms right and left of Caesar, who was on horseback, and this they did nowhere else': cp. Curtius iii. 3. 21, *Dextra laevaque regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur*. Perhaps here it was intended as a sort of compliment to Dolabella. *Dextra sinistra* appears to be a technical term of drill. For the asyndeton cp. Sall. Jug. 101. 9; and for *nec usquam alibi* cp. Plaut. Truc. 66; Liv. xxxix. 38. 1.

*Hoc ex Nicia*] sc. *audivi*. This Nicias, a grammarian of Cos, was a friend both of Cicero and of Dolabella, and something of a gossip: cp. 604 fin.; 623. 2; perhaps 752 init.

The editors say that this letter was written from Puteolanum; but it is unlikely that Cicero would write in this strain when he was but a stone's throw from Baiae. It was certainly not written

from Rome or from Tusculanum, for Cicero implies (§ 2) that he is away from his books. Probably it was sent from his Pompeianum or Formianum. Boot notices that Dolabella had a villa at Formiae: cp. Att. xv. 13. 5 (794).

1. *ades*] The mss give *abes*: cp. critical note to 682. 2; but all editors change to *ades*, i.e. Baiae is naturally unhealthy; but on your arrival she has forgotten her usual bad nature, and has, in affection for you, shown herself at her best. The change to *ades* is required by the next sentence. *Salubris* can be used in a two-fold sense—(1) health-giving; (2) health-enjoying—both of which meanings the word 'healthy' has.

*quod quidem*] 'and, indeed, if this be so, I do not at all wonder that heaven and earth should forego their wonted severity to suit your convenience.'

2. *scriptione*] 'of being committed to writing.'

*mittere volui*] so HD; *volui* is omitted by M, but supplied by all editors. 'I wished to send you a light coarse-spun gift.' For *levidense* the Dictt. quote

crasso filo, cuius modo ipsius solent esse munera. Tu velim animo sapienti fortique sis, ut tua moderatio et gravitas aliorum infamet iniuriam.

### 681. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIII. 42).

TUSCULUM; END OF DECEMBER; A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

De sermone cum Quinto filio habito, tum de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Venit ille ad me, καὶ μάλα κατηφής, et ego, σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννους; 'Rogas?' inquit 'cui iter instet et iter ad bellum, idque cum periculosum tum etiam turpe.' 'Quae vis igitur?' inquam. 'Aes' inquit 'alienum, et tamen ne viaticum quidem.' Hoc loco ego sumpsi quiddam de tua eloquentia; nam tacui. At ille 'Sed me maxime angit avunculus.' 'Quidnam?' inquam. 'Quod mihi' inquit 'iratus est.' 'Cur pateris?' inquam; 'malo enim ita dicere quam cur committis?' 'Non patiar' inquit: 'causam enim tollam.' Et ego 'Rectissime quidem. Sed si grave non est, velim scire quid sit causae.' 'Quia, dum dubitabam quam ducerem, non satis faciebam matri, ita ne illi quidem. Nunc nihil mihi tanti est.

Isid. Orig. xix. 22, *Levidensis vestis dicta quod raro filo sit leviterque densata. Pavitensis contraria levidensi dicta quod graviter pressa atque calcata sit.*

*crasso filo*] This is a variation of *crassa Minerva*, 'of home-spun mother wit.' On this metaphor from spinning, cp. Palmer on Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 3; Quintil. i. 10. 28, *libet propter quosdam imperitiores etiam crassiore, ut vocant, Musa dubitationem huius utilitatis eximere*; Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 76, *quicquam crasse compositum*, 'coarsely.' For the opposite *tenui filo*, cp. Orat. 124; Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 225; and Wilkins ad loc.

*aliorum infamet iniuriam*] 'may bring into ill-repute the wrong-doing of others,' i.e. of the other partisans of Caesar: cp. Fam. i. 6. 2 (104).

1. *Venit ille*] sc. Quintus junior.

καὶ μάλα κατηφής] 'moult tristement,' 'in doleful dumps.'

σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννους] 'why so pale and wan?'

*turpe*] because he had to fly from debts in Rome, and even so (*tamen*, i.e. though he had contracted debts), had no sufficient *viaticum* or allowance for expenses.

*Quae vis*] sc. *est*, 'what obligation compels you?' (to go).

*pateris*] 'why do you permit this to be so?' a very courteous expression implying that Quintus had the matter altogether in his own hands. *Cur committis* would mean 'Why do you cause him to be so?' *committere* implies direct blame; Dr. Reid compares 706 fin. The present *Malo* shows that this sentence is addressed to young Quintus. If it were parenthetical, addressed to Atticus, it would be *malui*: cp. *sumpsi*, *tacui*.

*illi*] sc. *avunculo*, i.e. Atticus.

*nihil mihi tanti est*] literally 'nothing is to me of such moment' as to induce me to incur my uncle's displeasure. We might render 'now I will put myself right with him at any cost.'

Faciam quod volunt.' 'Feliciter velim,' inquam, 'teque laudo. Sed quando?' 'Nihil ad me' inquit 'de tempore, quoniam rem probo.' 'At ego,' inquam, 'censeo, prius quam proficiscaris. Ita patri quoque morem gesseris.' 'Faciam' inquit 'ut censes.' Hic dialogus sic conclusus est. 2. Sed heus tu, diem meum scis esse III. Nonas Ianuarias. Aderis igitur. 3. Scripseram iam : ecce tibi, orat Lepidus ut veniam. Opinor augures †nil habere ad templum effandum. Eatur : μὴ σκόρδου. Videbimus te igitur.

*Nihil ad me*] sc. *pertinet*; 'as to the when I am indifferent, now that I have made up my mind to the *thing*,' to securing a reconciliation at any price, and possibly to marrying as they wish, as *Feliciter* would seem to show: cp. Juv. 2. 119, *Signatae tabulae, dictum 'feliciter.'* There was some talk of young Quintus marrying a daughter of Q. Gellius Canus (661. 2), a friend of Atticus.

2. *diem meum*] 'my birthday.' The Thesaurus (1031. 74) quotes only one other passage in this sense, viz. Cens. iii. 6, *si diem tuum neglegentius celebravero.*

3. †nil] The sense seems to require something like *me velle.*

*ad templum effandum*] 'to consecrate the temple' (cp. Liv. x. 38. 15), probably of *Felicitas* (cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 5). It is a technical augural expression. *Effari templum* literally means 'to proclaim solemnly a restricted area' as one within which the auspices could be taken: cp. Varro L. L. vi. 53, *hinc effata dicuntur, qui augures finem auspiciorum caelestium extra urbem agris sunt effati ut esset*: Fest. 157a. 28, *templum est locus ita effatus et ita septus ut ea una parte pateat angulosque affixos habeat ad terram*: Servius on *Æn.* vi. 197, *proprie effata sunt augurum preces, unde ager post pomeria ubi captabantur auguria dicebatur effatus*: cp. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 455.

μὴ σκόρδου] If *Nil* is corrected to *velle*, the sense of the passage up to the corrupt Greek words is clear enough: 'just as I had written [telling you that I should expect you at Tusculum, where I now am, on my birthday], lo and behold you a call to Rome from Lepidus; I suppose he wants to get together the augurs for the dedication of the new temple. Go I must.' So far there is nothing difficult; but what of the Greek? Since Gronovius suggested *μῖασμα δυνός*, that weak conjecture has held its place in the text, in spite of the *ductus litterarum*, of the unintelli-

gibility of the supposed proverb, and of its unsuitableness, as understood, to the passage on which it has been thrust. *Μῖασμα δυνός*, which has nothing in common with the ms reading except *μῖα*-, is supposed to allude to 'an act of impiety against the Dodonaean oak once committed by the Thebans,' and Cicero is said to have used this proverb to indicate that the dedication of the temple by Lepidus was an act of impiety—perhaps because it was on the site of the *Curia Hostilia*—all which guesswork affords an excellent example of the influences which have impeded the interpretation of the letters of Cicero since the Revival of Learning. Let us dismiss this guess so unworthy of Gronovius, and obelize the Greek words, if we can do nothing better. But we think we can do something much better. Let us make a single postulate, that H was corrupted into IA, and the words of Cicero will be ΜΗΣΚΟΡΔΟΥ. What then is the meaning of μὴ σκόρδου? We find in Gaisford's *Paraemiographi Graeci*, p. 144 (= Leutsch and Schneidewin i. p. 421, ed. 1839), that there was a proverb *ἵνα μὴ σκόρδα μὴδὲ κυάμους* (sc. *φάγης*) meaning 'so that you may not get yourself into trouble.' The Scholiast explains that this meaning emerges from the fact that persons about to engage in military duty ate garlic to whet their courage, and those who were about to try a case as dicasts ate beans to keep them awake; so that the whole proverb meant 'so that I may keep out of trouble, whether military or civil,' that is, 'so that I may keep a quiet life.' For garlic as a stimulus to courage for fighting, cp. Xen. *Symp.* iv. 9 *ἐς μὲν γὰρ μάχην ὀρωμένῳ καλῶς ἔχει κρόμμνον ὑποτρώγειν ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας σκόρδα σιτίσαντες συμβάλουσι*; and also Aristoph. *Ach.* 166; *Eq.* 494.

Whatever we may think of the Scholiast's account of the *origin* of the proverb,

## 682. CICERO TO MARCUS ACILIUS CANINUS (FAM. XIII. 30).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero M. Acilio Canino proconsuli Siciliae L. Manlium ad hereditatem paternam obtinendam commendat.

### CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

1. L. Manlius est Sosis. Is fuit Catinensis, sed est una cum reliquis Neapolitanis civis Romanus factus decurioque Neapoli;

we can ask for no better authority on its application: and that he gives; it is a proverb ἐπὶ τῶν ἡσυχῇ ζώντων, that is, it answers to our proverb 'anything for a quiet life.' This is further established by the Scholiast on Aristoph. Lys. 689, where μήποτε φάγη σκόροδα is explained ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὥραν ἔλθῃ 'that he may not get into trouble.' (The reading ὥραν is an obvious blunder. It would make the comment absolutely inexplicable: now ὥραν is a not infrequently used word for 'trouble' in Greek.) In the time of Cicero the proverb was simply μὴ σκόρδον (partitive genitive), σκόρδον being the form in late Greek, and the verb φάγω being characteristically understood. The proverb is precisely of the normal type of Greek expressions used by Cicero, in which he contents himself with alluding to a saying by using two or three of the first words of it. We need not here refer to more examples than μηδὲ δίκην (where we have to understand δικάσῃς πρὶν ἢν ἀμφοῖν αὐθον ἀκούσῃς): ἔρδοι τις (sc. ἢν ἕκαστος εἰδείῃ τέχνην).

The proverb is completely applicable to the context of the letter. 'Go I must,' says Cicero, 'if I want to keep out of trouble'; 'go I must or get into hot water,' would be an analogous expression in English. Cicero feared that any hesitation in complying with the desires of Lepidus might involve him in a misunderstanding with Caesar. Lepidus was at this time Caesar's *alter ego*. In Ep. 654. 1 Cicero says—*Lepidus . . . rogat magno opere ut sim Kal. in senatu, me et sibi et Caesari vehementer gratum esse facturum.*

As unsatisfactory as the guesses of Gronovius and Muecke (for which see Adn. Crit.) is the conjecture of Schmidt, who reads *μῖασμα Κόδρου*. It is not true, as he and Boot assume, that *μῖας* was

ever an alternative form (Nebenform) for *μῖασμα*; it is an error for *μῖασμα* no doubt, but the fact that a syllable dropped out in Hesychius affords no reason why a syllable should have dropped out in the letters of Cicero. We find in Hesychius *μῖας ἢ μῖασμός*, obviously an error for *μῖασμα ἢ μῖασμός*, and it is quite impossible that *μῖας* should have ever been another form of *μῖασμός*. Moreover, the note in Hesychius would, according to this view, omit the form *μῖασμα*, which is the commonly accepted form of the word. Schmidt imagines that *μῖασμα Κόδρου* means 'ein Kodrusmord,' and that 'ein Kodrusmord' is 'ein Frevel der nicht dem Caesarismus nützt, sondern die republikanische Opposition stärken wird.' We may think about accepting this reading when we learn why Caesar should be called Codrus, why *μῖασμα* should be written *μῖας*, and how 'a pollution of (or blot on) Codrus' could mean 'a thing of no use to Caesarism, but likely to strengthen the opposition.' Gurlitt (Steglitz Progr. 1898, p. 12) suggests *Eatur? ἀδιασκεπτὸν* 'Should I go? I cannot quite see my way in the matter.' But the alteration is very far from the Greek letters of the manuscript.

The words in which Dio Cass. xlv. 5 alludes to the dedication of the temple of *Felicitas* by Lepidus, who was Master of Horse to Caesar, as Dictator, are: *ὥς τε ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τὰ τε ἔλη οἱ τὰ Πόντινα χῶσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι, βουλευτήριόν τε τι καινὸν ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀστίλιον καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθρέθη· πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὺν Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἱππαρχῆας ἐξεποίησεν.*

This Acilius was a lieutenant of Caesar, and commanded in 48 at Oricum (Caes.



erat enim adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem sociis et Latinis datam. Eius frater Catinae nuper mortuus est. Nullam omnino arbitramur de ea hereditate controversiam eum habiturum, et est hodie in bonis; sed, quoniam habet praeterea negotia vetera in Sicilia sua, et hanc hereditatem fraternam et omnia eius tibi commendo in primisque ipsum virum optimum mihi que familiarissimum, iis studiis litterarum doctrinaeque praeditum quibus ego maxime delector. 2. Peto igitur abs te ut eum, sive aderit sive

B.C. iii. 15, 16, 39). In the latter passage some MSS read *Manius Acilius Canianus legatus* (others *legatus Caninianus*). Hence Klebs in Pauly-Wissowa (p. 251 Acilii No. 15) conjectures that the man's name was *Marcus* (cp. Dio Cass. xlii. 12, where see Boissevain's note) *Acilius Caninus*, as a quaestor urbanus of that name (probably a son or other relative), appears in an inscription of Ostia, C. I. L. xiv. 153, which is of a little earlier date than 28 B.C. Some time between 48 and the latter part of 45 he was proconsul of Sicily. Towards the end of 45 he succeeded Sulpicius as governor of Achaëa: cp. 694. 3: 697. 1. It is hard to say exactly when Acilius was proconsul of Sicily. Allienus was governor of that province in the early part of 46: cp. Bell. Afr. 2, 26, 34; and Furfanius Postumus at the beginning of 45: cp. Fam. vi. 9 (527). It would seem accordingly that governors did not hold their positions for a full year. So that we are left, in the absence of definite evidence, to place the Sicilian proconsulship of Acilius either in the latter half of 46, or the middle of 45. After the murder of Caesar he appears to have been in command of some forces in Macedonia destined for the Parthian War (Nic. Dam. 16, where we are to read *Ἀκίλιος* for *Αἰμίλιος* with Lango). Cicero speaks with gratitude of the kindness Acilius showed him during the unhappy year he spent at Brundisium, 48-47 (695. 1. 2): though indeed he was bound to do so, as Cicero had twice successfully defended him in capital cases, i.e. in cases involving his civil position (694. 3).

1. *L. Manlius Sosis*] 'There is a certain L. Manlius Sosis.' Sosis was a Greek who obtained Roman citizenship by the influence of a certain L. Manlius: cp. note on Fam. xiii. 21. 2 (516).

*adscriptus*] 'enrolled in.' In this sense *adscribere* generally has *in* or *ad*, but not

always: cp. Arch. 7; Liv. xxxviii. 34. 6; with accusative and dative it means 'to impute.' The Neapolitans did not wish at first to exchange the favourable treaty which subsisted between them and Rome for full Roman citizenship, when it was offered to them in 90 by L. Julius Caesar. Dr. Reid (note on Balb. 21) suggests that the reasons may have been 'the subjection to the census, the land service with the legion, the exchange of old laws for the Roman law, the abolition of local politics.' But after considerable hesitation it appears that Neapolis definitely accepted the Julian law (cp. C. I. L. x. p. 171).

*et est hodie in bonis*] 'and he has now possession of the goods.' When the full forms of civil law had not been complied with in regard to the devolution of property, by which forms alone *dominium* over it *ex iure Quiritium* could be acquired, the praetor gave the property to the man who seemed to have the fairest claim, or, if such claimant was already in possession, maintained him therein. If that possession was undisturbed for two years, the holder obtained full ownership. This temporary possession was called *bonorum possessio*, and gave the holder that kind of ownership which was called (at least in Byzantine times, and in technical language) *bonitarium*. For the praetor regarded all that which constituted the inheritance as part of the goods (*in bonis*) of the person to whom he gave or allowed possession: cp. Justinian Inst. iii. 9, and Sandars (ed. 6), p. xlix. 304. Poste's *Gaius*,<sup>2</sup> p. 187.

*in Sicilia sua*] 'in his native Sicily': There is no necessity to read *tua* with Schütz.

*iis studiis . . . praeditum*] 'possessing the same taste for literature and learning which gives me the greatest pleasure': cp. Cael. 24, *adulescentes . . . rectissimis studiis atque optimis artibus . . . praediti*.

2. *Peto . . . tractes*] Kleyn (p. 50) wishes

non venerit in Siciliam, in meis intimis maximeque necessariis scias esse itaque tractes ut intellegat meam sibi commendationem magno adiumento fuisse.

# 683. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 31).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio C. Flavium commendat.;

CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

1. C. Flavio, honesto et ornato equite Romano, utor valde familiariter; fuit enim generi mei C. Pisonis pernecessarius, meque diligentissime observant et ipse et L. Flavius, frater eius. Quapropter velim honoris mei causa, quibus rebus honeste et pro tua dignitate poteris, quam honorificentissime et quam liberalissime C. Flavium tractes: id mihi sic erit gratum ut gratius esse nihil possit. 2. Sed praeterea tibi adfirmo—neque id ambitione adductus facio, sed cum familiaritate et necessitudine, tum etiam veritate—te ex C. Flavi officio et observantia et praeterea splendore atque inter suos gratia magnam voluptatem esse capturum. Vale.

to add *cum* before *in*, and to read *ita* for *itaque*; and Boot (*Obs. Crit.*, p. 25) to read *quem* for *cum*, and *ita* for *itaque*. No alteration is required; cp. Div. in Caecil. 1. 2, *cum quaestor in Sicilia fuisset, iudices, itaque ex ea provincia decessissem ut . . . relinquerem*. Pluygers (*Mnemosyne*, 1873, p. 65) reads *sive mox*, adding, with some humour, 'quoquo modo tractare absentem, qui non venerit, Acilio durum ac difficile erit.' But if you assist a man's undertakings, you may be said to treat him well, even though you do not meet him personally.

1. *C. Flavio*] This C. Flavius is the

man who proposed to Atticus (cp. Nep. Att. 8. 3) that the Equites should combine to raise a fund in support of the tyrannicides. Atticus refused, and is censured by Brutus for his lack of spirit: cp. ad Brut. i. 17. 3 (865), where see note, and cp. ad Brut. i. 6. 4 (867). He was *praefectus fabrum* of Brutus, and fell at Philippi to the deep grief of his commander (Plut. Brut. 51.)

*ornato*] 'distinguished.'

*C. Pisonis*] i.e. C. Piso Frugi: cp. Att. i. 3, 3 (8).

2. *ambitione*] 'any interested motive': cp. 674. 4; 684. 1.

## 684. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 32).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio Archagathum et Philonem hospites suos commendat.

CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

1. In Halesina civitate tam lauta tamque nobili coniunctissimos habeo et hospitio et familiaritate M. et C. Clodios Archagathum et Philonem. Sed vereor ne, quia compluris tibi praecipue commendo, exaequare videar ambitione quadam commendationes meas: quamquam a te quidem cumulate satis fit et mihi et meis omnibus. 2. Sed velim sic existimes, hanc familiam et hos mihi maxime esse coniunctos vetustate, officiis, benevolentia. Quam ob rem peto a te in maiorem modum ut iis omnibus in rebus, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur, commodos: id si feceris, erit mihi vehementissime gratum.

## 685. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 33).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio Cn. Nasonis liberos et negotia commendat.

[CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.]

Cn. Otacilio Nasone utor familiarissime, ita prorsus ut illius ordinis nullo familiarius; nam et humanitate eius et probitate in

1. *Halesina*] Halesa was in the middle of the north coast of Sicily. It was the first Sicilian state which joined the Romans in the First Punic War (Diod. xxiii. 5), and was accordingly treated with considerable favour in the settlement of the island. In the Verrines, iii. 13, it appears as one of the *civitates sine foedere liberae et immunes*. Cicero seems to have spelled the word *Halesa*, but the Greek name is Ἀλαίσα, and the diphthong is found on coins: cp. Mommsen in C. I. L. x. p. 768.

M. et C. Clodios Archagathum et Philonem] 'the two Clodii, M. Archagathus

and C. Philo': cp. Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516).

*exaequare . . . meas*] 'to make all my recommendations equally strong from some interested motive': cp. 683. 2.

2. *vetustate*] 'old-standing friendship': so in Fam. v. 15. 2 (537); x. 10. 2 (834); xi. 16. 2 (888); xi. 27. 2 (784): but *amicitiae vetustas* is also found: cp. Fam. iv. 7. 1 (486).

*Nasone*] Kleyn and Wes., on account of *ordinis*, wish to add after *Nasone* the letters *e. R.* (= *equite Romano*).

consuetudine cotidiana magno opere delector. Nihil iam opus est expectare te quibus eum verbis tibi commendem, quo sic utar ut scripsi. Habet is in provincia tua negotia, quae procurant liberti, Hilarus, Antigonus, Demonstratus, quas tibi negotiaque omnia Nasonis non secus commendo ac si mea essent. Gratissimum mihi feceris si intellexero hanc commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse. Vale.

## 686. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 34).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio Lysonem Lilybitanum commendat.

[CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.]

Avitum mihi hospitium est cum Lysonem, Lysonis filio, Lilybitano, valdeque ab eo observor cognovique dignum et patre et avo; est enim nobilissima familia. Quapropter commendo tibi maiorem in modum rem domumque eius, magnoque opere abs te peto cures ut is intellegat meam commendationem maximo sibi apud te et adiumento et ornamento fuisse.

## 687. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 35).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio Philoxenum hospitem commendat.

CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

1. C. Avianius Philoxenus antiquus est hospes meus et praeter hospitium valde etiam familiaris, quem Caesar meo beneficio in

*Nihil iam . . . scripsi*] 'there is no need for you to wait to see the language in which I recommend a man with whom I am on the terms described.' Note the generic subject *utar*. The indicative *utor* would mean 'in which I recommend this man with whom I am on the terms described.'

*Avitum*] 'dating from his grandfather': cp. [Vergil] *Ciris*, 112.

*Lilybitano*] Cicero was quaestor at

Lilybaeum: cp. Ep. 690, and Pseudo-Ascon. p. 100. The correct form of the adj. is *Lilybitanus*: cp. C. I. L. x. p. 742, and Div. in Caec. 55; Verr. iv. 32; v. 10.

*peto cures*] = *peto ut cures*; cp. 691 and often, e.g. Verg. Aen. vi. 76. *ipsa canas oro*.

*maximo . . . fuisse*] 'has been a source of great assistance and distinction.'

1. C. Avianius Philoxenus] As Philoxenus appears to have been made a

Novocomensis rettulit; nomen autem Aviani secutus est, quod homine nullo plus est usus quam Flacco Aviano, meo, quem ad modum te scire arbitror, familiarissimo: quae ego omnia conlegi ut intellegeres non volgarem esse commendationem hanc meam. 2. Peto igitur abs te ut omnibus rebus, quod sine molestia tua facere possis, ei commodos habeasque in numero tuorum perficiasque, ut intellegat has litteras meas magno sibi usui fuisse: erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum.

## 688. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 36).

ROME (P); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio Demetrium Megam commendat.

## CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

1. Cum Demetrio Mega mihi vetustum hospitium est, familiaritas autem tanta quanta cum Siculo nullo. Ei Dolabella rogatu meo civitatem a Caesare impetravit, qua in re ego interfui; itaque nunc P. Cornelius vocatur; cumque propter quosdam sordidos homines, qui Caesaris beneficia vendebant, tabulam, in qua nomina

Roman citizen at Cicero's request, he ought to have taken the name of M. Tullius: see note to Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516): but it would seem from this passage that sometimes Greeks took the name of the Roman to whom they were most attached, and it was probably at the suggestion of Avianus (cp. Fam. xiii. 79 (526)) that Cicero used his influence in the matter. It may be noticed that under the Empire, at least from the time of Claudius, such naturalized foreigners almost always, even kings very frequently (cp. C. I. L. v. 32, vii. 11), took the name of the Emperor under whom they had obtained the privilege: cp. Mommsen St. R. iii. 64, note 1.

[Novocomensis] Strabo (v. 1, 6. p. 213) in speaking of Comum, after telling what Pompeius Strabo and C. Scipio did for the town, continues *εἴτα δ' θεὸς Καίσαρ πεντακισχίλους ἐπισυνέγκισεν* (sc. in accordance with the Vatinian law of 695 (59): cp. Suet. Caes. 28). *ὦν οἱ πεντακόσιοι τῶν*

*Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρξαν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι· τοῦτοίς δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωκε καὶ ἐνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς συνοίκους· οὐ μὲντοι ἄκησαν αὐτόθι· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομά γε τῷ κτίσματι ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπον. Νεοκωμῖται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἅπαντες· τοῦτο δὲ μεθερμηνευθὲν Νοβουμκώμου λέγεται.* Doubtless Philoxenus was one of these noble Greeks.

We find elsewhere that Novum Comum was considered as specially under the protection of Caesar: cp. Att. v. 11. 2 (200), where see note: and cp. also Dr. Reid (*Journal of Roman Studies*, i. 74ff.). Appian, B. C. ii. 26, is in error when he says that the town only received the Jus Latii.

1. *Mega*] This *Megas* appears to be declined like *Aeneas*.  
[*qua in re ego interfui*] 'and I was present on the occasion.'

[*Cornelius*] cp. note to 687. 1.

civitate donatorum incisa essent, revelli iussisset, eidem Dolabellae me audiente Caesar dixit nihil esse quod de Mega vereretur, beneficium suum in eo manere. 2. Hoc te scire volui, ut eum in civium Romanorum numero haberes, ceterisque in rebus tibi eum ita commendo ut maiore studio neminem commendarim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris ut intellegat meam commendationem magno sibi ornamento fuisse.

# 689. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 37).

ROME (?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio commendat Hippiam ut eius bona liberentur.

CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

Hippiam, Philoxeni filium, Calactinum, hospitem et necessarium meum, tibi commendo in maiorem modum: eius bona, quem ad modum ad me delata res est, publice possidentur alieno nomine contra leges Calactinorum. Id si ita est, etiam sine mea commendatione ab aequitate tua res ipsa impetrare debet ut ei subvenias. Quoquo modo autem se res habet, peto a te ut honoris mei causa eum expedias tantumque ei commodas et in hac re et in ceteris quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur: id mihi vehementer gratum erit.

*revelli*] ep. Verr. ii. 112, *quae tabula tum tuo imperio revulsa*.

*iussisset*] sc. Caesar. It is interesting to note that Caesar's powers, like those of the Emperors later, included the right of conferring the franchise.

2. *magno sibi ornamento*] so HD; *sibi* is omitted by M.

*Calactinum*] Calê Actê was a town on the north coast of Sicily, east of Halesa.

*publice . . . nomine*] 'are held by the State on the ground of a bond with which Hippias has nothing to do' (Wieland); or perhaps 'in the name of another,' i.e. the property had been seized by the State for some other man's delinquency, and registered in that other man's name, but the property really belonged to Hippias.

*fides dignitasque*] 'conscience and position.'

## 690. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 38).

ROME(?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio L. Bruttii negotia procuratoresque commendat.

CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.

L. Bruttius, eques Romanus, adulescens omnibus rebus ornatus, in meis familiarissimis *est* meque observat diligentissime, cuius cum patre magna mihi fuit amicitia iam inde a quaestura mea Siciliensi. Omnino nunc ipse Bruttius Romae mecum est; sed tamen domum eius et rem familiarem et procuratores tibi sic commendo ut maiore studio commendare non possim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris ut intellegat Bruttius, id quod ei recepi, hanc meam commendationem sibi magno adiumento fuisse.

## 691. CICERO TO THE SAME ACILIUS (FAM. XIII. 39).

ROME(?); A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Acilio M. Titurnium Rufum commendat.

[CICERO ACILIO PROCONSULI SAL.]

Cum familia Titurnia necessitudo mihi intercedit vetus, ex qua reliquus est M. Titurnius Rufus, qui mihi omni diligentia atque officio est tuendus; est igitur in tua potestate ut ille in me satis sibi praesidi putet esse. Quapropter eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum et abs te peto efficias ut is commendationem hanc intellegat sibi magno adiumento fuisse: erit *id* mihi vehementer gratum.

*quaestura mea Siciliensi*] Cicero had been quaestor at Lilybaeum (cp. Ep. 686) in 75 under Sext. Peducaeus as praetor (Verr. ii. 138, v. 35). The other Sicilian quaestorship was at Syracuse.

*omni . . . officio*] 'by every act of attention and service I can show him.'  
*peto efficias*] cp. 686.

## 692. CICERO TO TIRO AT TUSCULUM (FAM. XVI. 18).

ROME ; DECEMBER (END) ; A. U. C. 709 ; B. C. 45 ; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero de rebus domesticis scribit ad Tironem eumque maximo opere hortatur ut valetudini operam det.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Quid igitur? non sic oportet? equidem censeo sic. Addendum etiam 'suo.' Sed, si placet, invidia vitetur, quam quidem ego saepe contempsī. Tibi διαφόρησιν gaudeo profuisse. Si vero etiam Tusculanum, dii boni! quanto mihi illud erit amabilius! sed, si me amas, quod quidem aut facis aut perbelle simulas, quod tamen in modum procedit, sed *utut* est, indulge valetudini tuae, cui

Nothing definite can be said about the date of this and the following letter. The references to Tiro's health and to the *holitor* show that both belong to the same time. There seems no objection to their being placed at the end of 709 (45).

Quid . . . 'suo'] See Introd. to vol. i (ed. 3), p. 57, where this and other passages bearing on the use of the *praenomen* are treated. Cicero here omits Tiro's *praenomen*, which might be thought too familiar in addressing a freedman. For an example of the formal words of a letter taken literally, cp. Fam. v. 14 (585).

διαφόρησιν] 'perspiration,' 'sweating.' *Diaphoretic* is now a common medical term.

Tusculanum] sc. *profuerit*, 'if the air of Tusculum has the same good effect, heavens, how that will enhance my affection for the place!'

*quod tamen in modum*] Dr. Reid has sent us the following valuable note:—

"In *modum*: with this passage should be compared 2 Verr. 4, § 20, *haec tibi laudatio procedat in numerum* (Lucr. has in *numerum procedere*, iv. 788), where editors rightly compare in *numerum ludere*, *brachia tollere*, *exsultare*, *pulsare aera*, etc. In *modum procedit* is a phrase of exactly the same type, and may be similarly illustrated: cp. Catullus. lxi. 38, '*agile, in modum | dicite, O Hymenaeae Hymen.*' There is hardly an expression in which *numerus* occurs to which one cannot find a parallel with *modus*. Somewhat similar

is *tabulae in ordinem confectae*, Rosc. Com. § 7, i.e. 'so as to keep the right arrangement.'

"I would not refer *quod* to Tiro's health, but regard it as equivalent to *simulare*, understood from *simulas*: 'if you care for me, as indeed you either do, or make a very nice pretence of it, which pretence, however, I must say answers your wishes (i.e. produces the same effect on me as the reality would do), well then (*sed* resumptive), however that is, take care of your health,' etc."

The metaphor in *procedere in modum* (*numerum*) is that of undisturbed rhythmical movement, and hence comes to mean movement in accordance with one's wishes. Manutius says: "sumptum opinor ab histrionibus *numerum* in motu servantibus": cp. Parad. 26, *Histrion si paulo se movit extra numerum*.

The explanation of this passage given by Dr. Reid shows that the insertion of an adjective such as *mirum* (Lambinus), or *incredibilem* (Wesenberg), is not necessary. These admonitions to Tiro to take care of his health seem to have been either uncalled for or very accurately attended to, for we are told by Jerome, in Eusebius, that he reached the age of 100 years.

*utut est*] So we read with Manutius and Lambinus. Gronovius retains the *ms ut*, referring to Plaut. Poen. 833, where however, modern editors read *utut*.

*indulge . . . non satis*] 'Give way to considerations of your health, to which



quidem tu adhuc, dum mihi deservis, servisti non satis. Ea quid postulet non ignoras: πέψιν, ἀκοπίαν, περίπατον σύμμετρον, τρῖψιν, εὐλυσίαν κοιλίας. Fac bellus revertare; non modo te, sed etiam Tusculanum nostrum plus amem. 2. Parhedrum excita ut hortum ipse conducat; sic holitorem ipsum commovebis. Helico nequissimus HS c10 dabat, nullo aprico horto, nullo emissario, nulla maceria, nulla casa. Iste nos tanta inpensa derideat? calface hominem, ut ego Mothonem; itaque abutor coronis. 3. De

hitherto, in your devoted attention to me, you have not paid sufficient attention.'

πέψιν . . . κοιλίας] a kind of prescription, and therefore written in Greek; see vol. i<sup>3</sup> 86, note. For τρῖψιν, 'massage,' which appears as τρψιν in M, some editors read τέρψιν; in which one recognizes the characteristic tendency of medical advisers to tell their patients to keep their minds amused, while at the same time prescribing a régime which renders all enjoyment or amusement an impossibility. But we must adhere to τρῖψιν of HDF.

Fac . . . amem] Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 27) holds that, if Cicero did not intend to join these sentences, he would have used *amabo* and not *amem*; and accordingly proposes *non modo <ut> te sed etiam <ut> Tusculanum nostrum plus amem*. But we can easily understand out of *Fac bellus revertare* something like *quod si facias*. If emendation were resorted to, it would be simpler to add *tum* after *nostrum*.

2. Parhedrum . . . Mothonem] As far as we can understand the circumstances alluded to in this section they are as follows:—Cicero had let the flower and vegetable garden of his Tusculan villa to a market gardener when in a very incomplete condition, without any spot for growing choice flowers, without drains or a wall on which to train fruit trees, or a lodge for the gardener. Cicero had added all these improvements, and wished to raise the rent. The 'scoundrel Helico' (another market gardener apparently) had offered nearly as much as the rent now demanded, and that before any of these improvements were made; 'is he (the present tenant) to be allowed to scoff at a raised rent after all the expense I have gone to?' Cicero could of course have evicted his tenant, but he preferred not to do so until at least he had secured another. One Parhedrus seems to have been looking

after the place, and Cicero tells Tiro to 'stir him up' (*excita, calface*) to make an offer: 'thus,' he writes, 'you will smarten up' (*commovebis*) the gardener; and these were the tactics which Cicero pursued successfully with Motho in a similar transaction. Dr. Reid writes that "possibly *heluo* or *helluo* is the right reading. Cp. *Leg. Agr.* i. § 2, where Baiter's ms, denoted by F, has *hellico* for the word. I should then take *dabat* = 'used to give,' i.e. before I made all these improvements, for which I have charged him so little." Schütz wishes, with some old editors, to read *salaco* 'swaggerer' for *helico*. He says "*salaco* = *δαπανῶν ὅπου μὴ δεῖ* quomodo Theophrastus hoc vocabulum est interpretatus: cp. 665. 2. *Salaco* enim vocat illum holitorem quod hortum non dum sic, ut nunc erat, excultum et ornatum HS c10 conduxerit; nunc vero, cum tot ornamenta accesserint quanto aequum sit augere locationis pretium nolit."

*aprico horto*] a spot in the garden especially laid out so as to catch as much sun as possible. It would be used, as greenhouses with us, for growing choice flowers. Schütz thinks the words must be corrupt, and conjectures *nullo apiario*, *nulla cohorte*, or *nulla avium cohorte*. Orelli suggests *nullo apriorio*.

*itaque . . . coronis*] It formerly occurred to us that possibly the phrase *abutor coronis* may be corrected by altering to *ab utro coronas*, 'and so arrange as to close with whichever of them will supply me with flowers.' The landlord seems sometimes to have let his market-gardens on the terms that the gardener should supply him with flowers, which were mainly used for wreaths at entertainments, and were far more indispensable to an ancient Roman than they are to us. Here Cicero writes in his usual elliptic fashion, 'and so (*itaque* = *et ita*)

Crabra quid agatur, etsi nunc quidem etiam nimium est aquae, tamen velim scire. Horologium mittam, et libros si erit sudum. Sed tu nullosne tecum libellos, an pangis aliquid Sophocleum? Fac opus adpareat. A. Ligurius, Caesaris familiaris, mortuus est, bonus homo et nobis amicus. Te quando exspectemus fac ut sciam. Cura te diligenter. Vale.

## 693. CICERO TO TIRO AT TUSCULUM (FAM. XVI. 20).

ROME; A. U. C. 709 (END); B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero Tironi scribit de cura valetudinis, de componendis libris, de holitore, de gladiatoribus spectandis.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

Sollicitat, ita vivam, me tua, mi Tiro, valetudo; sed confido, si diligentiam quam instituisti adhibueris, cito te firmum fore. Libros compone; indicem, cum Metrodoro lubebit, quoniam eius

let as to (give it) to whichever you can get the flowers from,' *itaque* (loces) *ut* (ei des) *ab utro coronas* (accepturus sis). One cannot, however, feel any confidence that this is what Cicero wrote. If he wrote *abutor coronis*, it can mean 'I am positively wasteful in garlands,' he has flowers in such abundance; and this interpretation suits fairly well. Dr. Reid says—"Itaque seems to lead up to some result of having 'warmed up' Motho. *Abutor* appears to me a corruption of *abundo* (*abūdo*)": cp. Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 27), who suggests the same emendation.

3. *Crabra*] an aqueduct which extended from Tusculum to Rome, and for the use of which Cicero paid a tax to the town of Tusculum: cp. Leg. Agr. iii. 9.

*Horologium*] i.e. *solarium*, 'a sun-dial.' The first sun-dial which was used in Rome was that constructed for Catana in Sicily in B.C. 263. It was not till a hundred years later that Q. Maximus Philippus constructed one specially for Rome (Plin. II. N. vii. 213). They were afterwards common in private houses (Marquardt-Mau *Privatleben*? 789).

*si erit sudum*] 'weather permitting,' for damp might injure the manuscripts.

*nullosne tecum libellos*] 'have you no light literature with you?': sc. *habes* cp. 605. 3 *Cras aut te aut causam* (sc. *habebo*): Att. xvi. 12 (800) *Bonum animum* (sc. *habe*). It seems strange that Cic. should ask Tiro whether he had books with him when he had access to Cicero's library at

Tusculum: cp. 693. But we may suppose that Cicero's library was not very well stocked with books of poetry or the sort of light literature an invalid would like. Dr. Reid notes that "*Libellos* is here used, as often (cp. Catullus, *lepidum novum libellum*; Prop., Ov., Mart, etc.), of the lighter poetry as opposed to the serious styles, the epic or, as here, the tragic; for I think Cicero is alluding to a tragedy from Tiro's hand rather than a translation."

*Sophocleum*] 'are you engaged on any work in the style of Sophocles?' Probably Tiro contemplated writing a tragedy: cp. Verg. Ecl. 8, 10 (of Pollio), *sola Sophocleum carmina digna cothurno*. *Pangere* is often used of poetical composition, e.g. Hor. Epist. i. 18. 40.

*Fac opus adpareat*] 'let us see some fruit of your labours': cp. *ut huius peregrinationis aliquod tibi opus exstet*, Att. ii. 4. 3 (31). Note that Cicero uses *fac ut* a line or two below. Bücheler (as is pointed out by Mendelssohn) notices that Marcus Cicero uses both *fac*, Fam. xiv. 6 (414), Att. iv. 4 b, 2 (107), and *fac ut*, Att. ii. 6 fin. (33), 10 fin. (38); but that Quintus Cicero always uses *fac ut*.

A. *Ligurius*] He is mentioned in Q. Fr. iii. 7, 2 (156). Ligurius appears in Att. xi. 9, 2 (423) as the recipient of a letter from Quintus Cicero full of slanders against his brother Marcus.

*Libros compone; indicem*] 'arrange

arbitratu vivendum est. Cum holitore, ut videtur. Tu potes Kalendis spectare gladiatores, postridie redire; et ita censeo: verum, ut videbitur. Cura te, si me amas, diligenter. Vale.

my books and make a catalogue of them, when Metrodorus (the doctor) will be pleased to allow you: for you must order your life at his bidding.' *Index* with reference to books can mean either 'a catalogue' (as here, Plin. Epp. iii. 5. 2, and Quintil. x. 1. 57) or a 'title' (De Orat. ii. 61). We are to understand *componere* in the sense of 'compose,' 'make'

with *indicem*. The library at Tusculum is probably referred to.

*Cum holitore*] cp. last letter. Supply some word like *fac*: cp. 564. 3. *Tu vero nihil* (sc. *fac*) *nisi ut illi volent*; or *age*: cp. 629. 2. *Tu cum Pisone* (sc. *age*), *si quid poteris*. *Ut videtur* means 'at your discretion.'

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## LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 694-815.

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A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

COSS. C. JULIUS CAESAR V AND M. ANTONIUS.

AFTER THE IDES OF MARCH P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

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THE letters of this year shed much light on the intricate series of events subsequent to the murder of Caesar, which Cicero first received with almost inarticulate expressions of delight, but afterwards found not to be so unmixed a blessing. From this point of view it is interesting to contrast the remarkable letter to Basilus, Fam. vi. 15 (699), a little scream of triumph, with a passage in Att. xv. 4, 3 (734), where he writes: 'If things go on in this way, I feel—you will not be angry with me for saying it—I feel no pleasure in the memory of the Ides of March.' It is not necessary here to recapitulate the complicated details which again brought Cicero to the van of political strife, and which culminated in his death. The correspondence of the present year (not concluded in this volume, which only runs to the end of August) finishes the letters to Atticus, and takes us down to the time when the first four of the Philippics against Antony had already seen the light. The year is very rich in philosophical works. During it he published the Tusculan Disputations, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, De Gloria, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Officiis, Topica, Timaeus.

## 694. CICERO TO CURIUS AT PATRAE (FAM. VII. 30).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero Curio scribit quam misere se res publica habeat molesteque fert quod C. Caesar Caninium ad aliquot horas consulem crearit: tum de litteris commendaticiiis ad Acilium missis significat.

## CICERO CURIO S. D.

1. Ego vero iam te nec hortor nec rogo ut domum redeas; quin hinc ipse evolare cupio et aliquo pervenire 'ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam.' Incredibile est quam turpiter mihi facere videar qui his rebus intersim. Ne tu videris multo ante providisse quid impenderet, tum cum hinc profugisti. Quamquam haec etiam auditu acerba sunt, tamen audire tolerabilius est quam videre. In campo certe non fuisti cum hora secunda comitiis quaestoriis institutis sella Q. Maximi, quem illi consulem esse dicebant, posita esset, quo mortuo nuntiato sella sublata est; ille

1. *Ego vero*] These words, as usual, point to a question asked, which is here answered. 'No, I do not now urge you or ask you': cp. note to 574. 1. This letter is a reply to 677, and Cicero begins by answering § 1 of that letter, *quo facilius tuis praeceptis obtemperare possimus teque ad rer libentes videre*. Cicero here uses *iam* because in Fam. vii. 28. 1 (477) he had said, *Memini cum mihi desipere videbare quod cum istis potius viveres quam nobiscum*—a passage which also shows that we should take *tum* a few lines below with *providisse*.

*ubi . . . audiam*] A favourite quotation of Cicero's from the 'Pelops' of Accius: cp. note to Fam. vii. 28. 2 (477). Sometimes it is represented only by the words *ubi nec Pelopidarum*. In Att. xv. 11. 3 (744) it is *ubi nec Pelopidarum facta neque famam audiam*. Hence Ribbeck gives the verse as *ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta aut famam audiam*, a trochaic septenarius.

*Ne*] A particle of asseveration, formerly written *nae*. It is always followed by a pronoun in Cicero.

*comitiis quaestoriis institutis*] Caesar at this time took care to superintend the elections; and, as he did not return from

Spain till September or October, and then celebrated a triumph and gave shows to the people, the elections, usually held in the summer, were delayed till December. Though a chair was placed for the consul, it must be remembered that it was Caesar and not the consul who presided (Momms. St. R. ii.<sup>2</sup> 709, note 1). The quaestors, as well as the tribunes and aediles, were elected at the *comitia tributa*.

*Q. Maximi*] In 709 (45) Caesar was for nine months consul without a colleague. On his return from Spain he resigned, and had C. Trebonius and Q. Maximus elected. Hence the latter is called *trimestris consul* (Suet. Caes. 80). For *quem illi dicebant* cp. 771. 1, *ad consules sive quo alio nomine sunt*.

*ille . . . habuit*] Caesar (*ille*) had taken the auspices for the *comitia tributa*, for the business of the day was the election of quaestors. Mommsen (St. R. i.<sup>2</sup> 95, note 6) says that the signs required of the gods were not different for the different *comitia*, but that in asking for signs it was notified to the gods what the particular *comitia* were and the object for which they were summoned. For *ille* = Caesar, cp. note to 648. 2.

autem, qui comitiis tributis esset auspicatus, centuriata habuit; consulem hora septima renuntiavit, qui usque ad Kalendas Ian. esset, quae erant futurae mane postridie: ita Caninius consule scito neminem prandisse. Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est; fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit. 2. Haec tibi ridicula videntur—non enim ades; quae si videres, lacrimas non teneres. Quid, si cetera scribam? sunt enim innumerabilia generis eiusdem, quae quidem ego non ferrem, nisi me in philosophiae portum contulissem et nisi haberem socium studiorum meorum Atticum nostrum; cuius quoniam proprium te esse scribis mancipio et nexo, meum autem usu et fructu, contentus

*consulem*] C. Caninius Rebilus: cp. Dio Cass. xliii. 46: and Tac. Hist. iii. 37, *Prid. Kal. Nov. Roscius Regulus iniit consulatum eiuravitque . . . nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus Gaio Caesare dictatore cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur*: cp. Suet. Caes. 76. Caninius served as a legate of Caesar in Gaul, Africa, and Spain. In the latter campaign it was rumoured that he had been shipwrecked (580. 4; 590. 4). In Africa in 46 he had held proconsular power, and received the surrender of Thapsus (Bell. Afr. 86. 3; 93. 3). He was one of the witnesses of the *Scutum de Iudaeis* of 710 (44): cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, pp. 254, 521. Dio Cass. (xlviii. 32, 3) mentions the case of an aedile who was elected for one day in 714 (40); and (xlix. 43, 7) of a praetor who was elected for a few hours in 721 (33).

*mane postridie*] The civil day amongst the Romans dated from midnight to midnight, and all children born in that interval were said to be born on the same day; the natural day was from sunrise to sunset: cp. Varro ap. Gell. iii. 2, 2.

*neminem prandisse*] Trebellius Pollio (Vit. trig. tyr. 8, 2) gives a different turn to this joke. *Ut ille consul qui sex meridianis horis consulatum suffectum tenuit a M. Tullio tali aspersus est ioco 'Consulem habuimus tam severum tamque consorium ut in eius magistratu nemo pranderit, nemo cenaverit, nemo dormiverit.'* For other jokes made by Cicero on this incident see Macrobius, ii. 3, 6, *Caninius quoque Rebilus, qui uno die consul fuit, rostra cum ascendisset, pariter honorem iniit consulatus et eiuravit; quod Cicero omni gaudens occasione urbanitatis increpuit: 'Λόγῳ θεωρητὸς* (so Dr. Reid points out to us that we must

read. He compares Plut. Plac. i. 3. 9 (= 877 D) where the atoms of Epicurus are *σώματα λόγῳ θεωρητά*, so small that they were not perceptible to sense) *est Caninius consul*: et deinde *'Hoc consecutus est Rebilus ut quaeretur quibus consulibus consul fuerit'*: cp. vii. 3, 10, *'Solent esse flamines diales, modo consules diales* (as if from *dies*, a use not found elsewhere) *habemus, et in eundem 'Vigilantissimus est consul noster qui in consulatu suo somnum non vidit,' eidemque exprobandi sibi quod ad eum consulem non venisset 'Veniebam' inquit, 'sed nox me comprehendit'*: cp. Plut. Caes. 58. Macrobius, however, mistakes the name and tells the story of Vatinius: cp. ii. 3, 5; and indeed Vatinius and Calenus were consuls for three months in 47 (Dio Cass. xlii. 55. 4). The chief example of short tenures of office is the year 38, in which there were 67 praetors: (ib. xlviii. 43. 2).

*viderit*] 'did not let sleep come upon his eyes': cp. Ter. Heaut. 491, *somnum hercle ego hac nocte ('last night') oculis non vidi meis*. Böckel quotes an anonymous epigram—

*Vigilantem habemus consulem Caninium  
Qui in consulatu somnum non vidit suo.*

2. *in philosophiae portum*] cp. Tusc. v. 5, *his gravissimis casibus in eundem portum* (sc. *philosophiae in sinum*), *ex quo eramus egressi, magna iactati tempestate confugimus*.

*mancipio et nexo*] This is an allusion to the beginning of Curius' letter (677), to which this is the answer. Wordsworth (Frag., pp. 522, 523) explains the difference between these two terms as follows:—*mancipatio* is the ceremony of

isto sum ; id enim est cuiusque proprium, quo quisque fruitur atque utitur. Sed haec alias pluribus. 3. Acilius, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est, maximo meo beneficio est—bis enim est a me iudicio capitis rebus salvis defensus—et est homo non ingratus meque vehementer observat : ad eum de te diligentissime scripsi eamque epistulam cum hac epistula coniunxi, quam ille quo modo acceperit et quid tibi pollicitus sit velim ad me scribas.

the conveyance of what alone was considered property, *res mancipi*, in early times, viz. land and *ἐμψυχα ὄργανα* such as slaves and cattle. It was effected *per aes et libram* in the presence of five witnesses, all full-grown Roman citizens representing the five classes of the Servian constitution, and a *libripens* whose function theoretically was to weigh the uncoined bars of copper (Gaius, i. 119). "Now while *mancipatio* is a conveyance or transfer, *nexum* is a bond or contract. The two seem to have originated in the same process, since *nexum* is defined as *omne quod geritur per aes et libram*. Gradually *mancipium* was restricted to actual transfer, while *nexum* was used to express an incomplete conveyance." It is not, however, sure that the distinction is so certain or so marked. From the obscure passages in Varro L. L. vii. 105 and Festus 165 (the text in both being very uncertain) we seem to gather that Roman lawyers were divided in opinion, Manilius and Aelius Gallus [and probably Cicero De Orat. iii. 159] holding that *mancipatio* was a species of *nexum* : Mucius Scaevola considering *nexum* and *mancipium* side by side as species of *per aes et libram gerere*. See the able and exhaustive treatise by Mr. Roby (*Roman Private Law*, pp. 296–310, esp. pp. 304–5). He shows that *nexum* in Livy has reference to physical bonds, in Cicero to a bond not physical but abstract, what we call a contract. For further details see Gaius, iii. 174.

*cuiusque . . . quisque*] For *quisque* in both clauses cp. Phil. ii. 119, *ut ita cuique eveniat ut de republica quisque mereatur*,

where Mayor quotes from Nägelsbach (p. 297) Off. i. 21 ; Rep. iii. 18 ; Fin. iv. 33. He notices also that where there is but one *quisque*, it is generally in the relative clause in Latin ; with us it is in the demonstrative clause.

3. *maximo meo beneficio est*] This strange ablative of quality is also found in Phil. viii. 18, *negat se illi amicum esse debere* ; *cum suo magno esset beneficio venisse eum contra se*, 'Antony had taken part against him, though under great obligations to him.' In both places Wesenberg would supply *usus*. In our passage Cratander has supplied *affectus*. It is certainly a much stranger ablative than *magna gloria esse*, and the like, quoted by Madv. 272, obs. 2, or even than Q. Fr. iii. 3, 4 (151), *summo studio rhetoris*, for which has been proposed *summe studiosus*. Yet it may possibly be explained as a tolerably permanent condition of Acilius ; having received favours from Cicero, he is permanently under an obligation to him. For unusual ablatives of quality, Andresen compares, among others, Fam. vi. 4. 4 (540), *quanto fuerim dolore* ; xii. 16. 3 (736) ; *etiam si odio pari fuerit in eos* ; Att. vi. 1. 23 (252), *nec nulla nec magna spe sumus* ; Fam. v. 2. 4 (14) *senatus consultum ea praescriptione est*. We may add Sest. 27 *qui mutata veste non erat* : Nepos Hannib. 2 *numquam pari periculo Carthago fuerat*.

*rebus salvis*] 'successfully,' or 'without loss,' lit. 'his fortunes being safe. This has been interpreted to mean 'when the republic still existed,' but then an adjective signifying 'public' would have been required with *rebus*.



## 695. CICERO TO MARCUS ACILIUS CANINUS.

(FAM. XIII. 50).

ROME (?); JANUARY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Acilio Achaeae proconsuli commendat M'. Curium, Patris negotiantem.

CICERO S. D. ACILIO.

1. Sumpsi hoc mihi pro tua in me observantia, quam penitus perspexi quam diu Brundisi fuimus, ut ad te familiariter et quasi pro meo iure scriberem, si quae res esset de qua valde laborarem. M'. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, ita mihi familiaris est ut nihil possit esse coniunctius. Multa illius in me officia, multa in illum mea, quodque maximum est, summus inter nos amor et mutuus.

2. Quae cum ita sint, si ullam in amicitia mea spem habes, si ea, quae in me officia et studia Brundisi contulisti, vis mihi etiam gratiora efficere—quamquam sunt gratissima—si me a tuis omnibus amari vides, hoc mihi da atque largire ut M'. Curium sartum et tectum, ut aiunt, ab omnique incommodo, detrimento, molestia sincerum integrumque conserves. Et ipse spondeo et omnes hoc tibi tui pro me recipient, ex mea amicitia et ex tuo in me officio maximum te fructum summamque voluptatem esse capturum. Vale.

ACILIO] So we read with all editors since Lallemand. The MSS. give AVCRO. But Cicero could not in this letter be recommending Curius to anyone except the governor of Achaea; and the governor at this time was M. Acilius Caninus: cp. note to 682.

1. Brundisi] in 706 (48) and 707 (47). pro meo iure] 'with a right to do so': cp. 694. 3.

laborarem] 'I was very anxious.'  
coniunctius] So D: coniunctus H; coniunctio M; hence Lehmann (p. 90) conjectured ut nihil possit esse <coniunctius quam nostra> coniunctio, comparing Fam. xiii. 19. 1 (518) familiaritas . . . sic est. aucta ut nihil sit familiaritate

nostra coniunctius. The reading of D and H renders this clever conjecture no longer necessary.

2. si eu . . . gratissima] 'if you wish to lay me under a greater obligation of gratitude for all the favours and services you have done me at Brundisium, though that obligation is supreme.'

sartum et tectum] 'right and tight,' the regular phrase for buildings when in a good state of repair: cp. note to Fam. xiii. 11. 1 (452). For the metaphorical use of the expression cp. Plaut. Trin. 317, sarta tecta tua praecepta usque habui. Usually et is omitted.

sincerum integrumque]. 'clear and safe.'

## 696. VATINIUS TO CICERO (FAM. V. 10).

NARONA; JANUARY (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

P. Vatinius scribit de Dionysio servo fugitivo, de Catilio pirata capto, de rebus gestis suis, de decernendis supplicationibus.

VATINIUS CICERONI SUO SAL.

1. S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. De Dionysio tuo adhuc nihil extrico, et eo minus quod me frigus Dalmaticum, quod illinc eiecit, etiam hic refrigeravit; sed tamen non desistam quin illum aliquando eruam. Sed tamen omnia mihi dura imperas: de Catilio nescio quid ad me scripsisti deprecationis diligentissimae. Apage te cum nostro Sex. Servilio; nam mehercule ego quoque illum amo: sed huiusce modi vos clientis, huius modi causas recipitis? hominem unum omnium crudelissimum, qui tot ingenuos, matresfamilias, civis Romanos occidit, abripuit, disperdidit, regiones vastavit? Simius, non semissis homo, contra me arma tulit, et eum bello cepi.

1. S. V. B. E. E. Q. V.] = *si vales bene est, ego quoque (or quidem) valeo.*

*extrico*] a word of common life—‘hunt up,’ ‘fish out.’ It is used in Plaut. (Epid. 152) and Horace (Sat. i. 3, 88) of raising money with difficulty, ‘screw out.’ Properly it means to get clear of toils or snares, Hor. Carm. iii. 5. 31.

*illinc eiecit*] cp. 678, *ex qua me nives, frigora, imbres detruserunt.*

*refrigeravit*] ‘has frozen me up here again.’

*non desistam quin*] For this construction Schmalz (*Die Latinität des P. Vatinius*, p. 14) compares Plaut. Rud. 228, *neque, si vivit, eam viva umquam quin inveniam desistam*. Cicero uses the infinitive after *non desistere* (cp. 676. 1, *nunquam destitit praedicare*), as does Caesar.

*aliquando*] Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 10) suggests, with much probability, *alicunde*; cp. 608. 3 *sicunde*.

*Catilio*] sometimes printed *C. Atilio*. He was probably a pirate; but we do not hear of him elsewhere. Shuckburgh thinks he may have been an old Pompeian officer who took to piracy. His former position may perhaps account for his

having received a regular trial. We do not know anything further about Sex. Servilius. The praenomen, Dr. Reid tells us, is not elsewhere found in the Servilian family.

*deprecationis diligentissimae*] ‘most earnest appeal for mercy.’

*matresfamilias*] So MR; but G has *patresfamilias*. We felt inclined to read the latter, as the passage would then make a good climax, ‘free-born men, heads of houses, Roman citizens’; but the collocation of *ingenui* and *matresfamilias* is found in Verr. iv. 116, *mitto adhibitam vim ingenuis, matresfamilias violatas*.

*occidit, abripuit, disperdidit*] ‘killed, raped, ruined’; *occidit* seems to refer specially to *civis Romanos*, *abripuit* to *matresfamilias*, *disperdidit* to *ingenuos*. The *dis-* is intensive, as in *dispereo*: cp. Conington ad Verg. Ecl. iii. 27, *solebas Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen*. Such forms as *disperii*, *discupio*, *distaedet* belong to every-day life, which is always fond of exaggerations; see Wagner on Plaut. Aul. p. 108: cp. *dis-suaviabor* in Q. Cic. Fam. xvi. 27. 2 (815).

*Simius, non semissis homo*] ‘an ape-

2. Sed tamen, mi Cicero, quid facere possum? omnia mehercule cupio quae tu mihi imperas; meam animadversionem et supplicium, quo usurus eram in eum quem cepissem, remitto tibi et condono: quid illis respondere possum qui sua bona direpta, navis expugnatas, fratres, liberos, parentis occisos actione exposculant? Si mehercules Appi os haberem, in cuius locum suffectus sum, tamen hoc sustinere non possem. Quid ergo est? Faciam omnia sedulo quae te soiam velle. Defenditur a Q. Volusio, tuo discipulo, si forte ea res poterit adversarios fugare; in eo maxima spes est. 3. Nos, si quid erit istic opus, defendes. Caesar adhuc mihi iniuriam facit; de meis supplicationibus et

like creature not worth a half-penny.' There is a sort of paranomasia on the words. For *semissis* cp. Persius v. 76, *non tressis agaso*; for the genitive cp. Plaut. Truc. 611, *hominem non nauci*; Poen. 381, *homo trioboli*: for *simius*, as a term of abuse, cp. Hor. Sat. i. 10. 18, Fam. viii. 12. 2 (279): *simiolus* Fam. vii. 2. 3 (182).

2. *meam . . . condono*] 'the punishment and penalty which I intended to inflict on my captive I give up and remit at your request.'

*qui sua . . . exposculant*] Krause and Wes. read <ob> *sua bona*, and this we adopted in our former ed. But Dr. Reid has convinced us that we should not add *ob*, but read *actione* ('by legal procedure' which had been opened, cp. *defenditur a Volusio*), or perhaps <hac> *actione, exposculant*. Cicero would probably have used *expostulare* with *de*: cp. Fam. v. 2. 9 (14); iii. 10. 6 (261). For *expostulare* with acc. cp. Ter. Andr. 639, *adeamne ad eum et cum eo iniuriam hanc expostulem*. Orelli too boldly alters *actiones* into a *Catilio*. Schmalz (p. 15) notices that Orelli's reading may be paralleled by Plaut. Mil. 697 *Tum obstetrix expostulavit necum parum missum sibi*.

*mehercules*] M reads *mercules*: but we do not know of any other case where the contracted *mercules* occurs, though *meroule* seems to be often found: cp. Neue-Wagener ii. 991. For the form *mehercules* (see Adn. Crit.), which is less elegant than *mehercule*, cp. Cic. Orat. 157. Cicero himself occasionally uses it. Sir J. Sandys quotes five examples from the speeches: but Fam. x. 18. 3 (870) is by Plancus. It is often found in the letters of Cicero's correspondents, e.g. Plancus:

cp. Fam. x. 11. 3 (848); Cassius, xv. 19. 3 (542); Asinius Pollio, x. 32. 4 (896). It may be noticed that *mehercule* never stands at the beginning of a sentence.

*Appi*] most probably Appius Claudius Pulcher, whom Cicero succeeded in the government of Cilicia, but who had perished in the Civil War. Vatinius had stood for the augurate in 59: cp. Att. ii. 9. 2 (36); but seems not to have obtained it until the death of Appius Claudius (early in 48).

*Quid ergo est?*] 'what is to be done then?' cp. Fam. ix. 15. 5 (481); viii. 12. 2 (279); x. 23. 1 (895); a phrase from the language of ordinary life. Schmalz (p. 24) adds Petron. 31, where Friedländer quotes many passages from Seneca, e.g. De Vita Beata 25 (in which chapter it occurs several times). This is an instance of the way private influence was brought to bear on a provincial governor, and is not very creditable to Cicero.

*Q. Volusio*] He was with Cicero in Cilicia, and was sent by him into Cyprus to hold an assize there. Cicero says he was *certus homo sed mirifice etiam abstinentens*, Att. v. 21. 6 (250): cp. Fam. v. 20. 3 (302).

3. *Caesar adhuc mihi iniuriam facit*] Schmidt (p. 361) notes that feelings of unfair treatment like this must have led some of Caesar's generals and other officials to join in the conspiracy.

*supplicationibus*] cp. Ep. 678. A *supplicatio* had been granted to Vatinius in September; but apparently no arrangements [had been made as regards the details of its celebration, nor did Caesar take any steps towards bringing before the Senate the consideration of these

rebus gestis Dalmaticis adhuc non refert, quasi vero non iustissimi triumphi in Dalmatia res gesserim! nam si hoc expectandum est dum totum bellum conficiam, viginti oppida sunt Dalmatiae antiqua; quae ipsi sibi adseiverunt amplius sexaginta: haec nisi omnia expugno, si mihi supplicationes non decernuntur, longe alia condicione ego sum ac ceteri imperatores.

## 697. CICERO TO CURIUS AT PATRAE (FAM. VII. 31).

ROME; FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Invitat M. Cicero M'. Curium ad mutua officia et ut in urbem veteris urbanitatis tuendae causa redeat rogat.

CICERO CURIO S. D.

1. Facile perspexi ex tuis litteris, quod semper studui, et me a te plurimi fieri et te intellegere quam mihi carus esses; quod quoniam uterque nostrum consecutus est, reliquum est ut officiis certemus inter nos, quibus aequo animo vel vincam te vel vincar abs te. Acilio non fuisse necesse meas dari litteras facile patior.

points. Vatinius was annoyed at this, and also that his subsequent 'Dalmatian exploits' in November and December were not discussed, nor what he considered a fitting reward for them (i.e. a triumph), voted to him. We know that about this time a triumph not infrequently followed hard upon a *supplicatio*: cp. Fam. xv. 5. 2 (266) *neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus*.

*rebus gestis Dalmaticis*] In good prose the only adjectives used with *res gestae* are those expressive of magnitude, e. g. *memorabiles* or *praeclarae* or the like. Vatinius should have said *in Dalmatia*: cp. Sall. Jug. 30. 1, *res in Africa gestae*; Liv. xxx, 17. 12, *rerum gestarum prospere in Africa*. In Fronto, p. 220 (Naber) we find *in rebus gestis Romanis*, where he should have said *a Romanis*: cp. Schmalz, pp. 20, 21.

*iustissimi triumphi*] For a lengthy discussion on the conditions necessary to qualify for a triumph, see Mommsen, St. R. i<sup>2</sup>. 124-133; one of the principal conditions was that 5000 of the enemy should have fallen in one battle (Val. Max. ii. 8, 1). For this genitive of quality, cp. Dräger i. 461, who quotes Rose. Am. 17, *plurimarum palmarum vetus gladiator*:

Fam. ix. 26. 4 (479), *non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci*. Landgraf notices that as classical Latin did not favour compound adjectives—though popular language did, cp. *multibibus* (Plaut.): *multiscius* (Apl.)—the want was supplied by the genitive of quality. Thus Rose. Am. 17 *plurimarum palmarum* = *πολυστεφής*: Att. xiii. 29. 1 (604) *Cornificia vetula sane et multarum nuptiarum* = *πολύγαμος*: Hor. Carm. iii. 9. 7 *multi Lydia nominis* = *πολύωνυμος*.

*quae ipsi sibi adseiverunt*] The antecedent to *quae* is probably *sexaginta*, and the translation is, 'there are twenty ancient towns in Dalmatia; those which they have joined to themselves are more than sixty'—an asyndeton which may, however, be tolerated in Vatinius. These cities appear to have formed a league. The cities of the region near to which the Aetolian League had formerly flourished had a strong gravitation towards one another.

*ac ceteri*] Cicero would hardly have used *ac* before a word beginning with a guttural.

1. *meas*] i.e. 695.

*facile patior*] 'I am glad,' cp. note to 590. 1.

2. Sulpici tibi operam intellego ex tuis litteris non multum opus fuisse propter tuas res ita contractas ut, quem ad modum scribis, 'nec caput nec pedes': equidem vellem uti pedes haberent, ut aliquando redires. Vides enim exaruisse iam veterem urbanitatem, ut Pomponius noster suo iure possit dicere,

'Nisi nos pauci retineamus gloriam antiquam Atticam.'

Ergo is tibi, nos ei succedimus. Veni igitur, quaeso, ne tamen semen urbanitatis una cum re p. intereat.

2. *Sulpici . . . intereat*] 'I perceive from your letters that you did not to any considerable extent require the services of Sulpicius owing to the inchoate nature of your business contracts, which, as you say, have neither head nor foot. I wish they had feet, that you might come back some time or other. For you see that the fountain of our old wit has quite run dry; so that our good Pomponius has every right to say—*Unless we few supported still the Attic fame of yore.* Well, then, he takes your place (when you are absent), and I take his (when he is absent). Come then, I beg of you, lest, after all, the very seed of wit perish along with the freedom of the state!' For *opus fuisse* used with a subject, cp. Fam. ii. 6. 4 (177), *dux nobis et auctor opus est*, where see other examples. Though *res contractae* is the regular Latin for 'contracts' (see Holden on Off. i. 15), there can be little doubt that here *contractas* means 'reduced in extent.'

'*nec caput nec pedes*'] For this proverb, which implies that the thing in question has no organic unity, but is in such a state of confusion that we can make neither head nor tail of it, cp. Plant. Asin. 728, Leon. *Ego caput argento fui hūc hodie reperūdo.* Li. *Ego pes fui.* Arg. *Quin nec caput nec pes sermoni adpareret:* Capt. 614; Hor. A. P. 7, *vanae finguntur species ut nec pes nec caput uni reddatur formae*; Liv. Epit. 50, *Cum tres legati ad pacem inter Nicomedem et Prusiam faciendam ab Romanis missi essent, cum unus ex iis caput multis cicatriceibus sparsum haberet, alter pedibus aeger esset, tertius ingenio socors haberetur, dixit Cato eam legationem nec caput nec pedes nec cor habere:* cp. *nec cor nec caput habet*, Senec.

Apocol. 8, and Plat. Phaedr. 264 C, *δεῖν πάντα λόγον ὥσπερ ζῶον συνεστάναι σώματι ἔχοντα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μήτε ἀκέφαλον εἶναι μήτε ἄπουν, ἀλλὰ μέσα τε ἔχειν καὶ ἄκρα πρέποντ'* ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ γεγραμμένα with Thompson's note. *Nec caput nec pedes habeat*, in the old formula of exorcism quoted by Pliny H. N. xxvii. 131, seems to mean 'may it perish.'

*Pomponius*] Dr. Reid has shown us that this cannot be Pomponius, the writer of Atellanæ, for he flourished about 90 B.C.: and *is* and *ei* in the next sentence must refer to some one living. The addition of *noster* too is proof that Atticus is meant. When Curius left Rome, Atticus was the best representative of the true Attic wit, and Cicero came next to Atticus. For L. Pomponius Bononiensis, the writer of Atellanæ, cp. Vell. ii. 9. 6 (*Pomponium sensibus celebrem, verbis rudem et novitate inventi a se operis commendabilem*, and Teuffel, § 151. 4. His fragments are collected in Ribbeck Com. pp. 225-254 (ed. 2).

*suo iure*] 'as he has a right to do': cp. Fin. v. 4, *Pomponius* (i.e. Atticus) . . . *iocari videtur et fortasse suo iure.*

*Nisi nos . . . Atticam*] a troch. tetram., possibly, but not necessarily, by the poet Pomponius: cp. Ribbeck, p. 253.

*tibi*] ep. Att. vii. 2. 3 (293), *et mehercule est quam facile diligas αὐτόχθων in homine* (sc. Curius) *urbanitas.*

*tamen*] 'for all that,' i.e. though a small remnant of the old humour still remains which may be used as seed for a new crop, there is danger that it may perish from out of Rome unless you return. There is no need to alter to either *tantum* or *etiam*.

# 698. CICERO TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS IN AFRICA (FAM. XII. 21).

ROME ; SPRING ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio C. Anicium senatorem eiusque negotia et dignitatem commendat.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO.

C. Anicius, familiaris meus, vir omnibus rebus ornatus, negotiorum suorum causa legatus est in Africam legatione libera : eum velim rebus omnibus adiuves operamque des ut quam commodissime sua negotia conficiat ; in primisque, quod ei carissimum est, dignitatem eius tibi commendo, idque a te peto, quod ipse in provincia facere sum solitus non rogatus, ut omnibus senatoribus lictores darem ; quod idem acceperam et id cognoveram a summis viris factitatum. Hoc igitur, mi Cornifici, facies ceterisque rebus omnibus eius dignitati reique, si me amas, consules : erit id mihi gratissimum. Da operam ut valeas.

As this letter appears to have been written towards the beginning of the governorship of Cornificius in Africa, we have placed it here with Schmidt (p. 431).

C. Anicius] Cicero was on very good terms with this Anicius. 'We must see,' he says to Quintus, ii. 8. 3 (123), 'about putting Marius up at the house of Anicius': and Anicius was spectator of the consequences which befell Cicero after his vegetarian diet at the inaugural dinner-party given by Lentulus : cp. Fam. vii. 26. 2 (94), *vidit enim me nauseantem*. As only a senator could be granted a *libera legatio*, Anicius must have been a senator.

*legatione libera*] cp. note to Att. i. 1. 2 (10).

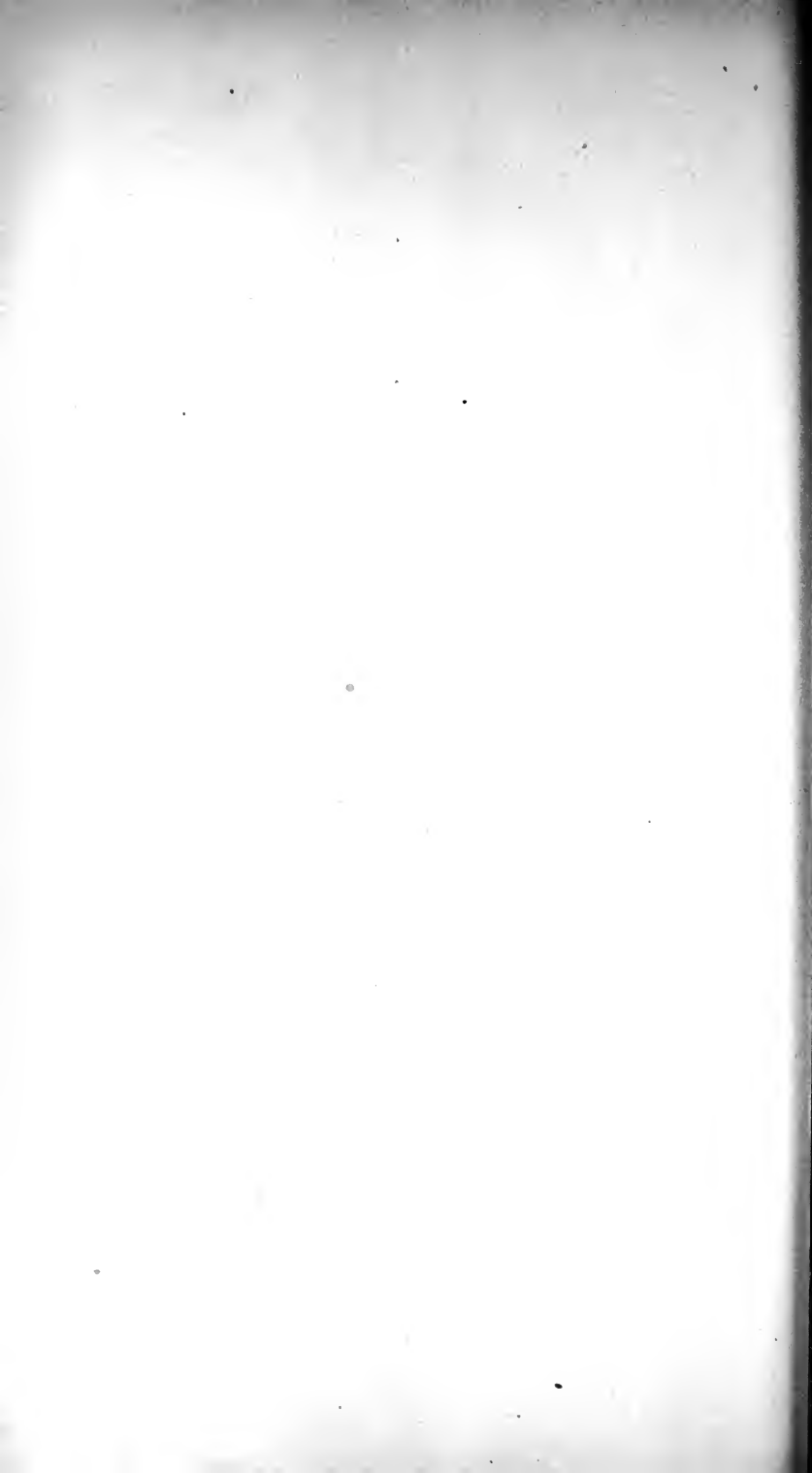
*ut . . . lictores darem*] It was usual for those who obtained a *libera legatio* to be granted licitors ; but not even the regular legati of a provincial governor had in strictness a *right* to them : cp. Fam. xii. 30. 7 (899), and Mommsen, St. R. i<sup>2</sup>. 370, note 6.

*quod idem acceperam*] 'I got this privilege myself.' We do not know the occasion to which Cicero refers : it may have been that mentioned in Att. i. 1. 2 (10). For *quod idem*, cp. Fin. iii. 24.

## PART IX.

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EXCISA EST ARBOR, NON EVULSA. ITAQUE QUAM FRUTICETUR  
VIDES.





## PART IX.

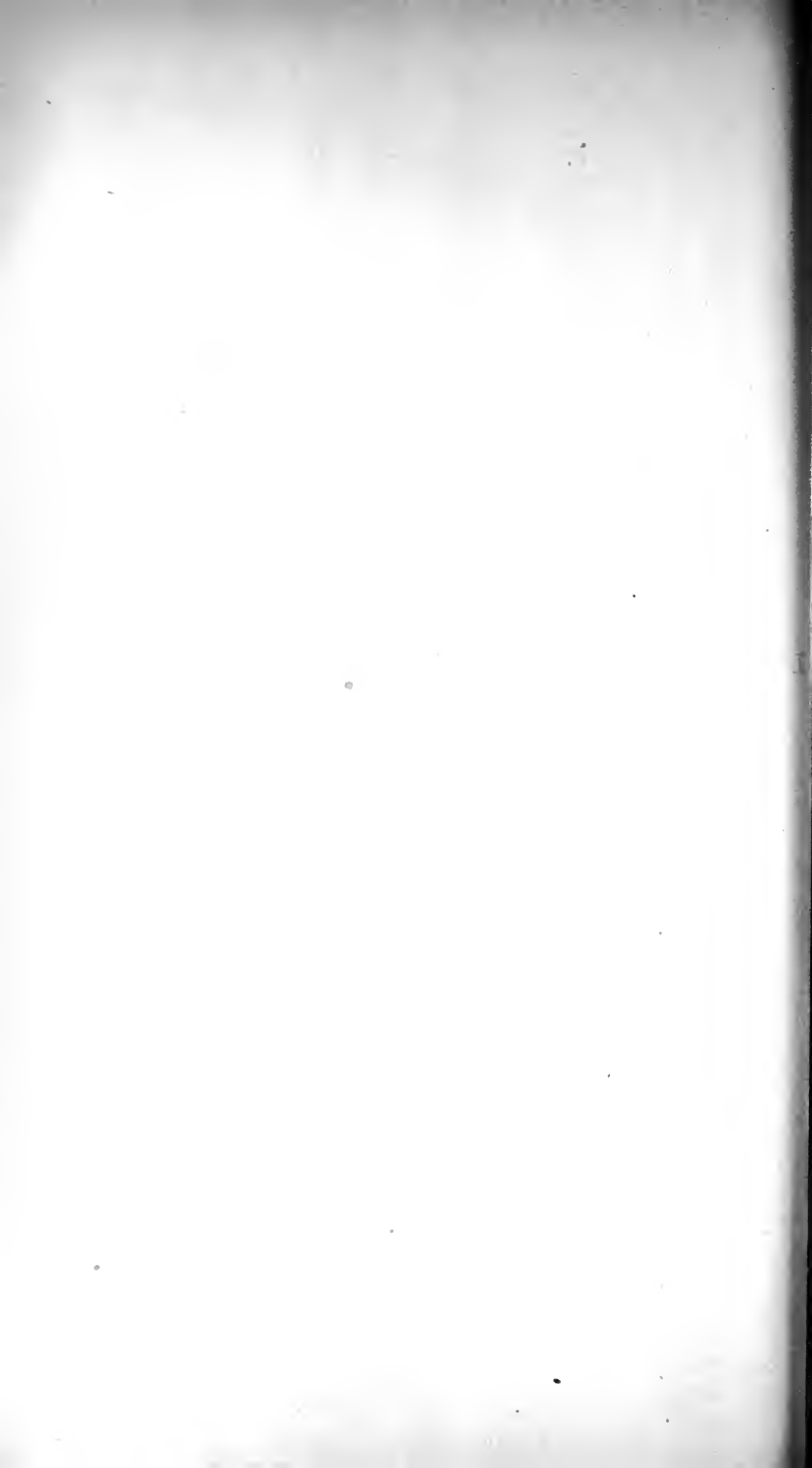
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LETTERS FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF CAESAR TO CICERO'S  
RETURN TO ROME TO COPE WITH ANTONY.

EPP. 699-786.

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A. U. C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	710
B. C.	.	.	.	.	.	.	44
AET. CIC.	.	.	.	.	.	.	62



## 699. CICERO TO BASILUS (FAM. VI. 15).

ROME; PROBABLY IDES OF MARCH; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

1. Cicero L. Minucio Basilo Idibus Martiis, ut videtur, animo commotus gratulatur.

CICERO BASILO SAL.

Tibi gratulor, mihi gaudeo; te amo, tua tueor; a te amari et quid agas quidque agatur certior fieri volo.

## 700. DECIMUS BRUTUS TO M. BRUTUS AND C. CASSIUS (FAM. XI. 1).

ROME; MARCH 17 (MORNING); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Decimus Brutus sermones cum Hirtio a.d. xvii et xvi K. Ap. habitos exponit.

D. BRUTUS BRUTO SUO ET CASSIO SAL.

1. Quo in statu simus cognoscite: heri vesperi apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente esset Antonius demonstravit, pessima scilicet

L. Minucius Basilus had been one of Caesar's principal officers in Gaul (B. G. i. 29, 30; vii. 90), but afterwards joined the conspiracy against him (App. B. C. ii. 13) because Caesar did not give him a province, but only made him a grant of money in return for his services (Dio Cass. liii. 47. 5). He took part in the murder, striking wildly in his excitement (Nic. Damasc. 24 fin.). In 47 Cicero had asked Atticus to write to Basilus in his behalf, Att. xi. 5. 3 (416). Basilus was subsequently killed by some slaves whom he had punished by mutilation (App. B. C. ii. 98). The Basilus who is mentioned in Off. iii. 74 and Phil. ii. 107, was probably a different man from Cicero's correspondent.

This little note was probably written, as is generally held, on the Ides of March to Basilus, who may have given Cicero the first news of the assassination, and whom Cicero in his first excitement congratulated individually (hence *tibi*, not *vobis*) in a tone of unwonted delight. But

we readily allow to Prof. Merrill (*Classical Philology*, viii. 48-56) that this is only a conjecture, and is by no means proved to be a certainty. He would refer it rather to Sept. 47, when Basilus may have done Cicero service in securing Caesar's goodwill.

*Tibi gratulor* 'Congratulations! Delighted. My dear Basilus, I am wholly at your service. I want you to be the same to me and to be informed what you are doing and what is being done.' The unusual *mihi* (dat. comm.) after *gaudeo* is due to a desire to have an antithesis to *Tibi*. *Tua tueor* is probably a general expression of interest felt towards Basilus, and does not refer to any special matters in which Cicero was acting in his behalf. *quid agas quidque agatur*] cp. 708 fin.

We must account for this letter's having found its way into Cicero's correspondence by the fact that he maintained an intimate connexion with the conspirators during

et infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum; adeo esse militum concitatos animos et plebis: quod utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere atque illud esse verum, quod Hirtius demonstrabat, timere eum ne, si mediocre auxilium dignitatis

the weeks immediately succeeding the murder of Caesar; and that they probably sent him copies of letters which they considered important: cp. 740. Abeken (p. 387) points out that this document is interesting as showing the difficulties in which the tyrannicides found themselves involved immediately after the deed was done, and the lack of foresight which they displayed in not having arranged a definite line of policy to pursue when their main design had been accomplished.

Ruete (pp. 16, 17) thinks that this letter was written immediately after the funeral of Caesar. That is improbable, as there is not a word about the state of frenzied excitement into which the mob was worked by that event. O. E. Schmidt, on the contrary, has proved (*N. Jahrb. für Phil.* cxxix. (1884), pp. 334-7) that this letter was written on the morning of March 17 before the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, at which 'amnesty' was granted to the tyrannicides: for (1) after that meeting D. Brutus could not have written § 2 *paullo post futurum puto ut hostes iudicemur*. Again (2), Nic. Damascenus, chap. 27, § 6, mentions a conference held by Antony and his party on the 16th before the amnesty, in which conference Hirtius took part, and to which reference is plainly made in this letter. He says—οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀντώνιον πρὶν μὲν παρασκευάσασθαι διεπρεσβεύοντο καὶ διελέγοντο τοῖς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ . . . πρῶτον δ' ἐν σφίσι βουλὴν προῦθεσαν ὕπως χρὴ ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς σφαγείας, συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς φίλους· τῶνδε Λέπιδος μὲν ἀπεφώνησαντο γνῶμην πολεμεῖν ἀντικρὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμωρεῖν Καίσαρι. Ἰρτίος δὲ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φιλίαν τίθεσθαι· ἄλλος δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν εἶπε τῷ Λεπίδῳ προσθήμενος ὥς καὶ ἀνόσιον εἶη περιορᾶν νῆποινον τὸν Καίσαρος φόνον καὶ αὐτοῖς μέντοι οὐκ ἀσφαλές, ὅσοι ἐκείνῳ ἦσαν φίλοι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡσυχάζουσιν οἱ αὐτόχειρες, ἀλλὰ δυνάμιν γε κτηγτάμενοι χωρήσουσι ἐπὶ πλεόν [cp. § 1]. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῇ Ἰρτίου προσθήμενος γνῶμην σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἤλιον ἦσαν δ' οἱ ἀποπέμψασθαι παρακελεύόμενοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑποσπόνδους [cp. § 2]. It cannot have been written on the

morning of the 16th, for the conspirators would not have been reduced to such perplexity until after the failure of the speech of M. Brutus to the people on the 16th, and besides Antony could not possibly have been able to take such a strong attitude towards D. Brutus until he had had the night of the 15th and the whole of the 16th to see the forces available against the conspirators. D. Brutus (who appears to have returned from the Capitol to his own house during the 16th) was informed by Hirtius about this conference, and seems to have approved of the plan suggested that the tyrannicides should apply for *legationes liberae*. On this subject he writes the present letter to M. Brutus and Cassius, who were in the Capitol, and suggests a meeting. But before sending the letter, early on the morning of the 17th, Hirtius arrives with the news that the Senate had been summoned for that day. D. Brutus then adds a postscript (§ 6) giving up his former idea of applying for a *legatio libera*, and states that he intends to demand that he be allowed to stay in Rome *publico praesidio*. Fröhlich (*De rebus inde a Caesare occiso usque ad Senatum Liberalibus habitum gestis*, 1822, p. 39, note 1) seems to hold the same view of the date of this letter as Reute does. Ferrero (iii. 317) justly praises the demonstration by Schmidt of the exact date of this letter.

1. *cognoscite*.] The letter is nominally addressed to Brutus and Cassius: but really to Brutus (cp. §§ 3 *tui consili*: 4 *Pro Cassio et te*), whom he styles 'his friend' (*suo*). *pessima et infidelissima*] 'most hostile and untrustworthy.'

*provinciam*] Gallia Cisalpina, to which Caesar had appointed him (Appian B. C. ii. 124). D. Brutus was to hold the consulship in 42, along with Planens.

*quod utrumque*] cp. Fam. xi. 10. 4 (854) *quod utrumque pessimum est*; Sall. Cat. 5. 7. Cicero would have said *quorum utrumque*.

*si mediocre . . . relinquerentur*] 'if we obtained even a moderate support for our position, no part would be left for them

nostrae habuissimus, nullae partes iis in republica relinquerentur.  
 2. Cum in his angustiis versarer, placitum est mihi ut postularem legationem liberam mihi reliquisque nostris, ut aliqua causa proficiscendi honesta quaereretur. Haec se impetraturum pollicitus est, nec tamen impetraturum confido: tanta est hominum insolentia et nostri insectatio; ac si dederint quod petimus, tamen paulo post futurum puto ut hostes iudicemur aut aqua et igni nobis interdicatur.  
 3. Quid ergo est, inquis, tui consili? Dandus est locus fortunae; cedendum ex Italia, migrandum Rhodum aut aliquo terrarum arbitror: si melior casus fuerit, revertemur Romam; si mediocris, in exsilio vivemus; si pessimus, ad novissima auxilia descendemus.  
 4. Succurret fortasse hoc loco alicui vestram cur novissimum tempus

to play in politics.' For *his* of M, which is impossible in *orat. obliq.*, we read *iis* with the old editors. The circumstance is related from the point of view of D. Brutus and not from that of Antony: accordingly *iis* can be used for *sibi*; cp. Landgraf on *Rosc. Am.* 95; Reid on *Sull.* 81; Wilkins on *De Orat.* i. 232. The usage is very common in Caesar, *B. G.* i. 5. 4; 6. 3; 11. 3; 14. 3; 87. 2, &c.: cp. Dräger, § 29 b, pp. 73-75. Andresen and Wessenberg adopt *illis*, referring to *illos* in § 6; Kahnt ingeniously proposes *suis*. This is an allowable use of the pronoun, but not so likely to have been corrupted into *his* as *iis* would have been. See Adn. Crit.

2. *placitum est*] for *placuit*, a usage occasionally found even in Cicero: e.g. *Rep.* i. 18; *Verr.* iv. 1: cp. Cornif. ad Herenn. i. 1. 19, Pompeius ap. Att. viii. 12 A. 4 (331), and see note on *Fam.* viii. 4. 4 (206). It is very frequent in the comedies, *Plaut. Amph.* prol. 106; 635; *Rud.* 187: cp. Gebhard (*De D. Junii Bruti genere dicendi*), p. 34.

*legationem liberam*] cp. note to Att. ii. 18. 3 (45). The principal object of D. Brutus in asking for a *legatio libera* was, as Bardt points out, to obtain the personal security attaching to a *legatus*; not merely to secure the privilege of travelling at the expense of the State.

*insolentia et nostri insectatio*] 'the general feeling is so overbearing and hostile to us.' The word *insectatio* is not Ciceronian.

3. *Quid ergo est, inquis, tui consili?*] cp. *Caes. B. G.* vii. 77. 12, *Quid ergo mei consili est?*; i. 21. 2; *B. C.* iii. 109. 3. *Quid esset suae voluntatis.* Also *Cic. Att.* xii. 29. 2 (565) *et de hac re quid tui con-*

*sili est?* Generally in Cicero the phrase means 'the matter is one for you to consider': cp. *Fam.* iii. 2. 2 (183) *Quid in eo genere efficere possis tui consili est.* For the genitive after the nominative or accusative singular of an adjective of quantity, or a pronoun, or *nihil* cp. *Madv.* 285 b. and *Roby* 1296.

*Dandus est locus fortunae*] 'we must yield to fortune.' For this use of *dare locum* with the dative, cp. *De Senec.* 63. The more usual meaning of the phrase is 'to give an opening for': cp. *Balb.* 16; *Quinct.* 53.

*Rhodum*] a common resort for exiles: cp. *Fam.* vii. 3. 5 (464) and note there.

*ad novissima . . . descendemus*] 'we shall have recourse to extreme methods of resistance': cp. *Caes. B. G.* iii. 9. 3, *ad extremum auxilium descendere*; *Fam.* x. 33. 4 (890); *Att.* ix. 18. 3 (376). D. Brutus affects this superlative *novissimus*: cp. §§ 4 and 6; xi. 20. 1. (877). Cicero uses it only once (*Rosc. Com.* 30). Varro (*L. L.* vi. 59) says that it was avoided by the elders of his day as a *nimum novum verbum*: cp. *Gell.* x. 21. However, Varro himself uses it three times in his *Res Rustica* (i. 2. 11; 31. 4; 64. 2). Caesar often uses it of the soldiers in the rear ranks. We find it used by some of the other correspondents of Cicero, e.g. *Galba*, *Fam.* x. 30. 4 (841): *C. Cassius*, xii. 13. 1, 3 (901); *Plancus*, x. 17. 3 (872); 24. 2 (916). In the last two passages the adv. *novissime* is found, as it is in *Sallust* (*Cat.* 33. 2): but it is not used by either Cicero or Caesar.

4. *Succurret . . . moliamur*] 'there will occur to some of you at this point the question why we should wait for the extreme moment rather than now take

expectemus potius quam nunc aliquid moliamur? Quia ubi consistamus non habemus praeter Sex. Pompeium et Bassum Caecilium, qui mihi videntur hoc nuntio de Caesare adlato firmiores futuri; satis tempore ad eos accedemus ubi quid valeant scierimus. Pro Cassio et te, si quid me velitis recipere, recipiam; postulat enim hoc Hirtius ut faciam. 5. Rogo vos quam primum mihi rescribatis; nam non dubito quin de his rebus ante horam quartam Hirtius certiore me sit facturus. Quem in locum convenire possimus, quo me velitis venire rescribite.

6. Post novissimum Hirti sermonem placitum est mihi postulare ut liceret nobis Romae esse publico praesidio, quod illos nobis concessuros non puto; magnam enim invidiam iis faciemus. Nihil tamen non postulandum putavi quod aequum esse statuerem.

some important step?' For *succurret* = *occurret*, cp. Att. ii. 16. 1 (43); 703. 2; Cic. Filius, 796. 6.

*Quia . . . habemus*] 'because we have no rallying-point' (Jeans).

*Sex. Pompeium*] After the battle of Munda he retired among the Lacetani, where he was able to gather round him several of the fugitives and raise sufficient forces to make a stand against Asinius Pollio, the Caesarean general.

*Bassum Caecilium*] When the praenomen is omitted, this order of names, the cognomen preceding the nomen, is the usual one in Cicero. Caesar puts the nomen before the cognomen. Q. Caecilius Bassus had with Parthian aid intrigued against Sext. Julius Caesar, who had been appointed governor of Syria by his relative Julius Caesar in 46. A mutiny ensued, the issue of which was that Bassus obtained the command of the troops. Caesar had sent an army against Bassus, but as yet Bassus had held his ground: cp. note to 670. 1.

*satis tempore*] 'time enough': cp. *magis tempore*, Cael. 65. *Tempore* is virtually an adverb, and accordingly can be qualified by another adverb.

*recipere*] 'to undertake.' Andr. points out that this word is stronger than *polliceri*: cp. 601. 2 *polliceris vel potius recipis*. The usual expression is *in me recipio*: cp. Fam. xiii 10. 3 (451); 17. 3 (512).

5. *de his rebus*] This has been taken as referring generally to 'our prospects' (Watson): or specially to the application for a *legatio libera* (Andr.). The former seems the more probable view. Hirtius is about to send D. Brutus information as to the opinions of Antony, Lepidus, and the other important Caesareans, and Hirtius wanted to know what the party of Brutus and Cassius were willing to concede so that peace might be secured.

*quo me velitis venire*] We are inclined to think that this is an addition, and suppose that it was made after Hirtius had given the information referred to in § 5; but perhaps we ought to insert something like *vel potius* before it.

6. *Post novissimum*] Watson rightly notes that this section is a postscript.

*magnam . . . faciemus* 'for if they do grant it we shall put them seriously in the wrong'; lit. 'excite odium against them,' when it is seen that such citizens as we are require protection. Watson compares Asconius on Orat. in Toga Candida, p. 76 KS (= p. 83 ed. Clark) *invidiam facere competitori*, and Juv. xv. 223, *Anne aliam terra Memphis sicca Invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?* on which passage Mayor compares, among many other illustrations, Lucan ii. 35. 36; Quintil. Declam. 10. 9; Ovid. Met. iv. 547.

## 701. BITHYNICUS TO CICERO (FAM. VI. 16).

SICILY; DATE UNCERTAIN: PROBABLY MARCH (END); A. U. C. 710;  
B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Bithynicus, qui tum in Sicilia erat, a Cicerone petit ut se absentem tueatur.

## BITHYNICUS CICERONI SAL.

Si mihi tecum non et multae et iustae causae amicitiae privatim essent, repeterem initia amicitiae ex parentibus nostris; quod faciendum iis existimo qui paternam amicitiam nullis ipsi officiis prosecuti sunt: itaque contentus ero nostra ipsorum amicitia, cuius fiducia peto a te ut absentem me, quibuscumque in rebus opus fuerit, tueare, si nullum officium tuum apud me intermortituum existimas. Vale.

This Bithynicus (cp. 754. 1) was the son of Q. Pompeius A. f. Bithynicus, who is mentioned as an orator in Brut. 240, and to whom the agnomen was attached for some services performed in Bithynia when that country was ceded to Rome by the will of Nicomedes III. (cp. Fest. p. 262, *Rutrum tenentis iuvenis effigies in Capitolio . . . quod signum Pompeius Bithynicus ex Bithynia suppellectilis regiae Romam deportavit*). During the civil war he fought on Caesar's side, although he was himself a relative of Pompey's and his father followed Pompey loyally and met his death with him in Egypt: cp. Oros. vi. 15 (421). Some years later, when Sextus Pompeius obtained possession of a portion of Sicily, he first made a compact with this Bithynicus, but afterwards put him to death on a charge of plotting against him (Liv. Epit. 123; Dio. Cass. xlviii. 17. 5; 19. 1; App. B. C. iv. 84; v. 70).

It is possible that when Bithynicus, who appears to have been propraetor in Sicily at this time (Lange, R. A. iii. 465), heard of the death of Caesar, he wrote this non-committal letter to Cicero, asking him for his support in case any

necessity should arise. If this is the case (though the matter is doubtful), it would show that Cicero was regarded as a moderate man, to whom one of opposite views in politics might appeal for help. Cicero's reference in Fam. vi. 17 (711) to an unsettled state of politics accords with the period after Caesar's death better than with the more settled condition of things during his lifetime; but it is not certain that 711 is an answer to this letter.

*repeterem*] 'I would go back to the beginnings of the friendship between our fathers; but I think that this should only be done by those who have not followed up the friendship of their fathers by any service of their own.'

*si . . . existimas*] 'if you think, as you do, that no service of yours will ever become faint in my memory.' The *vero intermori* means 'to be in a state between life and death': cp. Liv. xxxvii. 53. 10, *in ipsa contione intermortuus haud multo post exspiravit*: Mil. 12 *intermortuae contiones*, 'dead-alive meanings': Att. i. 14. 4 (20) *de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis*.

## 702. CICERO TO TREBONIUS (FAM. XV. 20).

ROME; PROBABLY ABOUT JANUARY: A. U. C. 709; B. C. 45; AET. CIC. 61.

M. Cicero C. Trebonio librum, quem *Oratorem* inscripserat, mittit: crebriores litteras postulat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. TREBONIO.

1. *Oratorem* meum—sic enim inscripsi—Sabino tuo commendavi: natio me hominis impulit ut ei recte putarem: nisi forte

Sternkopf has argued (*Jahrbuch* (1893), pp. 424–432) satisfactorily, as we now think, that this letter belongs to the latter end of 46 or beginning of 45. After the return of Trebonius from Spain in the middle of 46 he appears to have remained in Rome until the early winter, when he made a journey to Narbo (cp. Phil. ii. 34). It is to this journey to Narbo that Sternkopf thinks reference is made in Fam. xv. 21. 5 (450), and he holds that it is impossible that the present letter could have been written after Caesar's death; for—(1) was it likely that Trebonius would not have known the title of Cicero's *Orator*, a work which had been published a year and a half previously? But Cicero may at first have given a double name to his treatise, called it *Orator sive de optimo genere dicendi*. (He does call it by the latter title in Fam. xii. 17. 2 (493): cp. also 727. 3); and he may now have decided to call it *Orator* only. Still we think it more probable that Cicero's doubt as to the title he would give the work was prior to publication, and that he is here sending Trebonius a presentation copy. (2) Again, how, asks Sternkopf, could Trebonius meet Brutus in April, 44, who, as Cicero knew, was in Italy, when Trebonius was making his way by by-paths into his province: cp. 709. 1; 713. 1? Now we know that in the winter of 46 and 45 Brutus was in Cisalpine Gaul, and therefore likely to have a meeting with Trebonius when journeying to Narbo. From 713. 1 we might infer a presumption that Brutus and Trebonius did meet at Lanuvium in April, 44: but in so doing Trebonius could not be said to be going by by-paths to his province. (3) Lastly, Sternkopf denies that Cicero could have said that the State was *istic* (§ 2) in 44. He says Trebonius neither

was, nor thought himself to be, the State; but in the winter of 46–45 Caesar was the State, and was at that time in Spain, to which Narbo was in comparative proximity. This argument, we now think, is the really conclusive one. The East had certainly not as yet become the State; and there was no war (cp. § 3 *de bellicis rebus*) in the East in April, 44. If Cicero means anything definite by *de toto negotio* beyond the Spanish campaign, we do not know what it was.

Mommsen, in *Hermes*, xxviii. (1893), pp. 604–606, thinks that this letter was written in 46, but it is doubtful if he is right in thinking that the journey referred to can be that which Trebonius made to Spain when he undertook the administration of that province. Trebonius held that governorship before the *Orator* was finished. Mommsen believes that the canvass in which Ventidius assumed the name of Sabinus was that for the quaestorship. But the satirist of the *Catalecta* (ll. 23–4) says that the *mulio* now sat on an ivory (*eburnea*), that is, a curule chair; accordingly Mommsen says the poem cannot have been written earlier than 44. Are we then to suppose that Ventidius assumed the false cognomen in two canvasses? or that he assumed it in the canvass for the quaestorship, and that ridicule attached it to him in his subsequent canvass for the praetorship?

1. *Sabino*] 'to your Sabine servant,' or perhaps 'to your Sabine friend.'

*recte*] sc. *commendandum* taken out of *commendavi*.

*nisi forte . . . arripuit*] In the *Catalecta* published at the end of Vergil's works there is a poem x (viii), a parody of Catullus iv, directed against a mule-driver who had previously been called *Quintio* (the name of a slave or freedman),



candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus hoc subito cognomen arripuit; etsi modestus eius vultus sermoque constans habere quiddam a Curibus videbatur. Sed de Sabino satis. 2. Tu, mi Treboni, quoniam ad amorem meum aliquantum olei discedens addidisti, quo tolerabilius feramus igniculum desiderii tui, crebris nos litteris appellato, atque ita, si idem fiet a nobis. Quamquam duae causae sunt cur tu frequentior in isto officio esse debeas quam nos; primum, quod olim solebant qui Romae erant ad provincialis amicos de re publica scribere, nunc tu nobis scribas oportet; res enim publica ista est: deinde, quod nos aliis officiis tibi absenti satis facere possumus, tu nobis nisi litteris non video qua re alia satis facere possis. 3. Sed cetera scribes ad nos postea; nunc haec primo cupio cognoscere, iter tuum cuius modi sit, ubi Brutum

but who had assumed the name of *Sabinus* and obtained the praetorship. If we adopt the view which has been generally held since Victorius that this was the famous Ventidius (he afterwards assumed the cognomen Bassus) who in 43 held both praetorship and consulship (Val. Max. vi. 9. 9), he would appear to have begun his canvass for the quaestorship about this time; and it is to his candidature and false assumption of the name Sabinus that Cicero is making reference in these words: see Bücheler, *Rh. Mus.* xxxviii. (1883), pp. 518-9. For similar assumptions of cognomina, which did not find their way into the fasti, cp. L. Antonius, who assumed the name of Pietas (Dio Cass. xlviii. 5, 4), and L. Trebellius, who, Cicero says (Phil. vi. 11), assumed that of *Fides*. Pietas is a common cognomen, but we do not know of any example of *Fides*, though *Fidens* and *Fidus* are found.

Prof. Merrill (*Classical Philology* viii (1913), pp. 389-400) has, however, pointed out difficulties in the identification of the Sabinus of the *Catalecta* and Ventidius (e.g., that in that case the parody does not fit exactly the Catullian original: thus the *phasellus* had retired from service, not so Ventidius when praetor); and we allow that the identification cannot be proved absolutely certain. But we still think that Prof. Merrill lays less stress than it deserves on the term *mulio* applied to both (cp. Fam. x. 18. 3 (870): Plin. H.N. vii. 135; Gell. xv. 4. 3; Catal. x. 2); and his explanation (p. 393) of *eburnea sede* is hardly convincing.

*hoc cognomen*] the actual cognomen

Sabinus. It was a very common cognomen. We find a Sabina a sister of a Cn. Ventidius in C.I.L. vi. 28472.

*sermoque constans*] 'and his deliberate way of talking seemed to have something of old Cures about it.'

2. *olei*] The mss read *olim*, which editors bracket, supposing it to have arisen from *olim*, a few lines down (Wes. E.A. 56). Krause and Koch have excellently suggested *olei*, 'you have added fuel to the fire of my love.' The metaphor is continued in *igniculum desiderii tui*, 'the warm regret I feel for you': cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 321, *oleum adde camino*: Cic. ap. Non. 22, *M. Tullius in Hortensio. Ad iuvenilem libidinem copia voluptatum gliscit illa ut ignis oleo*. Otto (p. 253) compares Lucian, Tim. 44, *πίττη καὶ ἐλαίῳ κατασβεννύται πῦρ*. There is an awkwardness in the forced application of the same metaphor of heat and warmth to both the pleasant sensation of the affection Cicero felt for Trebonius, and the painful feeling of regret for him in his absence.

*appellato*] 'address frequent letters to me,' lit. 'address or accost me with frequent letters.'

*frequentior*] 'more diligent,' 'more constant.'

*aliis officiis . . . satis facere*] 'do you many other services.'

3. *ubi Brutum nostrum videris*] During April, 44, Brutus appears to have been no further from Rome than Lanuvium (cp. 713. 1), except for a short stay at Antium. But the reference is rather to a meeting with Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul in 46 (cp. introd. note).

nostrum videris, quam diu simul fueris; deinde cum processeris longius, de bellicis rebus, de toto negotio, ut existimare possimus quo statu simus. Ego tantum me scire putabo quantum ex tuis litteris habeo cognitum. Cura ut valeas meque ames amore illo tuo singulari.

### 703. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 1).

MATIUS' SUBURBAN VILLA; APRIL 7; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

De rebus publicis post Caesaris necem quod ipse a certo quodam auctore acceperat narrat et quid novi acciderit ab Attico cupit certior fieri. De Caesaris iudicio de Bruto et de se ipso.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Deverti ad illum, de quo tecum mane. Nihil perditius; explicari rem non posse. 'Etenim si ille tali ingenio exitum non reperiebat, quis nunc reperiet?' Quid quaeris? Perisse omnia aiebat, quod haud scio an ita sit, verum ille gaudens: adfirmatque fore minus diebus xx tumultum Gallicum: in sermonem se post

*cum processeris longius*] 'when you get further on your journey.'

*de bellicis rebus*] The campaign in Spain. If Cicero means anything else by *de toto negotio*, we do not know what it can be. It can hardly refer to preparations for the conspiracy against Caesar (Phil. ii. 34).

1. *Deverti*] 'I have come on a visit'; lit. 'I have turned aside to.' With *apud* the word means 'to be staying on a visit with': cp. Plaut. Mil. 134. Both the deponent and active forms are used; generally the deponent in the present, imperfect, and future tenses. The person about whom they had been talking in the morning was C. Matius Calvena, whose manly letter to Cicero about the death of Caesar is extant, Fam. xi. 28 (785). The fact that *Calvena* (707. 1) is connected with *calvus*, 'bald,' tempts Cicero into one of his tiresome puns on proper names which he seems to find it so hard to resist. Hence in the next letter he is called *μαδαρός* and *φαλάκρωμα*. For some account of Matius, see introd. note to 784.

*tecum mane*] sc. *locutus sum*, § 2.

*Nihil perditius*] 'Nothing could be more desperate (than he was): he said

that no settlement was possible. "For if a man of Caesar's ability could not find a way out of the *impasse*, who will now do so?"' For *perditius*, cp. Q. Fr. iii. 9. 1 (160) *nihil est enim perditius his hominibus, his temporibus*. For the structure of the sentence, which has a clause with *or. obl.* following a general statement with *nihil*, cp. 663. 3, *nil liberalius: se enim statim ad Caesarem scripturum*.

*haud scio an*] 'and I almost think it is so.' *An* dependent on *nescio* or *haud scio* 'generally in Cicero, expresses a modest affirmation, *I almost think so*; in post-Augustan writers mere ignorance or doubt,' Roby, 2256.

*verum ille gaudens*] 'but he seemed to take a pleasure in it,' i.e. his pessimistic view of the situation. This is what makes Cicero call his attitude 'shocking.'

*tumultum*] a *vox propria* for a 'raid' from Gaul, or a revolt of the Italian nations. The *locus classicus* on this word is Phil. viii. 3, *Maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticum, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimum, praeterea nullum nominabant*. See King's edition of the Philippics. Cisalpine Gaul was strongly attached to Caesar, who always favoured the district. Matius may

Idus Martias praeterquam Lepido venisse nemini: ad summam, non posse istaec sic abire. O prudentem Oppium, qui nihilo minus illum desiderat, sed loquitur nihil quod quemquam bonum offendat. Sed haec hactenus. 2. Tu quaeso quidquid novi—multa autem exspecto—scribere ne pigrere. In his, de Sexto satisne certum, maxime autem de Bruto nostro, de quo quidem ille ad quem deverti, Caesarem solitum dicere, 'magni refert hic quid velit, sed quidquid vult valde vult': idque eum animadvertisse cum pro

have thought, too, that Transalpine Gaul was so imperfectly pacified that it might revolt: but his apprehensions were groundless, cp. 712 fin.

*in sermonem . . . venisse*] Matus fears that Cicero might suspect him of intriguing with Caesareans: cp. Ep. 707.

*abire*] 'pass off'; Cicero uses the same verb of the passing off of an illness in Ep. 713. 2. A similar usage is found in Fin. v. 7; Ter. Andr. 171; Catull. xiv. 16.

*prudentem*] There is no reason for substituting for this word *prudenter*, the conjecture of Ernesti. Oppius showed at least as much 'common sense' as 'modesty' in abstaining from offending the *boni*, though deeply regretting the murder of Caesar. *Prudentem* is the reading of the mss. Cicero here by *prudentem* contrasts the conduct of Oppius with the 'desperate' views of Matus; yet Matus (785. 1) considered that he had not acted in such a manner as to offend the feelings of any good patriot.

2. *scribere ne pigrere*] 'don't be slack in writing.' The active form (*pigro*) is elsewhere used. This is not to be taken as an example in Cic. of *ne* with the second person of the pres. subj. used in a prohibition addressed to an individual. It is governed by *quaeso*: cp. Rep. vi. 12 *St! quaeso, inquit, ne me e somno excitetis et parumper audite cetera*: also *quaeso* with *ut* Att. vii. 12. i (305) *quaeso ut scribas*: and without *ut* Att. vii. 14. 3 (310) *quaeso videas*. The whole subject of the pres. subj. in prohibitions in Cic. is discussed with his wonted mastery of his subject by Lebreton, pp. 300-304. The second person pres. subj. in prohibitions is confined in Cicero to general maxims: cp. Reid on De Senect. 33 *isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras*. In the comedies it is used in special prohibitions: cp. Plaut. Mil. 1361; Ter. Ad. 942.

*autem*] 'but mind, I expect a great

deal.' We should rather say 'and' than 'but.'

*Sexto*] cp. 700. 4. The question which agitated Cicero was whether Pompey's son would maintain his hostility in Further Spain.

*ille*] sc. *dicat*.

*magni refert*] The form in which Plutarch (Brut. 6) quotes the remark is quite plain, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ὃ βούλεται πᾶν ὃ δὲ βούλεται σφόδρα βούλεται: and it shows that *sed* is right, and that no emendation of that word, such as Schmidt's *scilicet*, is probable. But it also seems to point to the fact that we should have a negative in the first clause; and it is possible that *non* has fallen out before *magni*, as has often happened in the Letters: cp. Müller's crit. note on Att. iii. 13. 1, p. 84. 13. But the insertion of negatives is an extreme measure: and possibly *sed* = *sed tamen*, 'It is of considerable importance to find out what he wants (i.e. there is uncertainty generally as to what he precisely wants), but (be that as it may) whatever he wants he wants very much.' Caesar refers to the lack of clearness in Brutus; but allows that his views are worthy of attention: and though there may be doubt as to his wishes, there is no doubt as to the intensity of those wishes. We can hardly take *sed* as = *et quidem*, καὶ ταῦτα serving to emphasize rather than to contradict the previous remark: as that usage of *sed*, so common in post-Augustan times, does not appear to be Ciceronian. The first hand of M and the Tornesianus have *volet . . . volet* for *vult . . . vult*.

*cum pro Deiotaro Nicaeae diceret*] This speech was delivered at Nicaea in Bithynia in 47 (Bell. Alex. 68): cp. Cic. Brut. 21; also Tac. Dial. 21, who characterizes it and one of Caesar's for a Samnite Decidius (cp. Clu. 161) as 'tedious and flat productions,' *eiusdem lentitudinis et teporis*. We are not

Deiotaro Nicaeae dixerit: valde vehementer eum visum et libere dicere: atque etiam—ut enim quidque succurrit libet scribere—proxime, cum Sesti rogatu apud eum fuisset expectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse eum, ‘Ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, quom M. Cicero sedeat nec suo commodo me convenire possit? Atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est, tamen non dubito quin me male oderit.’ Haec et eius modi multa. Sed ad propositum. Quidquid erit, non modo magnum sed etiam parvum, scribes. Equidem nihil intermittam.

## 704. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 2).

PROBABLY MATIUS’ VILLA; APRIL 8; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

De duabus epistulis ab Attico acceptis, de Caesaris de se dicto, de commoratione sua in Tusculano, Lanuvii, Asturae, de Pilia et Attica.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Duas a te accepi epistulas heri. Ex priore theatrum Publiliumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem visus

bound to infer that it was on that occasion that Caesar uttered the criticism *magni refert . . . valde vult*.

*eum . . . eum*] The first *eum* refers to Caesar, the second to Brutus—a careless way of writing, but hardly misleading, as *diceret*, which has *Brutus* for its subject, intervenes; so it is not necessary to make any alteration such as *ei tum visum. succurrit*] cp. note to 700. 4.

*Sesti*] The remark of Caesar as here related seems clear enough. But as Atticus considered it obscure, Cic. repeats it in another form, 704. 3. The reason why Sestius wanted a favour from Caesar is not certain: perhaps it was about the property of his father-in-law, Albinus: cp. 675. 1.

*Ego dubitem*] deliberative subj.: cp. 704. 3. *ego . . . sim*.

*male oderit*] Boot compares *illud rus . . . male odi*. Ter. Ad. 523: we have also *male metuo*, Hec. 337: *timui male*, Heaut. 531; *odi male*, Plaut. Men. 189; Fam. vii. 2. 3 (182).

*Haec*] sc. *locutus est Matius*. cp. §§ 1 and 2.

*ad propositum*] sc. *redeo*. cp. Off. iii. 120. Also Caesar in Att. ix. 6a (357) *ad propositum revertar*, ‘I’ll come back to what I began with.’

1. *theatrum Publiliumque*] Atticus had given him an account of the performance of a mime by Publilius Syrus (670. 2), and the way in which it was received. The very same topic is suggested to Atticus by Cicero at the end of the next letter. The festival at which the plays were acted was the Magalesia (Apr. 6–13). Sillig was the first to prove that the name of the poet was *Publilius*, not *Publius*.

*facetis*] ‘the applause given to L. Cassius (the tribune, brother of the conspirator) I thought actually delightful’ (or ‘humorous’). *Facetus* seems to be rather a vague word, but always has an idea of cultivated charm (Hor. Ep. i. 6. 55) or humour connected with it. It is possible that we should translate the word by ‘humorous’ here, almost ‘a good joke’: for L. Cassius was a Caesarean,

est. 2. Altera epistula de Madaro scripta, apud quem nullum *†φαλακωμα*, ut putas. Processit enim, sed minus. Diutius sermone [enim] sum retentus. 3. Quod autem ad te scripseram, obscure fortasse, id eius modi est: aiebat Caesarem secum, quo tempore Sesti rogatu veni ad eum, cum exspectarem sedens, dixisse, 'Ego nunc tam sim stultus ut hunc ipsum facilem hominem putem mihi esse amicum, cum tam diu sedens meum commodum exspectet? Habes igitur *φαλάκρωμα* inimicissimum

and, owing to his being a brother of the conspirator, received applause. Indeed, people seem to have got into the way of applauding this man, cp. Fam. xii. 2. 2 (790), *infinitoque fratris tui plausu dirumpitur* (sc. Lepidus), where see note. Cic. uses *facetus* in three other passages of the letters, all referring to literary productions, Fam. vii. 32. 3 (229), *valde mihi tuae litterae facetae elegantesque* ('charming and refined') *visae sunt*: Fam. xv. 21. 2 (450), *primum quod tibi facetum* ('humorous') *quicquid ego dixi, quod alii fortasse non item: deinde quod illa sive faceta sive sic, fiunt narrante te venustissima*: 617. 4, *epistulas versiculis facetis* ('humorous'), *ad familiaris missas*.

2. *Madaro*] This is of course Matus Calvena, the bald-headed man (*μαδαρός*). But what may underlie the *φαλακωμα* or *σαλακωμα* of the mss it is impossible to pronounce. The different guesses are given in the Adn. Crit. One thing, however, may rightly be said: in a passage so very obscure as the present it is unsafe to change *processit* of all the mss to *processi*, especially as the change adds little if anything to the intelligibility of the whole passage. Without the letter of Atticus the problem is insoluble, but to change *processit* to *processi* is only to lead readers away from the track. An unreadable Greek word has been assimilated by the copyists to another Greek word occurring in this letter. The wanting Greek word might have borne a meaning something like 'inconsistency.' Then Cicero would reply to Atticus, 'you are wrong in ascribing inconsistency to Matus; he has gone where his principles led him: the only pity is he has not kept it up long enough,' *processit enim, sed minus diu*. Cicero says, 'if only he had kept up his uncompromising Caesarean attitude, I should have left him, and been with you by this time. But he has so moderated it as to give me no excuse for

leaving him.' Of course this is all mere guess-work, but it is guess-work founded on the traditions of the mss, not on the change of *processit* to *processi*. As for a word for 'inconsistency,' we have it in *σλόικον*, 708. 2; or, if it should seem to account for the corrupt word better, we might read *σολοικισμόν* (sc. *video*), comparing *ἀπολογισμόν*, 783. 3. Dr. Reid (*Hermathena*, xi. (1901), p. 244) suggests *nullum λακωνισμόν, ut putas*, understanding some prohibitive phrase like 'don't suppose' [*Qu. nullum fac λακ.*], 'don't imagine any enigmatic brevity, as your letter assumes' (cp. *σκυτάλην Λακωνικήν* Att. x. 10. 3 ep. 395). *Processit* ('he went ahead,' i.e. talked freely), *sed minui*, 'but I made less of it (in writing to you) than it really was.' *Enim* he considers out of place, as it can only be the third word when the two first are closely connected. Probably it arose from the adjacent *enim*, and should be bracketed. Shuckburgh suggests *nullus φαλαρισμός*, 'no tendency to savage measures': cp. Att. vii. 12. 2. (305). Gronovius conjectures *σαλακώσιμα*, 'at whose house there is no swagger' (i.e. excessive display of luxury'). Boot's *μαλακὸν κῶμα* (Hom. II. xiv. 359; Od. xviii. 201) 'soft slumber' is ingenious, but not convincing.

3. *Quod . . . eius modi est*] cp. 703. 2.

*Ego . . . sim*] deliberative subj. 'can I be so foolish': cp. 703. 2 *dubitem*.

*Habes igitur*] 'so (as you may judge from all I have written to you about him) you have in Bald-head a bitter enemy to peace, or, in other words, to Brutus.' *Igitur* is not to be taken closely with the foregoing words, but is the resumptive *igitur*, 'well': cp. Madv. 480. Matus was for avenging the murder of Caesar, a course which would have been fatal to all hopes of peace.

oti, id est Bruti. 4. In Tusculanum hodie, Lanuvi cras, inde Asturae cogitabam. Piliae paratum est hospitium, sed vellem Atticam verum tibi ignosco: quarum utrique salutem.

### 705. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 3).

TUSCULUM; APRIL 8 OR 9; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De rumoribus ad se adlatis, de frumento ad Antonium portando, de Corumbo Balbi, de Attico ad obsignandum adhibito, de Antonii voluntate odoranda et rebus urbanis ad se scribendis.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tranquillae tuae quidem litterae, quod utinam diutius! Nam Matius posse negabat. Ecce autem structores nostri ad frumentum profecti, cum inanes redissent, rumorem adferunt magnum, Romae domum ad Antonium frumentum omne portari. Πανικὸν certe: scripsisses enim. Corumbus Balbi nullus adhuc; est mihi notum nomen: bellus enim esse dicitur architectus. 2. Ad obsignandum tu adhibitus non sine causa videris: volunt enim nos ita putare: nescio cur non animo quoque sentiant.

*id est Bruti*] cp. 749. 2. *quod Serviliae non dees, id est Bruto*, and a number of examples collected by Dr. Reid on Acad. i. 5. For the sentiment cp. *timere otium* (728. 2) and note there.

4. *In Tusculanum*] 'To Tusculanum to-day, at Lanuvium to-morrow, after that at Astura—these are my plans.' The ellipses are obvious.

*vellem Atticam*] cp. Att. x. 10. 4 (395) *Ocellam cuperem si possem palam*, where strictly perhaps we should understand *habere*.

*ignosco*] i.e. for preferring to have your daughter with yourself.

1. *Tranquillae*] 'your letters are full of peace. I hope it may last. Matius said it could not' (cp. 703. 1). It is to be observed that *quod* has no regular antecedent, nothing but the general notion conveyed by *tranquillae tuae litterae*, namely that peace prevailed.

*structores*] 'builders,' who were working at Tusculanum.

*domum ad Antonium*] 'home to Antony,' i.e. to Antony, who was at his house at

the time: but *ad domum alicuius* is more common to express 'to a person's house': cp. Cic. Cat. i. 8; Q. Rosc. 26; Off. iii. 112; Caes. B.C. ii. 18. 2.

Πανικὸν] not 'a panic,' but 'a false alarm,' 'a canard' arising from the general state of uncertainty, as is proved by *scripsisses enim*; it must be groundless, 'or else you would have told me of it in your letter.' It seems to have been surmised that the corn was to serve as supplies for soldiers who were being collected. It can hardly have been to raise the price of corn by lessening the supply in the market.

*nullus adhuc*] 'not a sign of Balbus's slave Corumbus yet': see 768. 1, and vol. i<sup>3</sup>. 80.

*est mihi notum*] For the position of *est* see 635. 5.

*bellus*] 'tasteful,' 'nice'—a colloquial word: cp. note to Fam. viii. 1. 4 (192).

2. *ita putare*] The sense of *ita* must be gathered from the foregoing words. The Caesereans (cp. 719. 5) wished to recommend themselves to Cicero by leaving him bequests, and summoning Atticus

Sed quid haec ad nos? Odorare tamen Antoni διάθειν, quem quidem ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere quam quidquam mali cogitare. Tu, si quid πραγματικὸν habes, scribes: sin minus, populi ἐπισημασίαν et mimorum dicta perscribito. Piliae et Atticae salutem.

## 706. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 4).

LANUVIUM; APRIL 9 OR 10; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Dolet M. Cicero non una cum libertate rem publicam esse recuperatam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Num quid putas me Lanuvi? At ego te istic cotidie aliquid novi suspicor. Tument negotia. Nam cum Matius, quid censes ceteros? Equidem doleo, quod numquam in ulla civitate accidit, non una cum libertate rem publicam recuperatam. Horribile est quae loquantur, quae minitentur. Ac vereor Gallica etiam bella,

to the sealing of the wills, so that he might be aware of their intentions, and communicate them to Cicero. He writes—'they want me to think that such (that is, kindly) are their feelings towards me; I do not see why their sentiments should not be sincere.'

διάθειν] 'you must find out what is Antony's present state and condition. I fancy he is thinking more about his entertainments than any dangerous schemes.' From this we seem to gather that Antony's attitude was uncertain, notwithstanding his action at the funeral of Caesar. This action was, perhaps, not so very pronounced against the conspirators as is usually supposed: cp. Ferrero, iii. pp. 26, 27, and Intro., p. lx, note 4.

πραγματικὸν] 'of practical importance' as opposed to the exhibition of feeling on the part of the populace at the mimes, and the topical allusions made by the players: cp. a very illustrative passage in Att. ii. 19. 3 (46), where examples of such *dicta* are given. We have ἐπισημασίας in the same sense in Att. i. 16. 11 (22). We read πραγματικὸν for *pragmaticum* for the reasons set forth in Att. ii. 20, 1 (47), namely—(1) because *pragmaticum* does not mean 'of practical importance,'

while πραγματικὸν does; and (2) because the mss very often give us Greek words in Latin characters, as, for instance, *philoteorum* for φιλοθέωρον, Fam. vii. 16, 1 (157); 725. 5 *praxin*.

*habes, scribes*] See Adn. Crit.

1. *Num quid putas me*] sc. *novi audire* or *habere*: cp. Att. ix. 6. 1 (360) *Nos adhuc Brundisio nihil* (sc. *novi audivimus* or *habemus*).

*Tument*] 'are in a ferment': cp. 707. 2 *hunc rerum tumorem*.

*cum Matius*] 'when Matius takes such a serious view of the prospect, you may imagine what others will feel.' This is plainly the meaning; but the ellipse is strange. It is easy to supply *loquitur*, but *ita loquitur* is not so common. But perhaps *tumet* is to be supplied, 'is in a ferment,' 'is in an excited state.' For Matius' views of the state of politics, cp. 703. 1.

*quod numquam*] He regards it as an incident unique in history that the death of a tyrant was not followed by a period of free government. We cannot blame Cicero for failing to see that for nearly a hundred years everything had been tending towards a *tyrannis*.

*Horribile est quae loquantur*] This is

ipse Sextus quo evadat. 2. Sed omnia licet concurrant, Idus Martiae consolantur. Nostri autem ἡρωες, quod per ipsos confici potuit, gloriosissime et magnificentissime confecerunt. Reliquae res opes et copias desiderant, quas nullas habemus. Haec ego ad te: tu, si quid novi—nam cotidie aliquid exspecto—confestim ad me, et, si novi nihil, nostro more tamen, ne patiamur intermittere litterulas: equidem non committam.

## 707. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 5).

ON LEAVING ASTURA; APRIL 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De valetudine Attici, de rebus publicis non bonis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Spero tibi iam esse ut volumus, quoniam quidem ἡσίστησας, cum leviter commotus esses, sed tamen velim scire quid agas. Signa bella, quod Calvena moleste fert suspectum se esse Bruto. Illa signa non bona, si cum signis legiones veniunt e Gallia. Quid tu illas putas, quae fuerunt in Hispania? nonne idem postulaturas? quid, quas Annius transportavit? C. Asinium volui, sed μνημονι-

colloquial (as in English) for *Horribile est audire* or *sentire* or some such word.

*quo evadat*] 'the course Sextus will take.' For the phrase, cp. 725. 6. Cic. elsewhere uses *quorsum evadant* Att. ix. 18. 4 (376).

2. *concurrant*] 'come one, come all' (Shuckburgh).

*gloriosissime*] 'superbly and splendidly,' a clear case of *gloriosus* = 'glorious.'

*opes et copias*] 'money and men.'

*nostro more tamen*] sc. *scribe*, 'as I am in the habit of doing,' i.e. writing every day. He was doing so now: and often previously: cp. 545 ff.

*patiamur . . . non committam*] 'allow' . . . 'I will not be the guilty party.' For *pati* and *committere* contrasted cp. 681. 1.

1. ἡσίστησας] 'you have taken to fasting': cp. Nepos Att. 22. 3.

*leviter commotus*] 'a little out of sorts': cp. *commotiunculis συμπασχω*, Att. xii. 11 (502). Dr. Reid compares Brut. 12, *perturbatio valetudinis*; Marcell. 23 *incertos motus valetudinis*.

*Calvena*] This is the nickname by which Cicero refers to C. Matius, who was bald (*calvus*). He also calls him *Madarus* (μαδαρός) and φαλάκρωμα (704. 2), or 'bald-head.' It was to Cicero a good thing that Matius was annoyed at being suspected by Brutus of too great sympathy with the Caesareans. Matius might then become more inclined to support the existing condition of peace.

*cum signis*] introduced merely for the double meaning of *signa*, 'signs,' and 'ensigns.' The reference is to Caesar's troops: cp. a previous play on *signa*, 'signs,' and 'statues,' Fam. vii. 11. 2 (167).

*idem postulaturas*] 'will they not demand that the promises of Caesar shall be carried out?'

*C. Asinium*] C. Asinius Pollio had been in command of Hispania Ulterior (Dio Cass. xlv. 10. 3), and had transported thither certain troops at Caesar's command. These are here opposed to those legions who were in Spain before (*quae fuerunt in Hispania*). Cicero wrote



κὸν ἀμάρτημα. Ab aleatore φυρμὸς πολὺς. Nam ista quidem Caesaris libertorum coniuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius. 2. Meam stultam verecundiam! qui legari noluerim ante res prolatas, ne deserere viderer hunc rerum tumorem, cui certe si possem mederi, deesse non deberem. Sed vides magistratus, si quidem illi magistratus: vides tamen tyranni satellites in imperiis, vides eiusdem exercitus, vides in latere veteranos, quae sunt ἐνρίπιστα omnia: eos autem, qui orbis terrae custodiis non modo saepti verum etiam magni esse debebant, tantum modo

*Annius* by an error for *Asinius*, but corrects himself immediately. *C. Asinium* is Boot's correction of *Caninium* of the mss. Caninius Rebilus (cp. 694. 1) can hardly be referred to here.

*Ab aleatore*] 'a nice kettle of fish this, to be laid to the account of the Plunger,' that is Antony, who is naturally enough called 'the Gambler' by Cicero (see Phil. ii. 56. 67). However, there is no reason why we should regard *Antonius* as a gloss, because Cicero may have wished to explain to Atticus whom he meant by *aleator*. As this makes good sense, and as M has a *baleatore*, omitting the *n* (as O does also), we have adopted this reading, though the weight of ms authority is against it. If we retain the reading of most mss (see Adn. Crit.), a *balneatore*, the reference will be to the pseudo-Marius (cp. 597. 1); though we do not hear elsewhere of his having been a bathman. The pseudo-Marius was executed by Antony (cp. 710. 1) about April 11 or 12; but as the fanatical and riotous adoration of Caesar by the mob at the place where his body was burnt continued after Antony left Rome, Dolabella towards the end of April finally stamped it out: cp. 720. 1; 721. 2; 722. It is the disorder caused by the pseudo-Marius which Cicero means by *conjuratio*.

*recte saperet*] We have introduced into the text Dr. Reid's correction of *recta* of the ms. Cicero does not use an accusative after *sapere* except *nihil*, *aliquid*, or an accusative expressing the taste of a thing: cp. *sapere rectius*, Ter. Ad. 832.

2. *Meam stultam verecundiam*] For the acc. of exclamation without an interjection cp. note to 616. 1.

*legari*] to be appointed to a *libera legatio*, which would excuse his absence from Rome as a senator.

*res prolatas*] 'the vacation,' called *iscessus* in 584. 3. The 'season' at

Baiae was in March and April: cp. Friedländer ii<sup>6</sup>, 108; and Schol. Bob. p. 334 init. Or. Also Introd. lxii, note 1.

*hunc rerum tumorem*] 'this swelling humour of the state:' cp. 706. 1 *tument negotia*.

*si . . . illi magistratus*] cp. 708. 2; 712. 2.

*vides tamen tyranni*] *Tamen* must mean 'after all'; the ellipse is '(though the tyrant is gone) after all we see his creatures in high place:' cp. Lehmann, 'Att.' 205. *Tamen* sometimes in the letters depends on a sentence easily supplied from the context as here, but not expressed. A good example of this use of *tamen* is in Att. x. 4. 5 (382), where, for *non tam quia maiore pietate est*, we have restored *quia non tamen maiore pietate est*, 'because he is not after all (in spite of my devotion to him) more filial than the other': cp. *qui te tamen ore referret*, 'whose face in spite of all might remind me of you,' Verg. Aen. iv. 329. So Ecl. x. 31, *tamen cantabitis*, 'yet ye will sing for me after all.'

*in latere*] 'on our flank,' in Campania, where Caesar had given grants of land to his veterans.

*ἐνρίπιστα*] 'inflammable': lit. 'easily fanned to a flame': from *ῥίπιζω*, 'to fan': he detects in all these things tinder which would be easily blown into the conflagration of a revolution.

*magni esse debebant*] So two inferior codices and ed. Rom. according to Wesenberg. M<sup>1</sup> has *magni sedebant*: cp. Att. ii. 9. 2 (36) *videbis brevi tempore magnos non modo eos qui nihil titubarunt sed illum ipsum qui peccavit Catonem*; also 782. 4 *ut te cupiamus magnum et honestum esse*: pro Quinct. 93 *omnis tuas artis quibus tu magnus es tibi concedit*. The tyrannicides should be surrounded by a body-guard of the whole world, which would not only secure their safety, but exalt them to

laudari atque amari, sed parietibus contineri. Atque illi quoque modo beati, civitas misera. 3. Sed velim scire quid adventus Octavi, num qui concursus ad eum, num quae νεωτερισμοῦ suspicio. Non puto equidem, sed tamen quidquid est scire cupio. Haec scripsi ad te proficiscens Astura III Idus.

### 708. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 6).

FUNDI; APRIL 12; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Attici litteris meliora nuntiantibus, rebus publicis tamen non bonis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Pridie Idus Fundis accepi tuas litteras cenans; primum igitur melius esse, deinde meliora te nuntiare. Odiosa illa enim fuerant, legiones venire. Nam de Octavio susque deque. Exspecto

honour. Manutius conjectured *vagi esse*, 'to be at large.' This somewhat strange expression may in a measure be justified by its forming an antithesis to *saepti*: cp. *vagari*, 710. 2, and *vagus esse* in Att. vii. 11. 5 (304). But *vagari* in 710. 2 is qualified by *tota urbe*: and Brutus was certainly at liberty to roam about anywhere, except just in the city. Dr. Reid thinks we should read *muniti*, as the word is constantly used with *saeptus* (cp. Tusc. v. 41; Sest. 95; Verr. v. 39; Fin. i. 51), especially on account of *orbis terrae custodiis*, which must be confined to *saepti* if *magni* is read. This consideration is the only one which would support Müller's *tecti*, a conjecture which would put the weaker word (*tecti*) after the stronger (*saepti*). Orelli ingeniously suggests ἅγιοι, 'sacrosanct'; but it is hardly likely that Cicero would have used a Greek word for such a very Roman conception; and besides, the Greek word for 'sacrosanct' is *παραγής*.

3. *quid* needlessly altered by Müller to *qui*. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xi, p. 247) has shown that *quid* means 'how about,' 'what are we to think of,' and he refers to his note on Acad. ii. 76 for *quid* = 'what sort of,' *qualis*, where he quotes Fam. ix. 21. 1 (497) *quid tibi videor in epistulis?* Att. xiii. 10. 1 (624): *tibi*

*Servius quid videtur?* He also compares Phil. ii 75 *tu vero quid es*: and many passages of the poets, e.g. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 55; Ovid Pont. i. 6. 11; Heroid. 12. 31; Verg. Aen. vii. 365.

νεωτερισμοῦ] 'coup d'état.' The populace were still in an excited state (§ 2).

1. *primum igitur*] 'well, the first thing I learn is that you are better (of your fever); the next that your news is more encouraging.' Some verb like *accipio* is to be inferred from *accepi*. For *igitur*, 'accordingly, so, well,' cp. *primum igitur scire te volui*, 729. 1. Boot (*Obs. Crit.* p. 60) needlessly conjectured *laetor tibi* for *igitur*.

*Odiosa*] 'mortifying,' much as we say 'tiresome,' when we mean much more; for *odiosus* does not mean 'hateful.' These legions must be those from Macedonia which Caesar had sent forward there for the Parthian war. It is noteworthy that there were rumours of their coming to Italy as early as April.

*susque deque*] 'it is neither here nor there,' 'it is of no moment': cp. Plaut. Amph. 886, *atque id me susque deque esse habituram putat*. Gellius xvi. 9 says the phrase has almost the same meaning as ἀδιαφορεῖν. He quotes passages from Laberius, Varro, and Lucilius.

quid de Mario, quem quidem ego sublatum rebar a Caesare. Antoni colloquium cum heroibus nostris pro re nata non incommodum. Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat praeter Idus Martias. Nam, quoniam Fundis sum cum Ligure nostro, discrucior Sextili fundum a verberone Curtilio possideri: quod cum dico, de toto genere dico. 2. Quid enim miserius quam ea nos tueri, propter quae illum oderamus? Etiamne consules et tribunos pl. in bien-nium quos ille voluit? Nullo modo reperio quem ad modum possim πολιτεύεσθαι. Nihil enim tam σόλοικον quam tyrannoc-tonos in caelo esse, tyranni facta defendi. Sed vides consules, vides reliquos magistratus, si isti magistratus, vides languorem bonorum. Exsultant laetitia in municipiis. Dici enim non potest quanto opere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea de re p.: nec ulla interea decreta. Sic enim πεπο-

[de Mario] See on 597. 1; 707. 1.

[sublatum] 'put to death,' 'removed': the verb *tollere* is rarely used in this sense absolutely without some such pendant as *de medio*, or the instrument, as *ferro*, *veneno*; but we have *laudandum ornandum tollendum* in Fam. xi. 20. 1 (877), where this sense is presupposed. In Pers. iv. 2, *sorbitio tollit quem dira ciutas*, and similar passages (Hor. Carm. ii. 17. 28; Sat. ii. 1. 56), the instrument is expressed.

[Antoni colloquium] This was probably a conversation in which Antony promised to use his influence to obtain from the Senate the necessary authorization for Brutus to absent himself from Rome. Brutus, as *praetor urbanus*, could not be absent for more than ten days without special permission. We think that such permission must have been obtained in April, and not postponed till June 5, as Groebe holds (cp. his edition of Drmman i. 429), as the absence of Brutus was never stigmatized as illegal.

[Ligure] possibly to be identified with the M. Aelius mentioned in Att. xv. 26. 4 (763).

[Sextili] Sextilius was a Pompeian. He was probably the Sextilius Rufus who was in command of the fleet of Cassius in 43, cp. Fam. xii. 13. 4 (901). Curtilius was a freedman of Caesar's. Cicero goes on to say—'this is a mere detail; but it is an illustration of a whole class of actions that distract me.'

2. *tueri*] 'to uphold, maintain': cp. *tueri commentarium Caesaris*, 716. 2.

[consules] sc. *tuebimur* 'shall we uphold the consuls and tribunes he has nominated for the next two years?' cp. Fam. x. 32. 2 (896), where it is stated that Balbus minor, imitating Caesar, *comitia bienni biduo habuit, hoc est renuntiavit quos ei visum est*.

[quem . . . πολιτεύεσθαι] 'how I can take part in public life?'

[tam σόλοικον] 'such an anomaly.' [tyrannoc-tonos] Cicero never uses *tyrannicida*, which does not occur before Seneca (De Ira ii. 23). Seneca Rhetor (Contr. i. 7. 14) has *tyrannicidium*. Dr. Reid notices that the Latins do not use *regicida*. Possibly we should print in Greek τυραννοκτόνους.

[in caelo esse] 'are lauded to the skies.' cp. Att. ii. 19. 2 (46) *Bibulus in caelo est, nec quare scio; sed ita laudatur quasi 'Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem'*; ii. 20. 4 (47) *Bibulus hominum admiratione et benevolentia in caelo est*. Slightly different is ii. 9 (36) *in caelo sum* 'I am in the seventh heaven' (Winstedt).

[si isti magistratus] cp. 707. 2: 712. 2 *duo quidem quasi designati consules*.

[Exsultant laetitia in municipiis] The country towns were favourable to the tyrannicides: cp. Ferrero iii. 39.

[ut] 'how,' very common after *videre*: cp. De Sen. 31.

[decreta] No decrees of the Senate had been enacted for the protection of Brutus and Cassius.

[Sic . . . metueremus] 'the net result

λιτεύμεθα ut victos metueremus. Haec ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa, plura et πολιτικώτερα postea, et tu quid agas quidque agatur.

### 709. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 7).

LEAVING FORMIAE; APRIL 15; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Paullo a se in Caieta viso eiusque colloquio narrat, tum quaerit de Bruto. Dein de Cicerone filio, ut ne quid ei desit.

#### CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Postridie Idus Paullum in Caieta vidi. Is mihi de Mario et de re p. aliqua, quaedam sane pessima. A te scilicet nihil: nemo enim meorum. Sed Brutum nostrum audio visum sub Lanuvio. Ubi tandem est futurus? Nam cum reliqua tum de hoc scire aveo omnia. Ego e Formiano exiens xvii Kal., ut inde altero die in Puteolanum, scripsi haec. 2. A Cicerone mihi litterae sane πεπινωμέναι et bene longae. Cetera autem vel fingi possunt: πίνοϛ litterarum significat doctiorem. Nunc magno opere a te

of our policy is that we live in fear of the vanquished.

victos] the partisans of Caesar, especially Antony.

secunda mensa] 'at dessert,' lit. at second table (course). The table was removed and cleared to be re-spread. This course was also called *bellaria*, 'sweets': cp. Gell. xiii. 11. 6.

tu] sc. scribe.

1. Paullum] L. Aemilius Paullus, who had been consul with C. Marcellus in 50. He was own brother to Lepidus, the triumvir: cp. Velleius ii. 67. 3. He took the name of a former distinguished member of the Aemilian gens: cp. Regillus 560. 2.

in Caieta] See Adn. Crit., and cp. Att. viii. 3. 6 (333). Mommsen C.I.L. x. p. 603, says 'Caieta suam rem publicam non habuit, unde boni auctores in Caieta magis dicunt quam Caietae.' In relating one and the same story, Cic. (De Orat. ii. 22) says *ad Caietam et ad Laurentum*; and Val. Max. (viii. 8. 1) *Caietae et Laurenti*. See also Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xi. 248-9).

de re publica aliqua, quaedam sane pessima] 'Certain things about the State, some really shocking.' We take *aliqua* neut. plu. Dr. Reid takes it abl. sing. 'about a certain affair of state,' viz. Antony's proposed law about confirming Caesar's *acta*. But this is uncertain, as the question had been now postponed till June 1.

nemo enim meorum] sc. tabellariorum Roma huc venit.

sub Lanuvio] 'in the vicinity of Lanuvium,' like *sub urbe*, lit. 'under the walls of'; *sub castris* Caes. B.C. i. 82. 1.

2. πεπινωμέναι] cp. εὐπινές, 'quaint, classic,' Att. xii. 6. 4 (499). Again in 746. 1 we have πεπινωμένως, 'quite in the classic style.' The word πίνοϛ means the *robigo antiquitatis*, the *pretiosa vetustas*, which makes a work of art valuable. It is as if an Englishman now should write, 'I have had quite an Addisonian letter from my son.' Cicero did not cultivate this style (fortunately for us) in his letters to his intimate friends.

πίνοϛ] 'classic style.' This is certainly the proper accentuation of the word, which has the penult short. It is

peto, de quo sum nuper tecum locutus, ut videas ne quid ei desit. Id cum ad officium nostrum pertinet tum ad existimationem et dignitatem: quod idem intellexi tibi videri. Omnino, si ego, ut volo, mense Quinctili in Graeciam, sunt omnia faciliora; sed cum sint ea tempora ut certi nihil esse possit quid honestum mihi sit, quid liceat, quid expediat, quaeso, da operam ut illum quam honestissime copiosissimeque tueamur. Haec et cetera quae ad nos pertinebunt, ut soles, cogitabis, ad meque aut quod ad rem pertineat aut, si nihil erit, quod in buccam venerit scribes.

## 710. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 8).

SINUESSA; APRIL 15; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De commoratione sua Sinuessana, de Mario, de Bruto, de Paulli litteris, de fuga reginae, de Clodia, de Byzantiis, de negotiis Baianis, de rebus publicis et maxime quid Brutus agat sibi scribi vult.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tu me iam rebare, cum scribebas, in actis esse nostris, et ego accepi xvii Kal. in deversoriolo Sinuessano tuas litteras. De

so accented by Draco, Herodian, and Arcadins. All the editors of the Letters have followed the *Etymologicum Magnum* in accenting it *πίνος* as if it came from *πίων*, 'fat.' The whole of the rest of the letter refers to young Cicero, who was now at Athens.

1. *in actis esse nostris*] 'You thought when you wrote that I was already in my sea-side pleasure-haunts, and I did receive your letter on January 16 in my lodge at Sinuessa.' (For Cicero's lodge at Sinuessa, cp. Fam. xii. 20, Ep. 930.) The Latin writers have borrowed the Greek word *ἄκτῃ*, which in classical times they mostly used in the sense we have given: cp. Verr. v. 63, 82, 94; Cael. 35; Fam. ix. 6. 4 (470); Nepos Ages. 8. 2. Even *acta* in Verg. Aen. v. 613 is explained by Servius as *secretata et amoena litorum*, and the glosses as *loca secretata circa mare id est in litore, amoena et voluptaria*. In

Greek *ἄκτῃ* had the same special significance. Prof. Goligher, with excellent learning, refers us to Anth. Pal. v. 39. 6, *καὶ γράφε πρὸς με, εἰς ποίην ἄκτῃν εὐφροσυνῶν γέγονας* (also, perhaps, ix. 412. 5); and he also quotes the Schol. A on Iliad ii. 395, *ἄκταί· ἐπ' εὐωχίας ἀφωρισμένοι τόποι, καὶν τύχῳσι μὴ παραθαλάσσιοι ὄντες*. The Greeks used *ἄκτάζειν* for 'to enjoy oneself,' especially at the sea-side; cp. Plutarch Quaest. Conviv. iv. 2. 8 (= 665 B) *τί δ' οἱ πολλοὶ βούλονται ὅταν ἡδέως γενέσθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους λέγωσι 'σήμερον ἄκτάσωμεν'; οὐχὶ τὸ παρ' ἄκτῃ δεῖπνον ἡδιστον ἀποφαίρουσιν ὥσπερ ἔστιν*; Lobeck (*Aglaophamus*, p. 1022 note) compares the French word *ripaille* for 'feasting,' which we believe is derived from the name of the pleasure-house on the shore (*ripa*) of the Lake of Geneva, where Duke Amadeus VIII, of Savoy, used to enjoy himself.

Mario probe, etsi doleo L. Crassi nepotem. Optime iam etiam Bruto nostro probari Antonium. Nam quod Iuniam scribis moderate et amice scriptas litteras attulisse, mihi Paullus dedit ad se a fratre missas, quibus in extremis erat sibi insidias fieri, se id certis auctoribus comperisse. Hoc nec mihi placebat et multo illi minus. Reginae fuga mihi non molesta est. Clodia quid egerit scribas ad me velim: De Byzantiis curabis, ut cetera, et Pelopem ad te arcesses. Ego, ut postulas, Baiana negotia chorumque illum, de quo scire vis, cum perspexero, tum scribam ne quid ignores. 2. Quid Galli, quid Hispani, quid Sextus agat vehementer exspecto. Ea scilicet tu declarabis, qui cetera. Nauseolam tibi tuam causam oti dedisse facile patiebar: videbare enim mihi legenti tuas litteras requiesse paullisper. De Bruto semper ad me omnia perscribito, ubi sit, quid cogitet, quem quidem ego spero iam tuto vel solum tota urbe vagari posse. Verum tamen . . .

*probe*] i.e. *probe est*. Similarly *optime* just below. The use of adverbs with *esse* is a feature of the letters, cp. vol. 1<sup>3</sup> p. 91.

*Crassi nepotem*] sc. *eum fuisse*. This is ironical. Cicero speaks of the impostor as if he had really been the person whom he claimed to be, and says, continuing the irony, that he is sorry that this man was the grandson of Crassus; see on 597. 1. We can say *doleo aliquid*, 'I am sorry for a thing,' but not, we think, *doleo aliquem*, 'I am sorry for a person,'

*iam*] So we read for *tam*: for as Dr. Reid notes *tam* = *tantopere* is restricted by Cicero to negative sentences, and it would be somewhat awkward to have *tam* so far separated from *probari*.

*Iuniam*] Junia was the wife of Lepidus and the sister of Brutus: for a cleverly expressed story in which she figures see 252. 25. The letter which Junia brought was either from her husband Lepidus to her brother Brutus, or from Brutus to Lepidus. That which Aemilius Paullus gave to Cicero was from his brother (cp. 709. 1. note) Lepidus in Gallia Narbonensis to himself (Paullus). Cicero did not like the allusion of Lepidus to a plot against himself, probably regarding it as an excuse for disturbing that state of peace which Cicero so much desired to maintain.

*Reginae*] Cleopatra is so designated wherever she is mentioned in the letters, 727. 2; 730. 5; 734. 4; 748. 2; 749. 2. She left Rome shortly after the death of

Caesar, but we cannot ascertain exactly when.

*Clodia quid egerit*] It is uncertain whether this Clodia, with whom Cicero had negotiations as to the purchase of her *horti* (582. 4, and often), was the notorious Clodia or her younger sister. The reference here may be to that purchase. If she was Cicero's old enemy, this is the last mention of her.

*Pelopem*] Gronovius suspects this Pelops to be the person to whom Cicero addressed a letter in Greek about certain honours to be conferred on him by the Byzantines, according to Plut. Cic. 24. It might, however, be the name of some literary slave or freedman.

*Baiana negotia*] 'the Baian lot.' He refers to Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus, who were living at this time in Baiae. For the use of *negotium* applied to a man (like the Greek *χρημα*), cp. *Teucris illa lentum sane negotium*, 'a slow-coach,' Att. i. 12, 1 (17); *sunt enim negotia et lenta et inania*, Att. v. 18, 4 (218); *Callisthenes quidem volgare et notum negotium*, Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4 (135). As in 218. 4, it would be of course possible here to take *negotia* in the ordinary sense of 'affairs': and the plural of *negotium* applied to persons is somewhat unusual.

2. *facile patiebar*] 'I am glad to hear that your sick stomach has given you a reason for resting yourself.' For *facile patior*, cp. 622. 2: 634. 1.

*vel solum*] 'even quite unattended.'

## 711. CICERO TO BITHYNICUS (FAM. VI. 17).

PLACE AND DATE UNCERTAIN.

Cicero Bithynico, qui epistula quadam sua Ciceroni significaverat se constituta rep. secum victurum, gratum sibi id consilium esse respondet.

## CICERO BITHYNICO.

1. Cum ceterarum rerum causa cupio esse aliquando rem publicam constitutam, tum velim mihi credas accedere, id etiam quo magis expetam, promissum tuum quo in litteris uteris; scribis enim, si ita sit, te mecum esse victurum. 2. Gratissima mihi tua voluntas est, facisque nihil alienum necessitudine nostra iudiciisque patris tui de me, summi viri: nam sic habeto, beneficiorum magnitudine eos qui temporibus valuerunt ut valeant coniunctiores tecum esse quam me, necessitudine neminem. Quam ob rem grata mihi est et memoria tua nostrae coniunctionis et eius etiam augendae voluntas.

*vagari*] This may be quoted in favour of the conjecture *vagi esse* in 707. 2, but the restriction *tota urbe* here makes the passage essentially different: see note to 707. 2.

*Verum tamen*] aposiopesis, which, of course, may be supplied in many different ways: cp. 550; 715. 1; 754. 1.

This letter is hardly an answer to 701, as Cicero says nothing about supporting the interests of Bithynicus during his absence (*ut absentem me . . . tueare*). We should, perhaps, have put this Epistle under the Letters of uncertain date.

1. *accedere . . . uteris*] 'that there is an additional reason for my desiring it—one too on account of which I long for it the more earnestly—namely, the promise you make in your letter, that we should see a good deal of one another.'

2. *patris tui*] cp. Fam. vi. 16 (701). *nam sic habeto*] 'for be assured of this, that while in respect of extent of benefits bestowed those who, owing to the times, have succeeded in being successful may be more attached to you than I am, yet in friendship there is none' (sc. who is more attached than I am).

*valuerunt ut valeant*] 'have succeeded in being successful.' This is no doubt an unusual mode of expression, but we hardly think impossible. Wesenberg (E. A. 15) approves of the reading of Graevius, *aut valent* (which we have found in one of Mr. Allen's codices); and thinks that it is probable that another *aut* fell out before *valuerunt*. Dr. Reid thinks *valuerunt ut valent* probable, as the turn is Ciceronian: cp. Lig. 26, *quamvis ipse probarem, ut proba*.

## 712. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 9).

PUTEOLI; APRIL 18; A. U. C. 710: B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris ab Attico acceptis, de tabernis quae corruerunt aedificandis, de tyrannide vivente occiso tyranno, de Balbo eiusque nuntio, de bello Parthico et de rebus Gallicis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De re publica multa cognovi ex tuis litteris, quas quidem multiuges accepi uno tempore a Vestori liberto. Ad ea autem quae requiris brevi respondebo. Primum vehementer me Cluviana delectant. Sed quod quaeris quid arcessierim Chrysippum, tabernae mihi duae corruerunt reliquaeque rimas agunt. Itaque non solum inquilini, sed mures etiam migraverunt. Hanc ceteri calamitatem vocant, ego ne incommodum quidem. O Socrate et Socratici viri! numquam vobis gratiam referam. Di immortales, quam mihi ista pro nihilo! Sed tamen ea ratio aedificandi initur, consiliario quidem et auctore Vestorio, ut hoc damnum quaestuosum sit. 2. Hic turba magna est eritque, ut audio, maior. Duo quidem quasi designati consules! O di boni! vivit tyrannis,

1. *quas quidem multiuges*] 'a whole batch of which.'

*Cluviana*] sc. *praedia mihi legata*: cp. 663. 3.

*Chrysippum*] i.e. Vettius Chrysippus, an architect: cp. 605. 2, and Fam. vii. 14. 1 (172).

*rimas agunt*] cp. Senec. Benef. vi. 15. 7, *agentem ex imo rimas insulam incredibili arte suspendit*: Ov. Met. ii. 211 *fissaque* (sc. *tellus*) *agit rimas*.

*mures*] The superstition that mice and rats leave a falling house is as old as Pliny, *ruinis imminentibus musculi praemigrant*, N. H. viii. 103, and Aelian, Var. Hist. i. 11, both of whom are referred to by Gronovius on this passage. With us it is a sinking ship which the rats are said to leave. It is to be observed that Cicero does not say that they left before the inmates, but that they were the last to leave. Pliny seems to ascribe to them a supernatural prevision of the disaster in the word *praemigrant*. Aelian expressly claims for them this quality, ἦσαν δ' ἄρα μαντικώτατοι τῶν ζῴων καὶ μύες.

γῆρώσης γὰρ οἰκίας ἤδη καὶ μελλούσης κατολισθάνειν αἰσθάνονται πρῶτοι καὶ . . . ἢ ποδῶν ἔχουσιν ἀποδιδράσκουσι καὶ μετοικίζονται.

*Hanc ceteri calamitatem*] Cicero is never tired of proclaiming his superiority to the pettier vexations of life. It is this indifference to little misfortunes which he says he owes to philosophy—a debt which he will never be able to pay.

*consiliario . . . et auctore*] 'under the direction and by the advice of Vestorius.' Vestorius not only directed the workmen, but originally recommended the style of building which 'was to turn a loss into a profit.' In Fam. i. 9. 2 (153), *ego te auctore amicissimo . . . et tu me consiliario non imperitissimo . . . usus esses*, Lentulus is described as suggesting the policy, and Cicero as giving hints as to the carrying out of it. For Vestorius cp. 163. 3 and Index.

2. *quasi designati*] cp. 707. 2, 708. 2. It had been arranged by Caesar that Hirtius and Pansa should hold the consulship next year. 'Our two so-called consuls-designate!'



tyrannus occidit! Eius interfecti morte laetamur, cuius facta defendimus! Itaque quam severe nos M. Curtius accusat, ut pudeat vivere, neque iniuria. Nam mori miliens praestitit quam haec pati, quae mihi videntur habitura etiam vetustatem. 3. Et Balbus hic est multumque mecum, ad quem a Vetere litterae datae pridie Kal. Ianuar., cum a se Caecilius circumsederetur et iam teneretur, venisse cum maximis copiis Pacorum Parthum: ita sibi esse eum ereptum, multis suis amissis, in qua re accusat Volcatium. Ita mihi videtur bellum illud instare. Sed Dolabella et Nicias viderint. Idem Balbus meliora de Gallia. XXI die litteras habebat, Germanos illasque nationes re audita de Caesare legatos misisse ad Aurelium, qui est praepositus ab Hirtio, se quod imperatum esset esse facturos. Quid quaeris? Omnia plena pacis, aliter ac mihi Calvena dixerat.

*quam severe*] We have already endeavoured to vindicate this use of *quam* = *perquam* in the letters on Att. vii. 15. 2 (311), where see note. It is quite common in Apuleius.

*M. Curtius*]. M. Curtius Postumus, a vehement Caesarian, Att. ix. 2a. 3 (356), 5. 1 (359), 6. 2 (360), whom Cicero did not like: cp. 597. 1, also Fam. ii. 16. 7 (394).

*habitura . . . vetustatem*] 'are becoming chronic': cp. *inveterata*, 720. 2.

3. *Vetere*] C. Antistius Vetus had been quaestor of Caesar in Spain in 61, and tribune in 56. He besieged Q. Caecilius Bassus in Apamea (cp. 700. 4). The siege was ultimately raised by reason of a diversion caused by the Parthians and an Arab chief Alchaudonius (Dio Cass. xlvii. 27. 3). Antistius afterwards possessed the very villa of Cicero's at Puteoli (Plin. H. N. xxxi. 7) from which this letter was written.

*Volcatium*] He was praetor in 46, and

became consul in 33. Corradus conjectures *L. Statium*, i.e. L. Statius Murcus, who seems to have been in Syria at this time. See Index.

*bellum illud*] with Parthia. The province of Syria would involve the conduct of the Parthian war. That the province of Syria had been assigned by Caesar to Dolabella, and that of Macedonia to Antony, is held by Schwartz (*Hermes* (1898), p. 187), and Ferrero, vol. iii. 324-328: and this passage tends to support that view.

*Nicias*] Nicias Curtius was a grammarian (cp. 562. 2). He was now staying with Dolabella. He is often mentioned in the letters (see Index). Here he is jestingly spoken of as sharing with Dolabella the responsibility for the Parthian war.

*Hirtio*] He seems to have been nominal governor of Gallia Comata, administering it by one Aurelius, of whom we know only this fact.

## 713. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 10).

CUMAE; APRIL 19; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Quaeritur de rebus post Caesaris caedem factis et adseculis Caesaris dominantibus, de adventu Octavii Neapolim, de rebus privatis ac domesticis, de Q. patris litteris de filio.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Itane vero? Hoc meus et tuus Brutus egit ut Lanuvi esset? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam? ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris plus valerent quam si ipse viveret? Meministine me clamare illo ipso primo Capitolino die *debere* senatum in Capitolium a praetoribus

1. *Itane vero?*] 'Is this the end? Did our hero Brutus do his deed only to have to stay at Lanuvium, only that Trebonius should have to slink through by-ways to his province (Asia), only that all the acts, etc., of Caesar should have more authority than if he were alive?' Cicero's first outburst of joy at the assassination of Caesar is conveyed in a letter (699) to Minucius Basilus, which is the shortest in the whole correspondence. This tone soon gives way to one of depression, which is expressed in this and other letters, and of which the burden is *vixit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit*.

*ut omnia facta . . . viveret*] We must suppose from this passage that Antony had already begun to publish certain *acta* of Caesar's as legal enactments (cp. 708. 2). In order that he should do so, it was necessary that the decree of the Senate passed on March 17 which legalized the *acta* of Caesar, should have been made a law, as it certainly was at some time or other (Phil. v. 10), so we must assume not only that this *Lex Antonia de Caesaris actis confirmandis* had been passed by the date of this letter (April 19), but must have been passed for some time to admit of a considerable use by Antony of the powers it put into his hands. We think that immediately after March 17 the law was promulgated and passed after the usual seventeen-day interval, possibly on the 3rd or 4th of April (both of which were comitial days). Schiller (*Geschichte des röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. 16 note 4) and Groebe

(in his ed. of Drumann i. 415) seem to hold that it was passed on March 17th without the legal interval between promulgation and enactment: while Lange (R. A. iii. 494) and O. E. Schmidt (*Die letzten Kämpfe*, p. 699) would place its enactment on April 24. We must, then, assume that what Cic. says here is evidence only that he was quite sure the law would pass, and that Antony had given indication of the way he would interpret the term *acta Caesaris*.

*primo Capitolino die*] This was March 15. After the assassination of Caesar, which occurred about eleven o'clock on March 15, the conspirators occupied the Capitol, where they were joined by Cicero and other *nobiles*. They held earnest deliberations during that afternoon as to the course to adopt. Cicero urged that the praetors, Brutus and Cassius, should summon the senate: for neither of the consuls was present. Dolabella (who was *consul suffectus*) did not join the conspirators till the next day, and Antony was hostile, or at least his attitude was uncertain. They spent March 16 in negotiations with Antony, and M. Brutus delivered an address to the people in the forum during the afternoon. (On the action of Decimus Brutus during this day see Ep. 700.) On the 17th, the *Liberalia*, a meeting of the senate was held in the Temple of Tellus on the summons of Antony. The real question at issue was, 'Should Caesar be regarded as a tyrant?' for if so, all his

vocari? Di immortales! quae tum opera effici potuerunt laetantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus! Liberalia tu accusas. Quid fieri tum potuit? iam pridem perieramus. Meministine te clamare causam perisse, si funere elatus esset? At ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. Quae deinde? ut pudeant dicere, 'tune contra Caesaris nutum?' Haec et alia ferre non possum. Itaque γῆν πρὸ γῆς cogito. 'Tua tamen

enactments would be null and void: and if not, the conspirators should be regarded as criminals. Cicero took part in the debate, and advocated a general amnesty. The senate accepted his proposal, but added to it a ratification of Caesar's acts. Caesar's friends, headed by L. Piso, his father-in-law, procured the consent of the senate to the publication of Caesar's will and a public funeral for his body. Brutus subsequently addressed the people in defence of Caesar's murder, and on the following day Cicero again spoke in favour of amnesty. Caesar's will was then read, in which Octavius was named his heir. A painful feeling was excited when the name of D. Brutus was read among the second heirs, and was intensified by the public funeral which followed about the 20th or 21st, and by Antony's adroit conduct on that occasion.

*debere*] We have with hesitation added this word with most editors, and after *die*, with Dr. Reid. He says (*Hermath.* x. p. 250) that "in the face of the fact that the accusative and infinitive construction with *peto, rogo, oro, precor*, and other verbs more or less analogous to *clamo* is post-Ciceronian, it is over-bold to stand by the mss. here." Yet in one passage the pres. infin. seems to be found after *censere*, Phil. 8. 21, *cum ante legatos decerni non censuissem*. But it is possible to say, 'I voted against ambassadors being appointed,' but hardly so to say, 'I proclaimed loudly the senate's being called,' meaning 'that the senate ought to be called.' It should mean 'that the senate was being called.' We should not have added *debere* if Cic. had used *censere* and not *clamare*: for the pres. inf. was certainly allowable in post-Augustan times after *censere*. See a passage of Livy xxvi. 32. 2, where both constructions seem to be found in the same sentence, *cum . . . cum tyrannis bellum gerendum fuisse censerent . . . et urbem recipi, non capi*.

*Liberalia tu accusas*] 'you condemn my conduct on the 17th of March,' in not either absenting myself from the meeting of the senate on that day in the Temple of Tellus, or speaking freely when there. Cicero afterwards contends that *both* of these courses were impossible to him: see on 719. 2.

*laudatusque miserabiliter*] It is a disputed point whether Antony delivered a great speech, as most historians state (App. B. C. ii. 143-147; Dio Cass. xlv. 35-49; cp. Plut. Ant. 14), or whether he simply ordered an official to read the decree of the senate detailing all the honours voted to Caesar and the oath the senators swore to the dictator, and added only a few words of his own, as Suetonius (Caes. 84) says. See on the subject Ferrero iii. 21. This passage would seem to support the former view, but is quite reconcilable with the latter: for Antony's praise of Caesar was a dramatic, rather than a rhetorical, effort, as even the narrative of Suetonius shows, and everything in Antony's conduct contrived to excite pity (cp. Phil. ii. 91, *tua illa pulcra laudatio, tua miseratio*): but Antony was not sufficiently sure of his position at the time (about the 20th) to make a great speech which the constitutionalists, who were in his opinion still formidable, could point to as an indubitably hostile attack. Later, of course, when Cicero had broken with Antony, he accuses whatever speech he made as the cause of all the riots that followed the funeral (Phil. ii. 91), but no such violent charge is made here.

*tune . . . nutum?*] sc. *aliquid acturus es?*

*cogito*] 'I intend to keep moving from land to land'; 'to be a wanderer on the face of the earth': cp. Aesch. P. V. 682 μάστιγι θέλα γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.

*Tua*] sc. γῆ: 'yours (Epirus) is too windy.' Possibly by reading ὑπήμερος

ὕπηνέμιος. 2. Nausea iamne plane abiit? Mihi quidem ex tuis litteris coniectanti ita videbatur. Redeo ad Tebassos, Scaevas, Fangones. Hos tu existimas confidere se illa habituros stantibus nobis? in quibus plus virtutis putarunt quam experti sunt. Pacis isti scilicet amatores et non latrocini auctores. At ego cum tibi de Curtilio scripsi Sextilianoque fundo, scripsi de Censorino, de Messalla, de Planco, de Postumo, de genere toto. Melius fuit perisse illo interfecto—quod nunquam accidisset—quam haec videre. 3. Octavius Neapolim venit. XIII Kal. Ibi eum Balbus mane postridie, eodemque die mecum in Cumano, illum hereditatem aditurum, sed, ut scribis, †ῥιξόθεμιν magnam cum Antonio.

we might give more point to the reflection 'Your land is sheltered from the storms (which drive me from place to place).' Then, as Dr. Reid suggests, *tua* will refer to Athens, and he compares 775. 2 *Athenis tuis*. Cic. had for a long time intended to go to Greece (718. 4 *ut constitueram*).

2. Nausea] cp. 710. 2.

Tebassos, Scaevas, Fangones] These were veterans of Caesar's who were now in possession of properties formerly held by Pompeians. For Scaeva cp. 637. 3; for C. Fuficius Fango and his actions and death in Africa see Dio Cass. xlviii. 22, 23; App. B.C. v. 26. He is mentioned as a provincial aedile in C. I. L. x 3758 (an Inscription found at Acerrae). We do not know of any centurion called Tebassus.

illa] sc. praedia.

stantibus nobis] 'if we had stood firm': cp. *stamus animis*, Att. v. 18. 2 (218); *stante Pompeio vel etiam sedente*, 'if Pompey remained firm or even inactive,' Att. vi. 3. 4 (264).

putarunt] For *putarunt* with a direct object Boot compares *falsum putare*, De Sen. 4.

Pacis . . . auctores] ironical. 'They, of course, long for peace, and do not urge to robbery.'

de Curtilio scripsi] 708. 1; he was probably one of the veterans enriched by Caesar with Pompeian property.

Censorino] He is mentioned in Phil. xi. 36 as *in bello hostem, in pace sectorem*.

Messalla] consul in 53, a Caesarian: cp. Att. xi. 22. 2 (446); Bell. Afr. 86. 3.

Planco] i.e. Planeus Bursa: cp. 670. 2 and Index.

Postumo] cp. 712. 2.

quod nunquam accidisset] 'which never would have come about.' Cicero

here records his conviction that if the Pompeians had taken a firm attitude after the murder of Caesar they would have prevailed over the Caesarians. But this interesting reflection has been taken out of the mouth of Cicero by Gronovius, who conjectured *utinam* for *nunquam*, and who has been followed by most editors. We have given what Cicero wrote, not what Gronovius thought he ought to have written. O. E. Schmidt (*Rh. Mus.*, 1898, p. 221) reads *quod <utinam> nunquam accidisset*, which is too strong. Cic. may have been disappointed as to the results of the death of Caesar (715. 1; 718. 6), but he does not actually wish that the deed had never been done.

3. Ibi . . . aditurum] 'then Balbus met Octavius the next day, and in a conversation with me at Cumae on the same day he said that Octavius was going to take formal possession of the inheritance left him by Caesar.' For the ellipse of *vidit* cp. Fam. xv. 13. 1 (794) *Sed quando illum diem?* and possibly 660. 1; 770. 4.

mecum] sc. loquitur: cp. Fam. ix. 7. 1 (462) *mecum ipse*, 'Quid hic mihi faciet patri?'

†ῥιξόθεμιν] It is hopeless to try to restore this word. Possibly it may be a comic formation from *riza* and mean 'a rumpus': then it would be governed by *aditurum* 'he will accept the inheritance, but, as you say, will inherit, too, a fine rumpus with Antony.' Wessenberg thinks *ei fore video*, or something of the kind, may have fallen out after *Antonio*. Most of the attempts (e.g. that of Boot, ῥήξει θέμιν) proceed on the hypothesis that θέμιν can mean 'a contest,' which we doubt. If it could, we should conjecture *rizam an θέμιν*. 'Balbus agrees with you in thinking that before Octavius steps into

Buthrotia mihi tua res est, ut debet, eritque curae. Quod quaeris amne ad centena Cluvianum: adventare videtur: scilicet primo anno LXXX deterimus. 4. Q. pater ad me gravia de filio, maxime quod matri nunc indulgeat, cui antea bene merenti fuerit inimicus. Ardentis in eum litteras ad me misit. Ille autem quid agat si scis nequedum Roma es profectus scribas ad me velim, et mercule si quid aliud. Vehementer delector tuis litteris.

## 714. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 11).

PUTEOLI (?); APRIL 21; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Bruto, de Caesaris laudatoribus et contionibus perditorum hominum, de Cicerone filio, de Buthrotiorum causa a se suscepta, de Cluviano, de praesentia Balbi, Irtii, Pansae ac de adventu Octavii.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nudius tertius dedi ad te epistulam longiorem, nunc ad ea quae proxime. Velim mehercule Asturae Brutus. Ἀκολασίαν storum scribis. An censebas aliter? Equidem etiam maiora exspecto. Quom equidem contionem lego, DE TANTO VIRO, DE

the shoes of Caesar he must have it out with Antony, whether the question to be decided is to be one of might (*rixam*, 'quarrel,' 'brawl') or one of right' *θέμιν*, 'trial,' 'suit'). But that would be a strange way of expressing this idea: though *θέμιν* is occasionally found in a sense approximating to this, e.g. Aesch. Agam. 1436: Soph. Trach. 810.

*Buthrotia . . . res*] The exemption of the Buthrotians from confiscation for a colony for Caesar's veterans: cp. note to 715. 1.

*adventare*] the legacy of Cluvius is coming up to' (that is, proving nearly worth) 100,000 sesterces, about £850, apparently the annual value. The estate of Cluvius seems to have been house-property. These houses were for the most part shops; but Cic. kept Cluvius' own villa, the *horti Cluviani* (721. 1), for a dwelling-house for himself. This was Cicero's *Puteolanum*, and we have assumed that it was there that Cicero entertained Caesar (Ep. 679): but it is at least equally probable that it was in Cicero's other villa in the near neigh-

bourhood, his *Cumanum*, that the entertainment took place. O. E. Schmidt (*Cicero's Villen*, p. 46, note) decides ultimately for the *Cumanum*.

*deterimus*] 'I have cleared about 80,000 sesterces in the first year.' We can quote no exact parallel for this use of *detergere*; *scilicet* may mean 'that is to say,' or 'at all events.'

4. *Q. pater*] Quintus had divorced his wife Pomponia, of whose ill-temper we read in Att. v. 1. 3 (184). She and her son Quintus had been on very bad terms, but now that she is divorced (cp. 718. 5) Quintus espouses her cause, and quarrels with his father about her. See 658. 1.

1. *ad ea quae proxime*] sc. *scripsisti*, 'in answer to your last.'

*Velim*] Cicero elsewhere (720 fin.) expresses a wish that Brutus were sojourning at Astura, perhaps believing that he would be safer there than in the city: cp. *ne sine periculo quidem*, below, and 710 fin.

Ἀκολασίαν] 'their depravity'—the actual word Atticus used.

*contionem*] This was some speech

CLARISSIMO CIVI, ferre non queo, etsi ista iam ad risum. Sed memento: sic alitur consuetudo perditarum contionum, ut nostri illi non heroes sed di futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, *ne* sine periculo quidem. Verum illis magna consolatio conscientia maximi et clarissimi facti: nobis quae, qui interfecto rege liberi non sumus? Sed haec fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. 2. De Cicerone quae scribis iucunda mihi sunt: velim sint prospera. Quod curae tibi est ut ei suppedietur ad usum et cultum copiose, per mihi gratum est, idque ut facias te etiam *atque etiam* rogo. De Buthrotiis et tu recte cogitas et ego non dimitto istam curam. Suscipiam omnem etiam actionem, quam video cotidie faciliorem. De Cluviano, quoniam in re mea me ipsum diligentia vincis, res ad centena perducitur. Ruina rem non fecit deteriolem, haud scio an etiam fructuosiolem. Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa. Modo venit Octavius et quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus. Lentulus Spinther hodie apud me; cras mane vadit.

delivered either by Antony or one of his henchmen, which had been recently made, and of which Att. perhaps had sent Cic. a copy. It can hardly be the funeral speech (cp. Groebe, Appendix to Drumann i. p. 419); the words *sic alitur consuetudo perditarum contionum* point to many pro-Caesarian meetings.

*quidem*] 'that the tyrannicides will indeed enjoy everlasting renown, but not unmingled with odium and even peril.' The words *sine invidia ne* are omitted in  $\Sigma$  and  $\Delta$ , but found in  $Z$  (according to Turnebus: cp. his *Adversaria*, xiii. 5) in the codices of Bosius and in the margin of Lambinus. See Adn. Crit. They are, doubtless, genuine.

2. *ad centena perducitur*] 'the legacy is coming up to 100,000 sesterces a year': cp. 713. 3.

*Ruina*] cp. 712. 1.

*Philippi*] L. Marcius Philippus (cp. 548), stepfather of Octavian.

*Lentulus Spinther*] the son of the Lentulus who as consul had proposed in the senate Cicero's recall. He was now on his way to Asia with Trebonius. We have an official despatch he wrote to the senate (882), with a postscript (891), and a long letter he wrote to Cicero (883). For some account of him see vol. vi. p. lxxxviii.

*vadit*] 'passes (marches) on his way.' There is a slight poetical colour about this word: cp. Stinner, p. 16: also Dr. Reid in *Hermathena*, xi. 251, where he discusses the curious passage in Tusc. i. 97, *vadit in eundem carcerem atque in eundem paucis post annis scyphum Socratem eodem scelere iudicium quo tyrannorum Theramenes*.

## 715. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 12).

WITH VESTORIUS AT PUTEOLI; APRIL 22; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;  
AET. CIC. 62.

De rebus post caedem Caesaris eius auctoritate actis queritur, de Octavio, de consulibus designatis Hirtio et Pansa, de litterarum inter se et Atticum commercio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O mi Attice, vereor ne nobis Idus Martiae nihil dederint praeter laetitiam et odi poenam ac doloris. Quae mihi istim dferuntur! Quae hic video! ὦ πράξεως καλῆς μὲν, ἀτελοῦς δέ! Sicutis quam diligam Siculos et quam illam clientelam honestam iudicem: multa illis Caesar, neque me invito, etsi Latinitas erat, non ferenda. Verum tamen. . . . Ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem 'a dictatore comitiis latam,' qua Siculi iues Romani: cuius rei vivo illo mentio nulla. Quid? Deiotari

1. *odi poenam ac doloris*] 'I fear the Ides of March have conferred on us nothing more than delight and the satisfaction of our hatred (of Caesar) and resentment' (of his usurpation). This meaning of *poena* is correct, but it is justified by the analogous usage of *punitor doloris sui*, Mil. 35, and *crudelitas puniendi doloris*, De Or. i. 220, both adduced by Manutius: cp. De Rep. i. 15, *quod vellet Graeciae fana poenire*, and probably De Har. Resp. 16. We may add Att. i. 16. 7 (22) *fore ut aperte ietricrix nequitia ac libido poenas ab optimo uoque peteret sui doloris*.

*istim*] from Rome.  
ὦ πράξεως] This is generally referred to by the commentators to some lost tragedy. To us it does not seem to savour of the Greek, and is probably a mere expression of Cicero's view of the situation which he chooses to put into Greek.

*clientelam*] 'how honourable I think the relation of patron to be in which I stand to them.' The Sicilians were his clients: cp. Div. in Caec. 2. This is the only mention of the law about the Sicilians. Like Crete (Phil. ii. 97), Sicily was to cease to be a province, and the Sicilians were to receive full citizenship, though they had only received from Caesar the Latin franchise. The law never came into operation.

*Latinitas*] 'the conferring on them of the *ius Latii* is unendurable.'

*Verumtamen . . .*] cp. note to 710 *fin. legem*] Antony, in consideration of a large sum of money, posted up a bill as having been proposed by Caesar in his dictatorship conferring the citizenship on the Sicilians. Caesar had previously given them the *Latinitas*. Cicero frequently hints that Antony forged documents purporting to be Caesar's, and that his wife Fulvia disposed of them for money. Here he distinctly states that Antony received a large sum of money. He says the same thing in Phil. ii. 92, iii. 30, and elsewhere, but in no place does he give any proof of his assertion. "Non male Servius ad Aen. vi. 622, poetam verbis *fixit leges pretio atque refixit*, M. Antonium respexisse credit" (Boot). He contrasts this transaction, of which 'there was never a whisper during the life of Caesar,' with *tam claram tamque testatam rem Bulthrotiam*.

'a dictatore comitiis latam.'] We think the allegation of Antony was that Caesar had actually brought the law before the comitia; accordingly the inverted commas should be added. If Caesar had actually proposed the law (which the next clause proves he had not), it would have had a good claim for acceptance.

*Deiotari . . . causa*] Pompey had added to the legitimate dominion of Deiotarus (that of the Tolistobogii) part of Pontus and Lesser Armenia, of which latter he

nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam. Sescenta similia. Verum illuc refero: tam claram tamque testatam rem tamque iustam, Buthrotiam, non tenebimus aliqua ex parte? et eo quidem magis, quo iste plura? 2. Nobiscum hic perhonorifice et peramice Octavius, quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non, itaque ne nos quidem; quem nego posse *esse* bonum civem: ita multi circumstant, qui

was styled king. On the death of Brogitarus, tetrarch of the Trocmi in 53, Deiotarus seized that territory. During the Civil War he appropriated that portion of the territory of the Tectosages which had been held by Domnilius, who fell at Pharsalia: the portion held by Castor still remaining outside his clutches. Deiotarus had supported Pompey: and after Pharnaces was conquered Caesar dealt with Deiotarus. He left him the title of king, but deprived him of the territory of the Trocmi and of Lesser Armenia, giving the former to Mithridates of Pergamum and the latter to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia. On the death of Mithridates in 45, Deiotarus seized the territory of the Trocmi. Caesar would have probably dealt sharply with Deiotarus if he had gone on his Parthian expedition: but the death of Caesar emboldened Deiotarus to seize the whole of Galatia, including the portion still held by Castor. It was the recognition of this seizure that Antony and Fulvia sanctioned for a bribe. The bribe given to Antony was said to be ten millions of sesterces, or nearly £90,000, Phil. ii. 93-95.

*refero*] Lehmann (p. 19) holds that *refero* of the ms may be defended by the use of *recipere* = *se recipere* in Ennius, *Thyestis*, 311, Ribb., *Neque sepulcrum quo recipiat habent portum corporis, Ubi remissa humana vita corpus requiescat malis*, and Plaut. Bacch. 294 *rusum in portum recipimus*. Prof. Exon has kindly furnished us with many similar usages where the reflexive is omitted, e.g. Plaut. Rud. 1062 *hinc facessas* (often in Apuleius e.g. Met. ii. 15); ib. 179 *quo capessit*; ib. 397 *credo aliquem immersisse*—also English 'draw near' (i.e. draw yourself near), German *ziehen* ("Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein"); *σάβει* (Lucian Dial. Deorum 24. 2) 'clear off.'

*Buthrotiam*] Caesar had confiscated the territory of the Buthrotians because they failed to pay a requisition which he had imposed on them. Atticus had made them

a considerable advance of money, and Caesar had promised in writing to remit the sentence of confiscation. This promise had not been executed at the time of Caesar's death, but Cicero says it was notorious that it had been made. He afterwards writes fully on this subject to Capito and to Plancus, the brother of the consul designate for 712 (42), to whom was committed the distribution of the lands.

*non tenebimus*] 'shall we not make good their claim to some extent at least, and the more so on account of the number of remissions Antony is granting?' Cicero often uses *tueri* in this sense (708. 2).

2. *Octavius*] Watson, in an excellent note which we abridge, writes: "The future emperor had been adopted by Caesar in his will, but the adoption had not been ratified by the *curiae*. Cicero writes of him as Octavianus in the following June (745. 2). From December 44 B.C., Cicero generally writes of him simply as Caesar."

*Philippus*] Manutius suggests that it was because the *curiae* had not ratified the adoption that the stepfather of Octavius refused to give him the title of Caesar. He probably also thought that it would be dangerous for the young man to take the inheritance of Caesar. Some editors insert *item* after *non*; but it is unnecessary: cp. Att. xvi. 9 (798) *Varroni quidem displicebat consilium pueri, mihi non*, where we were wrong in accepting Boot's conj. *non sic*. Dr. Reid adds Att. vi. 1. 6 (252) *quod, si cuiquam, huic tamen non*: viii. 3. 5 (333) *eam fugam si nunc sequor, quonam? cum illo non*. In the orations we sometimes find *non* without a verb expressed, e.g. Rosc. Am. 54; Rosc. Com. 41; 1 Verr. 20. Müller quotes Orat. 151: De Div. ii. 133.

*posse*] After this word most editors since Lambinus insert *esse*, rightly as we now think. In our previous edit. we followed Gurlitt (*Jahrb.* 1893, p. 704), who argues against the insertion. He considers that with *posse* we should supply *salutare Caesarem*, 'Accordingly we did



quidem nostris mortem minitantur, negant haec ferri posse. Quid pensēs, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? *Qui* quidem semper erunt clari, conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati. Sed nos, nisi me fallit, iacebimus. Itaque exire aveo, 'ubi nec Pelopidarum,' inquit. Haud amo vel hos designatos, qui etiam declamare me coegerunt, ut ne apud aquas quidem acquiescere liceret. Sed hoc meae nimiae facilitatis. Nam d' erat quondam quasi necesse, nunc, quoquo modo se res habet, non est item. 3. Quam dudum nihil habeo quod ad te scribam! Scribo tamen, non ut delectem his litteris, sed ut eliciam tuas. Tu, si quid erit de ceteris, de Bruto utique quidquid. Haec concipsi x Kal., accubans apud Vestorium, hominem remotum a dialecticis, in arithmeticis satis exercitatum.

not style him Caesar, and I maintain that to good patriot can do so, owing to the numbers that stand around threatening death to our friends.' In the face of the violence of the democratic party it would have been foolish and disloyal to address Octavius as Caesar, which was a name to conjure by at this crisis, and would have proved a rallying-point for the disaffected. But then the clause *ita . . . minitantur* is a little point. Shuckburgh says also that the statement would be too strong; for if the *boni* had consented to ratify the public acts of Caesar, they would be bound to recognize his private dispositions. *negant*] So Z<sup>b</sup>. M has *negat*, which we adopted formerly. But Octavius surely did not commit himself so definitely at the outset.

*nisi me fallit*] For this impersonal use *fallit*, cp. *nisi me fallebat, res se sic utebat*, Fam. xii. 5. 2 (821); *quantum se fefellerit . . . vides*, Fam. iv. 2. 3 (389). *Pelopidarum*] See on Fam. vii. 28. 2 (77). Cic. was fond of this line: cp. 14. 1; 744. 3; Phil. xiii. 49.

*inquit*] 'says the poet.' On *inquit* = *quit aliquis*, Dr. Reid has a learned note in Acad. ii. 79. He also quotes *ur. 26 fundus, inquit, qui est in agro qui abinus vocatur*, 'says the jurist': cp. *to Tullio* 50. We may add Hor. Sat. i. 126, *non nosti quid pater, inquit* ('says the Stoic'), *Chrysippus dicat*.

*designatos*] Hirtius and Pansa, with Calpurnia, were taking lessons in rhetoric from Cicero, Fam. ix. 16. 7 (472). He says they have 'driven me back into my old practice of declamation, so that even

here at the waters I cannot be at peace; but this all comes from my excessive good nature.'

*id*] sc. *declamare*.

3. *Quam dudum*] 'for what a long time now have I had nothing to write about, yet do I write, not to amuse you, but to get from you a reply!' *Quam dudum* as an exclamation and as an interrogation is quite common in the comic drama. It would be a mistake therefore to change it here, though the correction to *quamquam* would involve a very slight change.

*delectem*] Some editors insert *te* after *delectem*; but Lehmann (pp. 15, 16) has shown that the use of transitive verbs without an object is characteristic of the letters. See also Lebreton's great collection of transitives used absolutely, 156-170. He quotes Att. i. 11. 3 (7), *mire quam illius loci . . . cogitatio delectat* and eight other passages in the Letters for the absolute use of *delectare*, and one from the orations, Flacc. 72.

*Vestorium . . . exercitatum*] For writing letters at meals, cp. 728. 4. For Vestorius see 657. 4 and Index. Cicero did not think much of the higher culture of Vestorius. What he says in Att. iv. 19. 1 (158), *num Vestorio dandi sunt dies et ille Latinus ἀττικισμὸς ex intervallo regustandus*, is probably ironical, whatever the meaning of *Latinus ἀττικισμὸς* may be. He perhaps prided himself on being a great purist in the use of Latin, as the Atticists were for the use of only classical Attic words in Greek and for great chasteness and simplicity in style. Cicero liked

716. M. ANTONIUS, SOMEWHERE IN SOUTH ITALY, TO  
CICERO, AT PUTEOLI (ATT. XIV. 13a).

APRIL 20-24; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Antonius Ciceronem rogat ut comiter consentiat Sextum Clodium restituendum.

M. ANTONIUS CONSUL S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Occupationibus est factum meis et subita tua profectione ne tecum coram de hac re agerem, quam ob causam vereor ne absentia mea levior sit apud te. Quod si bonitas tua responderit iudicio meo quod semper habui de te, gaudebo. 2. A Caesare petii ut Sex. Clodium restitueret; impetravi. Erat mihi in animo etiam tum sic uti beneficio eius, si tu concessisses. Quo magis laboro ut tua voluntate id per me facere nunc liceat. Quod si duriores te eius miserae et adfictae fortunae praebes, non contendam ego adversus te. Quamquam videor debere tueri commentarium Caesaris. Sed mehercule, si humaniter et sapienter et amabiliter in me cogitare vis, facilem profecto te praebebis et voles P. Clodium, in optima spe puerum repositum, existimare non te

something more ornate: cp. 731. 2 and Tac. Dial. 18. Here he considers Vestorius an indifferent theoretical philosopher, but an excellent accountant, 'averse from Dialectics, but well trained in Arithmetics'—the latter plural (*arithmetica*) is rare.

1. *est factum . . . ne*] cp. Verr. iii. 81; v. 5; Balb. 32; Fam. xvi. 11. 1 (301); Plaut. Capt. 738 (with *curarier*); *ut ne* is more usual, as in *faciemus ut quod viderit ne viderit*, Plaut. Mil. 149, *si poterit fieri ut ne pater . . . credat*, Ter. Andr. 699.

*absentia*] a rare word not found in Caesar, Sallust, or Livy: see Wölfflin 'Archiv.' v. 508. It is even doubtful if it is found in Cicero, as Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xi. 257) thinks it is a gloss in Pis. 37 and 63, and that this passage gives the first appearance of the word. Here it is ablative, the subject to *sit* being *res*.

2. *Sex. Clodium*] This was a retainer and henchman of the celebrated P. Clodius, the enemy of Cicero. Cic. enumerates a whole series of his crimes in

Cael. 78. He had been banished in 52 under the *lex Pompeia de vi*, and had now spent eight years in banishment. Antony was desirous of bringing about his restoration, and now writes to secure the good offices of Cicero. The letter is usually described as a trap laid by Antony for Cicero, but we do not think there is evidence for this theory. Among other arguments, Antony urges the good moral effect which Cicero's co-operation with him would have on the young Clodius, who was now an inmate of the house of Antony, who had married his mother, Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius. The consideration which Antony showed to the constitutionalists during the weeks following the murder of Caesar is several times emphasized by Ferrero, e.g. iii. 37 (Eng. Trans.).

*tueri*] 'to carry out' the intentions of Caesar as expressed, or said by Antony to be expressed, in his *memoranda*: cp. 708. 2. Antony made very ample use of his position as custodian of these *memoranda*.

*in optima spe . . . repositum*] 'a most

insectatum esse, cum potueris, amicos paternos. 3. Patere, obsecro, te pro re publica videri gessisse simultatem cum patre eius, non contempsisse hanc familiam. Honestius enim et libentius deponimus inimicitias rei publicae nomine susceptas quam contumaciae. Me deinde sine ad hanc opinionem iam nunc dirigere puerum et tenero animo eius persuadere non esse tradendas posteris inimicitias. Quamquam tuam fortunam, Cicero, ab omni periculo habesse certum habeo, tamen arbitror malle te quietam senectutem et honorificam potius agere quam sollicitam. Postremo meo iure te hoc beneficium rogo; nihil enim non tua causa feci. Quod si non impetro, per me Clodio daturus non sum, ut intellegas quanti apud me auctoritas tua sit atque eo te placabiliorem praebeas.

promising boy,' a modification of the common phrase *spem reponere in aliquo*. Dr. Reid notes that, as we can say *id in optima spe pono* (635. 5), 'I regard it as eminently hopeful,' so we can say *aliquem in spe repono*. This P. Clodius was son of Cicero's enemy, Clodius Pulcher. He afterwards went utterly to the bad (Val. Max. iii. 1. 3).

3. *non contempsisse*] Antony's Latin may not be perfect, and such a purist and authority in language as Cicero in an invective may have criticized it as he does in Phil. xiii. 43. But the remains of Antony's compositions do not justify us in supposing that he could have used *non contempseris* for *ne contempseris*. Quintilian 5. 50 says that *non feceris* for a prohibition would be as gross a mistake as to say *hic aut ille sit* for *hic an ille sit*; meaning that it was quite impossible. We have recommended to *contempsisse* with Dr. Reid. Müller adds *quod* between *non* and *contempseris*.

*hanc familiam*] That of Clodius, with which Antony was now connected by his marriage with Fulvia.

*contumaciae*] 'insolent haughtiness':

cp. Rosc. Com. 44, *Est tuae contumaciae arrogantiae vitaeque universae vox* (the expression was *Manilio et Luscio negas esse credendum*): Verr. iii. 5, *oris oculorumque illa contumacia ac superbia*. So there is no necessity to alter to *contumeliae*.

*malle . . . potius*] cp. Fam. xv. 5. 2 (266), *casum potius quam te laudari mavis*.

*meo iure . . . rogo*] 'I have a good right to ask this favour of you.' The use of *rogo* with a double substantival accusative is ante-classical or colloquial, except, of course, with neut. pronouns (Fam. xiii. 1. 2 Ep. 199), and the word *sententiam* (Q. Fr. ii. 1. 3 Ep. 93), and such analogous expressions as *plebem Romanam tribunos rogare* (Liv. iii. 65. 4). Prof. Goligher notes, however, that this is only the case in prose, and quotes Hor. Carm. ii. 16. 1 *otium divos rogat*, and Mart. iv. 77. 1. Here the addition of *beneficium* hardly creates an exception, as the addition of the word adds little, if anything, to the idea of *hoc*.

*per me . . . non sum*] 'I propose not to make this concession to Clodio on my own responsibility' (Jeans).

## 717. CICERO TO ANTONY (ATT. XIV. 13 b).

PUTEOLI; APRIL 26; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Antonio amicas litteras dat quibus consentit Sext. Clodium restituendum.

CICERO ANTONIO COS. S. D.

1. Quod mecum per litteras agis, unam ob causam mallet coram egisses. Non enim solum ex oratione, sed etiam ex vultu et oculis et fronte, ut aiunt, meum erga te amorem perspicere potuisses. Nam cum te semper amavi, primum tuo studio, post etiam beneficio provocatus, tum his temporibus res publica te mihi ita commendavit ut cariorem habeam neminem. 2. Litterae vero tuae cum amantissime tum honorificentissime scriptae sic me adfecerunt ut non dare tibi beneficium viderer, sed accipere a te ita petente ut inimicum meum, necessarium tuum, me invito servare nolles, cum id nullo negotio facere posses. 3. Ego vero tibi istuc, mi Antoni, remitto atque ita ut me a te, cum his verbis scripseris, liberalissime atque honorificentissime tractatum existimem, idque cum totum, quoquo modo se res haberet, tibi dandum putarem, tum do etiam humanitati et naturae meae. Nihil enim umquam non modo acerbum in me fuit, sed ne paullo quidem tristius aut severius quam necessitas rei publicae postulavit. Accedit ut ne in ipsum quidem Clodium meum insigne odium fuerit

1. *vultu et oculis*] cp. *non solum fronte atque vultu quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, . . . sed etiam sensu . . . tabellaeque docuerunt*, Fam. i. 9. 17 (153); *vultu ac fronte, quae est animi ianua*, Comment. pet. 44 (12).

*studio*] This word probably refers generally to Antony's support of Cicero against Clodius in 53, *beneficium* having a special reference to the protection extended to Cicero when he was at Brundisium in 47 (though in Phil. ii. 5 he represents the only kindness to be that Antony did not kill him); and *res publica*, &c., to the pacific attitude taken up by Antony on March 17 of this year, when the senate met in the temple of Tellus, and ratified Caesar's acts.

2. *ita petente ut*] 'as your request includes the expression of an unwilling-

ness on your part to bring about, without my permission, the restoration of an enemy of mine who is a connexion of yours, though you could do so without any trouble.'

3. *Ego vero*] 'Yes, my dear Antony, I am ready to grant you that indulgence, and with a feeling, moreover, that your treatment of me has been most generous; and, though I should have felt bound to grant it without any qualification (*totum*), whatever the circumstances had been, now in doing so I am gratifying my own natural, kindly feeling.'

*quoquo modo*] refers to Antony's statement that Caesar (716. 2) had authorized the return of Sex. Clodius.

*tristius*] 'stern or austere.'

*ne . . . insigne odium*] "Yet Cicero cherished for a long time his exultation

umquam, semperque ita statui, non esse insectandos inimicorum amicos, praesertim humiliores, nec his praesidiis nosmet ipsos esse spoliandos. 4. Nam de puero Clodio tuas partis esse arbitror ut eius animum tenerum, quem ad modum scribis, iis opinionibus imbuas ut ne quas inimicitias residere in familiis nostris arbitretur. Contendi cum P. Clodio, cum ego publicam causam, ille suam defenderet. Nostras concertationes res publica diiudicavit. Si viveret, mihi cum illo nulla contentio iam maneret. 5. Qua re quoniam hoc a me sic petis ut, quae tua potestas est, ea neget te me invito usurum, puero quoque hoc a me dabis, si tibi videbitur, non quo aut aetas nostra ab illius aetate quidquam debeat periculi suspicari aut dignitas mea ullam contentionem extimescat, sed ut nosmet ipsi inter nos coniunctiores simus quam adhuc fuimus; interpellantibus enim his inimicitiis animus tuus *mihi* magis patuit quam domus. Sed haec hactenus. Illud extremum: ego quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor semper sine ulla dubitatione summo studio faciam. Hoc velim tibi penitus persuadeas.

## 718. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 13).

PUTEOLI OR CUMAE; APRIL 26; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Attici litteris et amoenitate Puteolanae regionis, de D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones, de Sex. Pompeio et bello civili futuro, deinde deliberat quo ipse se conferat, de minuscula villa sua a Q. fratre non emenda, de litteris M. Antonii ad se datis et de suis ad illum redditis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Septimo denique die litterae mihi redditae sunt, quae erant a te XIII Kal. datae, quibus quaeris atque etiam me ipsum nescire

over the death of Clodius. After more than two years had elapsed he still counted the days from that event: cp. Att. vi. l. 26" (Watson).

*humiliores*] Sex. Clodius was probably a freedman, or at least descended from a freedman.

*his praesidiis*] 'their services' i.e. the services of men of humble rank; Böckel sees in these words a covert sneer at Antony.

*4 concertationes*] 'disputings': *contentio*, 'quarrel.'

*5. puero . . . a me dabis*] 'you will kindly let the boy feel that this is a concession on my part (not only to you but) to him also,

not that a man of my age has anything to fear from a boy like him, but so that the bonds by which we are united may be closer than heretofore.' The reference is to Antony's remark about a quiet old age for Cic. (716. 3).

*his inimicitiis*] 'these feuds,' referring no doubt to the evil influence of Fulvia, who hated Cicero. *animus*, 'heart.'

*quae . . . arbitrabor*] Antony, after his final breach with Cicero, read this letter aloud in the senate to show his enemy's inconsistency, and Cic. sharply criticized his lack of right feeling (*inhumanitas*) in so doing. See Phil. ii. 7-10.

arbitraris utrum magis tumultis prospectuque an ambulatione ἀλειτουργεῖ delecter. Est mehercule, ut dicis, utriusque loci tanta amoenitas ut dubitem utra anteponenda sit ;

. . . ἀλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα μέμηλεν,  
ἀλλὰ λίην μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφές, εἰσορόωντες  
δείδιμεν· ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι.

2. Quamvis enim tu magna et mihi iucunda scripseris de D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones, in quo spem maximam video, tamen, si est bellum civile futurum, quod certe erit si Sextus in armis permanebit, quem permansurum esse certo scio, quid nobis faciendum sit ignoro. Neque enim iam licebit, quod Caesaris bello licuit, neque huc neque illuc. Quemcumque enim haec pars perditorum laetatum Caesaris morte putabit—laetitiam autem apertissime tulimus omnes—hunc in hostium numero habebit, quae res ad caedem maximam spectat. Restat ut in castra Sexti aut, si forte, Bruti nos conferamus. Res odiosa et aliena nostris aetatibus et incerto exitu belli, et nescio quo pacto tibi ego possum, mihi tu dicere :

Τέκνον ἐμόν, οὗ τοι δέδοται πολεμῆϊα ἔργα,  
ἀλλὰ σύγ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχαιο ἔργα λόγιοι.

1. *tumulis*] See on 649. The question is between the bolder hilly scenery of Arpinum and the sea views offered by Puteoli. So O. E. Schmidt (*Cicero's Villen*, p. 49). But possibly Lehmann (p. 129) is right in thinking the contrast is between the two features of Cumae—the rising ground behind and the view it would afford, and the walk along the esplanade. Cicero would have called the high ground at Arpinum *montes* (cp. Att. ii. 15. 3 (42) *in montis patrios et ad incunabula nostra*).

ἀλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς] Homer Il. ix. 228. The line that follows is, νῆας ἐυσσέλμους, εἰ μὴ σύγε δύσσαι ἀλκήν. The purport of the quotation is to show that this is no time for weighing the respective merits of Arpinum and Puteoli when the state of public affairs is so critical.

2. *adventu*] in Gallia Cisalpina.  
*neque huc neque illuc*] sc. *se conferre*. The phrase means 'neutrality': see on 725. 1, *non utrum vis*. This whole section (§ 2) should be compared with 729. 2.

*haec pars perditorum*] 'this unscrupulous junto.'

*apertissime tulimus*] *Aperte ferre*, like *prae se ferre*, is commonly used in the sense of 'to display,' 'to make no secret of.' Baiter quotes Planc. 34 ; Liv. xxviii. 40, 2.

*Sexti*] Sextus Pompeius.

*si forte*] For *si forte* used parenthetically = *fortasse*, Munro, on Lucr. v. 720, compares De Orat. iii. 47 ; Off. ii. 70 ; Mil. 104.

*Res . . . belli*] Two reasons seem to be assigned why joining in the campaign of Sextus is undesirable (*odiosa*)—(1) Cicero's age (cp. 729. 2), (2) that the issue of the war was uncertain. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* x. 256) thinks we should either add *quia* before *aliena*, or eject *belli* as a gloss. He prefers the latter. Then there are three objections to engaging in the war—(1) it is annoying, (2) Cicero's age, (3) doubtful issue. Possibly we should add *ut* 'as being' before *aliena*, or alter *belli* to *bellum*.

Τέκνον] Il. v. 428, where the line runs οὗ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται. Cicero

3. Sed haec fors viderit, ea quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest. Nos autem id videamus quod in nobis ipsis esse debet, ut quidquid acciderit fortiter et sapienter feramus et accidisse hominibus meminerimus, nosque cum multum litterae tum non minimum Idus quoque Martiae consolentur. 4. Suscipe nunc meam deliberationem qua sollicitor: ita multa veniunt in mentem in utramque partem. Proficiscor, ut constitueram, legatus in Graeciam; caedis impendentis periculum non nihil vitare videor, sed casurus in aliquam vituperationem, quod rei publicae defuerim tam gravi tempore. Sin autem mansero, fore me quidem video in discrimine, sed accidere posse suspicor ut prodesse possim rei publicae. Iam illa consilia privata sunt, quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis me illuc venire, nec alia causa profectionis mihi ulla fuit tum, cum consilium cepi legari a Caesare. Tota igitur hac de re, ut soles, si quid ad me pertinere putas, cogitabis. 5. Redeo nunc ad epistulam tuam. Scribis enim esse rumores me ad lacum quod habeo venditurum, minuseulam vero villam utique Quinto traditurum, vel impenso pretio, quo introducatur, ut tibi Quintus filius dixerit, dotata Aquilia. Ego vero de venditione nihil cogito, nisi quid quod magis me delectet invenero. Quintus autem de emendo nihil curat hoc tempore. Satis enim torquetur debitione dotis, in qua mirificas Q. Egnatio gratias

substitutes λόγους for γάμοις in the passage.

3. *fors . . . ratio*] cp. 714. 1 fin.  
*hominibus*] cp. Fam. v. 16. 2 (529).  
*consolentur*] This is co-ordinate with *videamus* 'let us console ourselves.'

4. *legatus*] He was not actually appointed legatus of Dolabella until June 2 (744. 4). The office was in Cicero's case a pure sinecure (751. 2: 752. 1). It is interesting to learn that Cic. had intended to ask Caesar (see *legari a Caesare* below) to make him one of his *legati*.

4. *non nihil vitare*] 'to avoid to some extent.'

*consilia privata*] 'private considerations.'

*confirmationem*] 'to keep my son up to his work'; M. Cicero junior was now studying at Athens: cp. 709. 2.

5. *minuseulam vero villam*] This house ad lacum (*Lucrinum*) was Cicero's Cumana. The small villa may have been one on the estate of Cluvius; the *Cluviani*

*horti* (663. 3) were probably Cicero's Puteolanum: cp. 713. 3. *Utique* is found in OR and in M, but in M deleted by the original copyist. It is not likely to have been interpolated: for *utique* followed by *vel*, cp. Att. v. 1. 2 (184).

*vel impenso pretio*] 'even for a fancy price.'

*quo introducatur*] 'for the coming home of the well-dowered Aquilia.' This was the offensive word in which young Quintus hinted that it was for her portion that his father desired to wed Aquilia after the divorce of Pomponia. *Deducere*, as Boot remarks, is the more usual word for bringing home a wife. Perhaps *introducatur* also is an offensive word: cp. Att. i. 16, 5 (22), *adulescentulorum nobilitum introductiones*; and Curt. viii. 4. 29.

*dotis*] the portion which he was obliged to refund to Pomponia on her divorce. He is greatly obliged to Egnatius for lending him the money for this purpose.

agit. A ducenda autem uxore sic abhorret ut libero lectulo neget esse quidquam iucundius. 6. Sed haec quoque hactenus. Redeo enim ad miseram seu nullam potius rem publicam. M. Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione Sex. Clodi, quam honorifice, quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognoscas—misi enim tibi exemplum—quam dissolute, quam turpiter quamque ita perniciose ut non numquam Caesar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis. Quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me praebui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Itaque mearum quoque litterarum misi tibi exemplum.

## 719. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 14).

PUTEOLI; APRIL 27 OR 28; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Quinto coronato Parilibus, de litteris ad Atticum a se datis et ab illo acceptis, de rei publicae condicione misera et acerba, sublato tyranno tyrannida manere, de iis quae M. Antonius Kal. Iun. de provinciis relaturus esse videatur, de consiliis suis, de breviori Attici epistula.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. 'Iteradum eadem ista mihi!' Coronatus Quintus noster Parilibus? [Parilibus.] Solusne? Etsi addis Lamiam, quod

6. *miseram seu nullam potius*] 'in its misery or, rather, annihilation.'

*quam . . . perniciose*] 'in what an unprincipled, scandalous, and baleful manner—so baleful that sometimes we seem to be induced to regret Caesar.' For *ita*, a further comparison within a comparison, Dr. Reid compares Lael. 30 *et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est ut nullo egeat*, and Acad. ii. 55.

1. *Iteradum*] 'O tell me your tale once more.' This quotation is given in this form at Tusc. ii. 44; and preceded by the words *age, adsta, mane, audi* in Acad. ii. 88. The words come from a tragedy of Pacuvius (Ribb. 202), the *Iliona*: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 61. The mss. seem to give *ista* in all the passages: altered by Manutius to *istaec* on metrical grounds. But the metre is not quite certain.

*Coronatus*] The nephew of Cicero had appeared at the Parilia held in honour of Pales on April 21 (on which day there was also a festival to commemorate the news of the victory at Munda: cp. Dio Cass. xliii. 42. 3), wearing a garland in honour of Caesar, as appears from 725. 3.

[*Parilibus*] Probably a marginal annotation which has got into the text.

*Etsi*] 'though indeed.' This conjunction is often used in a quasi-corrective sense, and may be said to depend on an ellipse. In this case the ellipse would be 'though indeed [I need not ask whether he was the only one, for] you couple with him Lamia.' Hofmann compares for this use of *etsi*, Att. ix. 7. 5 (362); 19. 2 (377); x. 8. 9 (393).

*quod demiror equidem*] For Cicero invariably speaks of L. Aelius Lamia in terms of commendation.



demiror equidem, sed scire cupio qui fuerint alii: quamquam satis scio nisi improbum neminem. Explanabis igitur hoc diligentius. Ego autem casu cum dedissem ad te litteras vi Kalend. satis multis verbis, tribus fere horis post accepi tuas et magni quidem ponderis. Itaque ioca tua plena facetiarum de haeresi Vestoriana et de †Pherionum more †Puteolano risisse me satis nihil est necesse rescribere. Πολιτικώτερα illa videamus. 2. Ita Brutus Cassiumque defendis, quasi eos ego reprehendam, quos satis laudare non possum. Rerum ego vitia collegi, non hominum. Sublato enim tyranno tyrannida manere video. Nam quae ille facturus non fuit, ea fiunt, ut de Clodio, de quo mihi exploratum est, illum non modo non facturum sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse. Sequetur Rufio Vestorianus, Victor numquam scriptus, ceteri, quis non? Cui servire ipsi non potuimus, eius libellis paremus. Nam Liberalibus quis potuit in senatum non venire? Fac id

*litteras vi Kal.] viz. Ep. 718.*

*haeresi Vestoriana]* Cicero had spoken of Vestorius in the end of Ep. 715, as 'no philosopher, though an experienced accountant.' Hence we can easily imagine that Atticus may have applied ironically to him and his friends the word *haeresis*, 'a sect,' properly applicable only to a school of philosophers. The succeeding words are hopelessly unintelligible without the letter of Atticus. Ingenious guesses may, of course, be made, like that of Boot, *de pharionum* ('salmon-trout') *iure Puteolano*, and it is not improbable that *iure* should take the place of *more*; but there are many passages in the letters where the editor may plead *Davus sum, non Oedipus*. It is just possible that some play of words may have been intended on *puteal*, the resort of *foeneratores*, in Rome, and *Puteoli*, as Graevius suggested. Dr. Reid conjectures *φυσικῶν* for *Pherionum*. He thinks Cic. is laughing at the way in which the Epicureans of Puteoli discussed physical problems. Gurlitt (*Philologus*, 1900, p. 109) conjectures *de rhetorum more Puteolano*, and holds that the reference is to Hirtius and Pansa: cp. 715. 2.

2. *Rerum]* 'It is the weak points of the situation, not of the human agents, that I was dwelling on.' Hofmann aptly compares *armorum ista et victoriae sunt facta, non Caesaris*, Fam. vi. 6. 10 (488). *tyrannida]* For similar Greek accusatives Boot refers to *hebdomada*, Fam. xvi.

9. 2 (292), and *paecana* (or *paecona*), Or. 191. Many more in Neue-Wagener i<sup>3</sup> 461-2. This is the only place where *tyrannida* occurs: everywhere else it is *tyrannidem*: cp. *ib.* p. 325.

*de Clodio]* This is the person referred to in Epp. 716, 717. For *de Andresen* compares 784. 7 and other passages.

*etiam ne . . . quidem]* The usual correlative to *non modo non* is *sed ne . . . quidem*, but *sed etiam ne quidem* is found in Fam. xiii. 29. 4 (457), *non modo ut non praecesset . . . sed etiam ut ne interesset quidem*.

*Sequitur]* 'the next persons [to get remissions on the supposed authority of Caesar's memoranda] will be Rufio and Victor, whose name was never in a memorandum of Caesar's, and then the rest.' We do not know who Victor was.

*Rufio Vestorianus]* See on Att. v. 2. 2 (185). C. Sempronius Rufus is called *Vestorianus* on account of his chronic feud with Vestorius.

*Nam . . . non venire]* cp. 713. 1, where Cic. quotes Att. as censuring what was done at the meeting of the senate on the Liberalia (March 17) in the temple of Tellus. Here Cic. is arguing that it was the force of circumstances, not any individual, that is to blame (*rerum ego vitia collegi, non hominum*). 'For who could have refused to attend that meeting of the senate? Possibly one might [but it would have been open to censure as unpatriotic]. But when we got there, could we speak freely? No: the armed veterans

potuisse aliquo modo. Num etiam cum venissemus libere potuimus sententiam dicere? Nonne omni ratione veterani qui armati aderant, cum praesidi nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt? Illam sessionem Capitolinam mihi non placuisse tu testis es. Quid ergo? ista culpa Brutorum? Minime illorum quidem, sed aliorum brutorum, qui se cautos ac sapientis putant: quibus satis fuit laetari, non nullis etiam gratulari, nullis permanere. 3. Sed praeterita omittamus: istos omni cura praesidioque tueamur, et, quem ad modum tu praecipis, contenti Idibus Martiis simus, quae quidem nostris amicis, divinis viris, aditum ad caelum dederunt, libertatem populo Romano non dederunt. Recordare tua. Nonne meministi clamare te omnia perisse si ille funere elatus esset? Sapienter id quidem. Itaque ex eo quae manarint vides. 4. Quae scribis Kalendis Iuniis Antonium de provinciis relaturum, ut et ipse Gallias habeat et utrisque dies prorogetur, lice-

outside precluded that.' Cicero (Phil. ii. 89) says he was unwilling to go on account of the armed men about. He knew that the debate could not be free. The only two ways in which Cic. could have escaped the responsibility of assenting to the ratification of Caesar's *acta* were either by absenting himself from the meeting, or by speaking out his true sentiments at the meeting: and neither could well have been done. At that meeting the veterans appear to have been conciliated by a decree *de coloniis deducendis*, securing for them the colonies promised them by Caesar (Appian B.C. ii. 135: cp. Cic. Phil. i. 6). This was made a law later, it is uncertain whether before Antony's journey to the south on April 24, or after his return, in June: probably the latter.

*defendendi*] The verb may be used here in either of its two ordinary meanings, *tueri* or *arcere*, 'we were bound to maintain the interests of the veterans,' or 'we were bound to keep them at bay,' by concessions.

*sessionem Capitolinam*] 'that period of inactivity of which the Capitol was the scene.' *Sedere* often = *otiosum esse* in the letters (cp. note to Att. vi. 3. 4 (264) and Index), and it is often correlative to *stare*: see on 713. 2.

*tu testis es*] cp. 713. 1.

*Brutorum*] Cicero, as usual, puns on the name, as he does on *Brutus* and *Lepidus*, Att. vi. 1. 25 (252), on *Balbus*, Fam.

ix. 19. 2 (478), and on *Pollex*, Att. xiii. 46. 1 (663).

*permanere*] 'to stand their ground,' referring both to adherence to principle and to continued residence in the city.

3. *quae . . . dederunt*] cp. § 5, below: also 708. 2; 714. 1.

4. *Gallias*] Cisalpine and Transalpine (Comata). It is deserving of notice that this project of Antony, which was realized in August by the passing of the so-called *Lex de permutatione provinciarum* (cp. 784. 7), was already feared at the end of April, when Antony had just left Rome to organize the veterans in Southern Italy.

*ut . . . dies prorogetur*] 'That the tenure both of himself and his colleague Dolabella should be lengthened.' We read in Phil. ii. 109, *numerus annorum provinciis prorogavit*, and in v. 7, *ille* (Caesar) *biennium*, *iste* (Antonius) *sexennium*. In Phil. i. 19 the act of Caesar is praised by which it was laid down *ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur*. "Before the passing of this *Lex Julia*," writes Mr. King on this passage, "the tenure of a province was not limited in time, and Dio Cassius, xliii. 25, says that Caesar was led to propose it by feeling how much both his desire for empire and his power of acquiring it were increased by his own long government in the province of Gaul."

bitne decerni libere? Si licuerit, libertatem esse recuperatam laetabor: si non licuerit, quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio praeter laetitiam quam oculis cepi iusto interitu tyranni? 5. Rapinas scribis ad Opis fieri, quas nos quoque tum videbamus. Ne nos et liberati ab egregiis viris nec liberi sumus! Ita laus illorum est, culpa nostra. Et hortaris me ut historias scribam? ut colligam tanta eorum scelera a quibus etiam nunc obsidemur? Poterone eos ipsos non laudare qui te obsignatorem adhibuerunt? Nec mehercule me raudusculum movet, sed homines benevolos, qualescumque sunt, grave est insequi contumelia. 6. Sed de omnibus meis consiliis, ut scribis, existimo exploratius nos ad Kalendas Iunias statuere posse, ad quas adero, et omni ope atque opera enitar, adiuvante me scilicet auctoritate tua et gratia et summa aequitate causae, ut de Buthrotiis senatus consultum quale scribis fiat. Quod me cogitare iubes, cogitabo equidem, etsi tibi dederam superiore epistula cogitandum. Tu autem, quasi iam recuperata re publica, viciniis tuis Massiliensibus sua reddis. Haec armis, quae quam firma habeamus ignoro, restitui fortasse possunt, auctoritate non possunt.

*utrisque*] The mss. here and in Fam. xi. 21. 5 (878) give *utrisque*, which is certainly strange in Cicero. We can excuse it in Caelius Fam. viii. 11. 1 (267) *utrisque consilibus*. But it is occasionally found in good writers: cp. Kritz on Sall. Cat. 30. 4. Cicero Lig. 36 has *utrisque* his where we should have expected *horum utriusque*.

*oculis cepi*] In the face of this passage it is hard to resist the belief that Cicero was either actually present at the murder of Caesar or at least gazed upon the corpse: cp. 715. 1.

5. *Rapinas . . . ad Opis*] Antony and Dolabella were believed to have plundered the state-treasure deposited in the temple of Ops: see on 726. 1. The ellipse of *aedem* is quite normal, as in English.

*tum*] before his departure from Rome. *Ne*] This strengthening particle is always followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, which latter is often not emphatic, as in this case.

*raudusculum*] Cicero is fond of this word: cp. Att. iv. 8a. 1 (112); vi. 8. 5 (281); vii. 2. 7 (293). He says it is painful to him to have to speak ill of friends, Caesarians who had made wills

in his favour (cp. 705. 3); but that he is not affected by any fear that he might lose the bequests through his condemnation of their proceedings.

6. *omni ope*] Note the alliteration with *opera*, 'might and main.' The sing. *ope* is rare and archaic: cp. Att. xvi. 13 (c). 2. (805) *sine tua ope*; Mil. 30 *quacunque ope possent*; Caes. ap. Att. ix. 9. 3 (364) *ope omnium rerum*; Sall. Cat. 1. 1. *summa ope*.

*Buthrotiis*] cp. 715. 1.

*Quod me cogitare*] his projected journey to Greece: cp. 718. 4.

*vicinis*] The conjecture of Gronovius is probable, that the people of Massilia had their ambassadors' quarters, what we should now call their Embassy, in the neighbourhood of the house of Atticus in Rome. Massilia had taken the side of Pompey, and had been subjected by Caesar to severe requisitions, from which Atticus was desirous to procure them remission. We think it possible that the word really was *amicis*; and when *a-* was lost after *publica*, *micis* was expanded to *vicinis*. The restoration to the people of Massilia, which probably was not a very extensive one, is referred to Phil. xiii. 32.

[XV.] 1. Epistula brevis quae postea a te scripta est sane mihi fuit iucunda, de Bruti ad Antonium et de eiusdem ad te litteris. Posse videntur esse meliora quam adhuc fuerunt. Sed nobis ubi simus et quo iam nunc nos conferamus providendum est.

## 720. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 15).

CUMÆ; MAY 1; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Dolabella, omninoque de spe meliore a se recepta, de Bruto, de Pilia.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

2. O mirificum Dolabellam meum! Iam enim dico meum, antea, crede mihi, subdubitabam. Magnam ἀναθεώρησιν res habet: de saxo, in crucem, columnam tollere, locum illum sternendum locare. Quid quaeris? Heroica. Sustulisse mihi videtur simulationem desiderii, adhuc quae serpebat in dies et inveterata verebar ne periculosa nostris tyrannoctonis esset. 3. Nunc prorsus adsentior tuis litteris speroque meliora, quamquam istos ferre non possum qui, dum se pacem velle simulant, acta nefaria defendunt. Sed non possunt omnia simul. Incipit res melius ire quam putaram. Nec vero discedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere

[xv.] 1. Epistula] This section is a postscript.

de Bruti . . . litteris] We do not know what the exact letter referred to was. But it shows that up to this time both Brutus and Antony were still on terms which seemed to be leading to a permanent compromise.

ubi simus] 'my present position and where I am to go even now': cp. 720. 3.

2. O mirificum Dol.] When Antony left Rome for the south about April 25, "Dolabella profited by the absence of his colleague to emerge from his retirement and make an uproarious return to public life" (Ferrero iii. 48). He threw down a column which had been raised in the forum in honour of Caesar with an inscription CAESARI PARENTI PATRIAE (Suet. Caes. 85). He had the place where it stood newly paved, and punished the promoters of the project by throwing some from the Tarpeian rock and cruci-

fying others, presumably those of a servile condition: cp. Phil. i. 5 and 30.

ἀναθεώρησιν] 'Here is something à faire tourner les yeux.' 'What you did was a glorious sight to see': cp. 721. 2.

Heroica] 'Like the mighty deeds of old': cp. ἀριστείας 721. 2.

simulationem desiderii] 'that affectation of regret for the death of Caesar which was insensibly growing day by day, and which (I feared), if allowed to become chronic, would involve the tyrannicides (cp. 708. 2) in serious peril.' See note on *vetustatem*, 712. 2.

3. qui . . . defendunt] probably the lukewarm senators, the *bruti* he speaks of in 719. 2. Antony, who was still on good terms with the constitutionalists may be also included.

possunt] sc. *facere*. 'They cannot do everything at once.'

melius ire] 'to be making better progress': cp. *prorsus ibat res*, 727. 4.

discedam] cp. 719 fin.; 721. 3.

osse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero, idque, etiam si mihi cum lo nihil fuisset, facerem propter eius singularem incredibilemque virtutem. 4. Piliae nostrae villam totam quaeque in villa sunt rado, in Pompeianum ipse proficiscens Kalend. Maiis. Quam elim Bruto persuadeas ut Asturae sit.

## 721. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 16).

ON THE WAY TO NAPLES; MAY 2; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo tradita Piliae villa suscepto, de Dolabella, de Bruto, de Cicerone lio, de Flaminio Flamma, de valetudine Atticae.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VI Non. conscendens ab hortis Cluvianis in phaselum epicopum has dedi litteras, cum Piliae nostrae villam ad Lucrinum, ilicos, procuratores tradidissem. Ipse autem eo die in Paeti ostri tyrotarichum imminebam, perpaucis diebus in Pompeianum, ost in haec Puteolana et Cumana regna renavigaro. O loca eteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine aene fugienda! 2. Sed ad rem ut veniam, o Dolabellae nostri magnam ἀπιστείαν! Quanta est ἀναθεώρησις! Equidem laudare

mihi cum illo nihil fuisset] 'even though there had been no ties between us': cp. si mihi tecum minus esset quam cum tuis omnibus, Fam. xv. 10. 2 (39).

4. villam] his Cumanum on the Lucrine lake.

ut Asturae sit] cp. 714. 1; 725. 5.

1. VI Non.] Ruete (p. 20) rightly alters of the mss to VI., for in 724. 2 (written v Non.), Cicero says he was at Naples the day before, and Paetus lived at Naples. If we retain v. here, we shall have to alter v. of 724. 1, to III., which would be palaeographically more difficult than the change suggested by Ruete.

hortis Cluvianis] Cic. probably went to the horti Cluviani (718. 5) for the night of the 1st, after having handed over the Cumanum to Pilia. For horti Cluviani cp. 663. 3.

phaselum epicopum] 'row-boat': cp.

Att. v. 11. 4 (200). Perhaps we should print ἐπικωπον.

eo die] 'to-day.' Dr. Reid compares Att. v. 2. 1 (185); vii. 16. 2 (313).

tyrotarichum] See on Fam. ix. 16. 7 and 9 (472).

imminebam] 'threatening an attack on,' jocular.

post] He returned on May 11: cp. 727. 1.

renavigaro] So Bosius "ex Scidis": codd. renavigare. Possibly the reading of the mss. is right, and a verb signifying intention (cogitabam or the like) is to be taken by zeugma out of imminebam. The passage is elliptical, as often in cases where Cic. is stating his plans 'in a few days to Pompeii, afterwards to sail back (i.e., I intend to sail back) to my kingdoms here.'

O... ἀναθεώρησις] cp. 720. 2. 'Our Dolabella has acted like a hero of romance! What a sight to see!'

eum et hortari non desisto. Recte tu omnibus epistulis significas quid de re, quid de viro sentias. Mihi quidem videtur Brutus noster iam vel coronam auream per forum ferre posse. Quis enim audeat laedere proposita cruce aut saxo? praesertim tantis plausibus, tanta approbatione infimorum? 3. Nunc, mi Attice, me fac ut expedias. Cupio, cum Bruto nostro adfatim satisfecerim, excurrere in Graeciam. Magni interest Ciceronis vel mea potius vel mehercule utriusque me intervenire discenti. Nam epistula Leonidae, quam ad me misisti, quid habet, quaeso, in quo magno opere laetemur? Numquam ille mihi satis laudari videbitur, cum ita laudabitur, 'quo modo nunc est.' Non est fidentis hoc testimonium, sed potius timentis. Herodi autem mandaram ut mihi κατὰ μίτρον scriberet, a quo adhuc nulla littera est. Vereor ne nihil habuerit quod mihi, cum cognossem, iucundum putaret fore. 4. Quod ad Xenonem scripsisti, valde mihi gratum est. Nihil enim deesse Ciceroni cum ad officium tum ad existimationem meam pertinet. Flammam Flaminium audio Romae esse. Ad eum scripsi me tibi mandasse per litteras, ut de Montani negotio cum eo loquerere, et velim cures epistulam, quam ad eum misi, reddendam, et ipse, quod commodum tuo fiat, cum eo colloquere. Puto, si quid in homine pudoris est, praestaturum eum, ne sero cum damno dependatur. De Attica pergratum mihi fecisti quod curasti ante scirem recte esse quam non belle fuisse.

*coronam auream*] Tr. 'a triumphal crown,' velut triumphum agens (Ern.).

*per forum*] cp. 710 fin. *tota urbe vagari*.

*infimorum*] cp. 722. 7.

3. *adfatum satisfecerim*] Att. ii. 16. 3 (43) *Puto enim me Dicaearcho adfatim satisfecisse*.

*intervenire discenti*] 'to look in on his studies.'

*Leonidae*] Leonides was the tutor of young Cicero. We should expect *Leonidi* if the nom. is *Leonides*, as it is in the mss. of 746 and 786. 5 (Reid).

κατὰ μίτρον] 'seriatim,' 'in detail,' lit. 'thread by thread.' This idea is sometimes expressed by the words κατὰ λεπτόν.

4. *Xenonem*] It was to Xeno that Cic. sent the money for his son's use, and Xeno wisely doled it out γλίσχωρς: cp. 769. 5. For Xeno see Index.

*Flammam Flaminium*] cp. 599. 1. Flamma seems to have purchased some confiscated goods over the sale of which L. Plancus was placed. Montanus was security, and had to pay up in the first instance.

*ne sero cum damno*] This conjecture of Orelli, accepted by Wesenberg, is very probably the true reading for *ne spero quodam modo* of the mss. Boot suggests *nec quaero quomodo, dummodo dependatur*.

722. CICERO TO DOLABELLA (ATT. XIV. 17a  
= FAM. IX. 14).

POMPEII; MAY 3; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Dolabellam laudat quod columnam, quasi aram mortuo Caesari, ut deo, erectam everterit, et in eos qui contra libertatem tumultuabantur animadverterit.

## CICERO DOLABELLAE COS. SUO SAL.

1. Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria satisque ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam, tamen non possum non confiteri cumulari me maximo gaudio quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me adscribat tuis laudibus. Neminem conveni—convenio autem cotidie plurimos: sunt enim permulti optimi viri qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniant, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei—quin omnes, cum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. Negant enim se dubitare quin tu meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas. 2. Quibus ego quamquam verissime possum respondere te quae facias tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere nec cuiusquam egere consilio, tamen neque plane adsentior, ne imminuam tuam audem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur, neque valde nego. Sum enim avidior etiam quam satis est gloriae. Et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni regum regi

1. *tua gloria*] Cicero still spoke enthusiastically of this exploit of Dolabella when he delivered the First Philippic (Sept. 2nd): cp. § 30.

*autem*] in a parenthesis 559. 1; 703. 2; 83. 5.

*Neminem . . . omnes*] For an affirmative word taking up a negative one, see the commentators on Hor. Sat. i. init.

*valetudinis causa*] See Hor. Ep. i. 5. 2 ff. for the praise of the neighbouring Baiae.

*quin omnes*] This is the reading of HD, rightly adopted by Mendelssohn. The ordinary reading *qui* (of M both in Att. and Fam.) would introduce an uncharacteristic anacoluthon, as if Cicero had meant to write 'I met no one who did not praise you,' but, owing to the long

parenthesis, lost the thread of the sentence, and wrote, 'They all praised you.' Cicero is singularly free from anacoluthon in the letters, and in a studied composition like this would never slip into that carelessness of style.

*mihi . . . gratias agant*] cp. Phil. i. 30, *Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore te in his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur.*

2. *omnis . . . profecta*] 'arising entirely from': for this use of *omnis*, 'entirely,' Böckel compares *labefactant aequitatem, quae tollitur omnis*, Off. ii. 78.

*Et tamen*] 'and in any case': cp. note on Fam. ix. 2. 3 (461).

*non alienum est dignitate tua, quod*] 'that course is not inconsistent with your dignity': cp. Prov. Cons. 36.

fuit honestum aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem habere : mihi vero gloriosum te iuvenem consulem florere laudibus quasi alumnum disciplinae meae. 3. L. quidem Caesar, cum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen ante quam me plane salutavit, 'O mi Cicero' inquit 'gratulor tibi cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possemus. Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor et gratias ago, quem quidem post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere.' Deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta tua, nihil magnificentius nihil praeclarius actum umquam, nihil rei publicae salutaris. Atque haec una vox omnium est. 4. A te autem peto uti me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiari. Quamquam, mi Dolabella—haec enim iocatus sum—libentius omnis meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae, laudes ad te transfuderim quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. Nam cum te semper tantum dilexerim, quantum tu intellegere potuisti tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil pulcrius, nihil amabilius. 5. Semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius summum ingenium, suavissimos mores,

*aliquem . . . Nestorem*] 'a Nestor': cp. Pis. 14 *Calatinus . . . aliquis aut Africanus aut Maximus*.

*te iuvenem*] Dolabella, although consul, had not nearly reached the statutable age for the consulship. Appian B.C. ii. 129 tells us that he gained it through the influence of Caesar in his five and twentieth year; he had never held the praetorship.

*florere laudibus . . . meae*] 'that you, our young consul, should be winning golden opinions, as if you were a pupil who had profited by my training' (Jeans).

3. *L. . . Caesar*] The brother of Julia, who was the mother of Antony. He had been consul in 64. Cicero speaks highly of him, Phil. i. 27: ii. 14: but Cic. was not always quite certain of his trustworthiness, on account of his relationship to Antony: cp. Fam. x. 28. 3 (819). He was put on the proscription list by Antony, but Julia secured his life in noble fashion: see the story in Appian B. C. iv. 37.

*cum tantum vales*] 'on having so much influence'; *quod*, with the indicative, is more usual after *gratulari*, but we find *cum* with the similar expression *gratias agere*, cp. Fam. xiii. 24. 2 (519). We also meet *gratulari, gratias agere in aliqua re*: cp. *in quo gratias egerat*, Att. ii. 24. 2 (51): *et tibi etiam in hoc gratulor*, Planc. 91.

4. *hanc . . . cernere*] 'to enter as it were without title into the inheritance of another's renown.' For *cernere* 'to enter on an inheritance' cp. Att. xi. 2. 1 (407) and 663. 3 *cretio*.

*transfuderim*] cp. Phil. ii. 77 *amorem in hanc transfudisse*.

*quam . . . ex tuis*] 'than detract one iota of yours.'

*tum . . . ardentius*] 'my enthusiasm has been so inflamed by your deeds that never did love glow with greater warmth.'

*virtute . . . nihil amabilius*] cp. Lael. 28.



singularem probitatem atque constantiam. Tamen Idibus Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem ut mirarer locum fuisse augendi in eo quod mihi iam pridem cumulatam etiam videbatur. Quis erat qui putaret ad eum amorem quem erga te habebam posse aliquid accedere? Tantum accessit ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse. 6. Qua re quid est quod ego te hortor ut dignitati et gloriae servias? Proponam tibi claros viros, quod facere solent qui hortantur? Neminem habeo clariorem quam te ipsum: te imitere oportet, tecum ipse certes. Ne licet quidem tibi iam tantis rebus gestis non tui similem esse. 7. Quod cum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria: gratulatione magis utendum est. Contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa sed etiam popularis esset, et cum bonis omnibus tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae, sed contigit magnitudine quom animi tum etiam ingeni atque consili. Legi nim contionem tuam. Nihil illa sapientius: ita pedetemptim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret. Liberasti igitur et urbem periculo et civitatem metu, neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti sed etiam ad exemplum. Quo facto intellegere debes in te positam esse rem publicam tibi que non modo tuendos sed etiam ornandos illos viros quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram iura propediem, ut spero. Tu, quoniam rem publicam nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias.

i. iam pridem cumulatam] 'reached its climax.'

mare . . . dilexisse] A clear example of the relative weight of these two verbs: cp. ad Brut. i. 1. 1 (873).

. tecum ipse certes] Q. Fr. i. 1. 3 (30), *tecum iam ipse certes*; Fam. xi. 15. 2 (5) to D. Brutus, *tecum ipse certa*.

. infimo cuique] cp. 721. 2. nemi . . . ingeni . . . consili] 'spirit, genius, and judgment.'

recessus . . . recessus] 'So gradually and cautiously did you approach the case in your speech, and now leave it [for other subjects], that the circumstances themselves, as all allow [not any feeling

of passion on your part], suggested the right time to resort to punitive measures.'

maturitatem] cp. Att. i. 20. 4 (26) *inducendi senatus consulti maturitas nondum est*.

8. ad tempus] 'to meet the present exigency.'

ad exemplum] 'to make a precedent for the future': cp. Vat. 36 (quoted by Andresen), *non solum facto tuo sed etiam exemplo remp. vuluerasti*. Five or six days later Cic. had cooled a little in his enthusiasm for Dolabella: cp. 725. 5, *Tibi vero adsentior maiorem praesentis eius fore si mihi quod debuit dissolverit*.

## 723. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 1).

POMPEII; MAY 3; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero Dolabellam quod aram Caesari positam everterat laudat: sublato rege regnum superesse questus C. Cassium hortatur ut una cum M. Bruto rempublicam perturbatione liberet.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Finem nullam facio, mihi crede, Cassi, de te et Bruto nostro, id est de tota re publica, cogitandi, cuius omnis spes in vobis est et in D. Bruto; quam quidem iam habeo ipse meliorem, re publica a Dolabella meo praeclarissime gesta: manabat enim illud malum urbanum et ita corroborabatur cotidie ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano; sed ita *seditio* compressa est, ut mihi videamur omne iam ad tempus ab illo dumtaxat sordidissimo periculo tuti futuri. Reliqua magna sunt ac multa, sed posita omnia in vobis: quamquam primum quidque explicemus. Nam, ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videmur; interfecto enim rege regio omnis nutus tuemur. Neque vero id solum, sed etiam, quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos quasi cogitata ab illo probamus. Nec eius quidem rei finem video: tabulae figuntur; immunitates dantur; pecuniae maximae describuntur; exsules reducuntur; senatus consulta falsa

The date of this letter is accurately fixed by 725. 1, *quatrividuo ante* (sc. *Nonas Maias*) *ad eum* (sc. *Cassium*) *scripseram*.

1. *quam . . . gesta*] 'and now I feel that hope strengthened after the brilliant public services of Dolabella.'

*manabat*] cp. Phil. i. 5, *cum serperet in urbem infinitum malum idque manaret in dies latius*. This shows that we should retain the mss readings, *manabat* here and *manant* in 734. 3, and not alter to *manebat* and *manent*.

*sed ita seditio compressa est*] We have ventured to add *seditio*, which might have fallen out after *sed ita*, cp. Brut. 56, *plebi contra patres concitatione et seditione nuntiata*, quoted by Lehmann, p. 96, who wishes to add *concitatio* before *compressa*. Manutius and Wesenberg alter to *compressum est*, for which we are to continue *malum* as subject. Ernesti and Baier add *res* before *est*.

*dumtaxat*] 'likely to be safe at least from that degrading danger.'

*primum quidque*] 'each thing in its proper order' (Watson), 'each successive matter': cp. N. D. i. 77; iii. 7, *Primum quidque videamus*. This phrase is fully illustrated by Munro on Lucr. i. 389; Madv. on Fin. ii. 105; and Reid on Acad. ii. 49.

*interfecto . . . tuemur*] 'for though we have slain the tyrant, we are upholding (or "watching") the tyrant's every nod and wink,' (or 'every indication of the tyrant's will.')

*describuntur*] 'are squandered,' lit. 'paid out on all sides' (*dis-*): cp. Q. Fr. i. 1. 33 (30); Verr. v. 62; Phil. v. 22. This is the reading of M, and gives a stronger sense than *describuntur* of HD, which would mean simply 'paid out': cp. Bücheler *Rh. Mus.* xiii. 598. Contrast with this passage Phil. i. 2 and 3, *Nihil*

deferuntur: ut tantum modo odium illud hominis impuri et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, res publica iaceat in iis perturbationibus in quas eam ille coniecit. 2. Haec omnia vobis sunt expedienda, nec hoc cogitandum, satis iam habere rem publicam a vobis: habet illa quidem tantum quantum numquam mihi in mentem venit optare, sed contenta non est et pro magnitudine et animi et benefici vestri a vobis magna desiderat. Adhuc ulta suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni; nihil amplius: ornamenta vero sua quae recipiavit? an quod ei mortuo paret quem vivum ferre non poterat? cuius aera refigere debebamus, eius etiam chirographa defendimus? 'At enim ita decrevimus.' Fecimus id quidem

tum (sc. on March 17), nisi quod erat notum omnibus in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur. . . . Num qui exules restituti? Unum aiebat, praeterea neminem. Num immunitates datae? Nullae, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Servio Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit ne qua tabula post Id. Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut benefici figeretur: and compare with it 718. 6, and Phil. ii. 35; 92; 97.

deferuntur] So Orelli corrected referuntur of the mss. Referre (sc. in tabulas) senatus consulta means 'to write out decrees' (Phil. v. 12; Verr. iv. 146); while deferre (sc. ad aerarium) senatus consulta is the regular phrase for lodging decrees in the public archives: cp. Liv. xxxix. 4. 8; and Mommsen St. R. ii<sup>2</sup>. 479, iii. 1011. The term "referre (in aerarium)" is used of lodging money and accounts in the treasury. We find deferre (in aerarium) used of returning the names of people on whom honours or favours (beneficia) were to be bestowed; cp. Arch. 11; Balb. 63; and note on Fam. v. 20. 7 (302); and cp. § 6 of that letter for rationes relatae used of accounts.

ut tantum . . . videatur] 'so that it is only our hatred of that revolting man and indignation at being slaves that seems to have been removed.'

in iis perturbationibus] 'in the midst of that confusion.'

2. magna] This word is to be emphasized, and great deeds, as befit the greatness of your minds and services, are what she requires of you.' The parallelism of magna with magnitudine seems to show that magna need not, with Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 23), be altered to maiora. But Boot rightly punctuates after desiderat, not after adhuc, for Cicero, we believe, never ends a sentence with that word.

nihil amplius] 'nothing could be more splendid.' So Lehmann, p. 29 ff, quoting a great number of examples of nihil with comparatives equivalent to superlatives: cp. note to Att. vi. 3. 9 (264). This interpretation is approved by Bardt. But the ordinary explanation, 'that is all that you have done,' is equally good, and seems more natural. If Cic. had been fearful of offending Cassius he would not have used an ambiguous phrase, but would have said nihil praeclarius, or the like. For nihil amplius = 'no more' 'that is all that was done,' cp. Fin. v. 59; Acad. ii. 74; Verr. v. 128.

ornamenta] 'dignities,' 'glories.' With this sentence Watson compares Phil. ii. 113, respublica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recipiavit.

an quod] Wesenberg alters to ad quod. 'To what end does the State obey that man when dead whom it could not tolerate when alive?' But an makes very good sense. 'Has it recovered its dignities because it obeys?'—a supplementary question: cp. Madvig, § 453.

refigere] 'to take down' the tablets on which the laws have been engraved, hence = 'to annul laws': cp. Phil. xiii. 5, acta M. Antoni rescidistis, leges refixistis. The correlative term is figere, Phil. ii. 92: cp. note to 715. 1.

chirographa] Cicero here uses this word, as he does elsewhere (Att. ii. 20. 5 (47); Phil. i. 8: ii. 8), in the general sense of a document in the handwriting of the person in question. There is no reference to the technical sense of the word as a written acknowledgment of a debt.

decrevimus] This was done on March 17 at the meeting of the Senate in the temple of Tellus (App. B. C. ii. 135), and probably

temporibus cedentes, quae valent in re publica plurimum; sed immoderate quidem et ingrate nostra facilitate abutuntur. Verum haec propediem et multa alia coram: interim velim sic tibi persuadeas, mihi cum rei publicae, quam semper habui carissimam tum amoris nostri causa maximae curae esse tuam dignitatem. Da operam ut valeas. [Vale.]

## 724. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 17).

POMPEII; MAY 3; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De adventu suo in Pompeianum et litteris ab Attico ibi acceptis, de Buthrotio negotio et Antonio a se ea causa conveniendo, de Q. filii litteris ad patrem datis, de epistulis ad Brutum, ad Cassium, ad Dolabellam scriptis, de sumptu Ciceroni suo suppeditando, de libris quos nunc conscribit, de Flammae et Montani negotio.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. In Pompeianum veni v Nonas Maias, cum pridie, ut antea ad te scripsi, Piliam in Cumano conlocavissem. Ibi mihi cenanti litterae tuae sunt redditae quas dederas Demetrio liberto prid. Kal., in quibus multa sapienter, sed tamen talia, quem ad modum

confirmed by the people early in April (cp. note to 713. 1). Cicero expresses approval of this step in the first Philippic, 16, *acta Caesaris servanda censeo non quo problem . . . sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii*. But no proper definition of what *acta* meant seems to have been settled. Accordingly, some time in April (cp. 708. 2; 713. 1), when Antony had begun to make use of his power of dealing with the *acta* of Caesar (cp. 715. 1), a decree of the Senate was passed that the consuls with a committee (*consilium*) should investigate what were Caesar's *acta* (778. 11, cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 53. 4). The next step which followed shortly after this was the postponement (owing probably to the spring vacation) of the investigation until the beginning of June (778. 11; Phil. ii. 100). On the second of June (cp. Phil. i. 6) this decree of the senate was made a law—*accessit ad senatus consultum lex quae lata est a.d. iiii Non. Iun., quae lex EARVM RERVM QVAS CAESAR STATVISSET DECREVISSET EGISSET consulis cognitionem dedit*

(778. 11): the words which follow a few lines further down in 778. 11, *consules de consili sententia decreverunt secundum Buthrotios*, show that the consuls consulted their advisory committee. See Groebe in his ed. of Drumann i. 422 ff. Mommsen (St. R. iii (2), p. x, note) seems (if we understand him aright) to hold that previous to June the *consilium* was understood to be only advisory, the confirmation of what they advised resting with the senate; but that after the law was passed the consuls with their *consilium* (which no doubt they formed of creatures of their own) could actually decide what Caesar's *acta* were, without getting ratification from the senate: cp. Phil. i. 6, *ecce Kal. Iuniis . . . mutata omnia, nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum*.

*propediem*] sc. *inter nos colloquimur*. For a similar ellipse cp. 724. 1 fin. and often. Cicero met Cassius on June 8: cp. 744. 1.

1. *ut antea ad te scripsi*] cp. 721. 1.

tute scribebas, ut omne consilium in fortuna positum videretur. Itaque his de rebus ex tempore et coram. 2. De Buthrotio negotio, utinam quidem Antonium conveniam! Multum profecto proficiam. Sed non arbitrantur eum a Capua declinaturum, quo quidem metuo ne magno rei publicae malo venerit. Quod idem L. Caesari videbatur, quem pridie Neapoli adfectum graviter videram. Quam ob rem ista nobis ad Kal. Iun. tractanda et perficienda sunt. Sed hactenus. 3. Q. filius ad patrem acerbissimas litteras misit, quae sunt ei redditae cum venissemus in Pompeianum, quarum tamen erat caput, Aquiliam novercam non esse laturum. Sed hoc tolerabile fortasse; illud vero 'se a Caesare habuisse omnia, nihil a patre, reliqua sperare ab Antonio'—O perditum hominem! Sed *μὲλῃσει*. 4. Ad Brutum nostrum, ad Cassium, ad Dolabellam epistulas scripsi. Earum exempla tibi misi, non ut deliberarem reddundaene essent—plane enim iudico esse reddendas—quod non dubito quin tu idem existimaturus sis.

*fortuna*] cp. 714. 1

*ex tempore*] 'as the occasion demands,' The words in classical Latin frequently have the meaning which they hold with us, and signify 'impromptu utterance': cp. Arch. 18; De Orat. iii. 194.

2. *De Buthrotio negotio*] See on 715. 1. *a Capua declinaturum*] 'abstain from Capua.' See Phil. ii. 100, *etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es*, on which Mr. King has this note: "Capua had been made a Roman colony by Caesar, who in 59 B.C. settled 20,000 Roman citizens in the *ager Campanus*. It was therefore illegal [according to augural law, Phil. ii. 102; but the thing was often done] to found a new colony there, and Antony's proceedings would nominally be limited to the reassignment of lots which had reverted to the state by the death or relinquishment of their original holders. He would doubtless in some cases oust existing occupiers, so as to give some ground for the sweeping charges which Cicero brings against him."

*magno rei publicae malo*] i.e. he will be able to raise supporters among the veterans. He created enemies, too, among them by such threatened interference; and we may conjecture that Octavian was able on that account to get supporters on his side.

3. *Aquiliam*] whom he thought his

father was going to marry; see on 718. 5.

*laturum*] There is no need to add *se*, though it might readily have fallen out after *esse*. Riemann (Syntaxe, § 177 Rem. ii.) notes that such omission of the subject is often found. He quotes Deiot. 21, *in cubiculo malle dixisti*, i.e. *in cubiculo (te) malle (vomere) dixisti*; 2 Verr. i. 97, *descensuros pollicebantur*; De Orat. i. 101, *dum mihi liceat negare posse quod non potero et fateri nescire quod nesciam*. It is common, too, in familiar style: Ter. Andr. 14 *quae convenere . . fatetur transtulisse atque usum pro suis*: and in Livy, e.g. vi. 17. 6, *refracturosque carcerem minabantur*. A great number of exx. are given by Lebreton, pp. 377-378.

*a Caesare*] 'he owed everything to C.' For his influence with Antony, cp. 727. 5. *Antonio*—] We must mark an apo-siopesis after *Antonio*. Cicero does not care to express his indignation at the remark of young Quintus.

4. *quod*] Most editors insert *sed* before the conjunction *quod*. But Lehmann (p. 80), in an excellent discussion, shows that it is not necessary. Atticus would easily know why Cicero sent the copy, viz. that he should be kept informed of the whole transaction. Cp. for the omission of the real reason for a thing after *non quo (ut)* Q. Fr. i. 2. 4 (53); Att. vi. 3. 1 (264). If Cicero had used *sed*, he

5. Ciceroni meo, mi Attice, suppeditabis quantum videbitur meque hoc tibi onus imponere pati. Quae adhuc fecisti mihi sunt gratissima. 6. Librum meum illum ἀνέκδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Ista vero quae tu contexi vis aliud quoddam separatum volumen expectant. Ego autem—credas mihi velim—minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partis vivo tyranno dici potuisse quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter: nunc, quacumque nos commovimus, ad Caesaris non modo acta verum etiam cogitata revocamur. De Montano, quoniam Flamma venit, videbis. Puto rem meliore loco esse debere.

## 725. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 19).

POMPEII; MAY 8; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litterarum commercio, de Bruti, de Antonii litteris, de Pansa, de Q. filio, de litteris ad Dolabellam et ad Siccam scriptis, de Servii litteris, de Publilio, de aere alieno Dolabellae, de protectione sua, de Attica et Pilia.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nonis Maiis cum essem in Pompeiano, accepi binas a te litteras, alteras sexto die, alteras quarto. Ad superiores igitur prius. Quam mihi iucundum opportune tibi Barnaeum litteras reddidisse! Tu vero cum Cassio, ut cetera. Quam commode autem, quod id ipsum quod me mones quadriduo ante ad eum scripseram exemplumque mearum litterarum ad te miseram! Sed cum ex Dolabellae aritia—sic enim tu ad me scripseras—magna

probably would have written *dubitabam*, not *dubito*.

6. *Librum . . . ἀνέκδοτον*] The editors for the most part regard Cicero as here referring to a work which he was contemplating quite fifteen years before this time: see on Att. ii. 6. 2 (33). Ernesti thinks he refers to the treatise *De temporibus suis* which his son published after Cicero's death.

*De Montano*] See 599. 1; 721. 4.

1. *sexto die*] on the 6th day after the letter was written. The ellipse of *datas* is rare: but cp. 734. 1.

*Barnaeum*] This name occurs often in inscriptions; see Thesaurus.

*ante*] sc. four days before the Nones of May, i.e. May 3 (723. 1).

*aritia*] The editors here either obelise this word or correct it to some such word as *avaritia* or ἀρισία, 'paylessness,' 'imppecuniosity,' or ἀσισία, 'want of appetite.' The fact is that *aritia* is probably the very word which Cicero wrote. Atticus had through inadvertence written *aritia* for *avaritia*. Cicero now deliberately makes the same mistake, explaining to Atticus why he does so. It must be remembered that *avaritia* would be pro-

desperatione adfectus essem, ecce tibi et Bruti et tuae litterae. Ille exsilium meditari, nos autem alium portum propiorem huic aetati videbamus, in quem mallet equidem pervehi florente Bruto nostro constitutaque re publica. Sed nunc quidem, ut scribis, non utrum vis. Adsentiris enim mihi nostram aetatem a castris, praesertim civilibus, abhorrere. 2. *M. Antonius* ad me tantum de Clodio rescripsit, meam lenitatem et clementiam et sibi esse gratam et mihi voluptati magnae fore. Sed Pansa furere videtur de Clodio itemque de Deiotaro, et loquitur severe, si velis credere. Illud tamen non belle, ut mihi quidem videtur, quod factum Dolabellae vehementer improbat. 3. De coronatis, cum sororis tuae filius a patre accusatus esset, rescripsit se coronam habuisse honoris Caesaris causa, posuisse luctus gratia, postremo se libenter vituperationem subire quod amaret etiam mortuum Caesarem. 4. Ad Dolabellam, quem ad modum tibi dicis placere, scripsi diligenter.

nounced *auritia*, as we may infer from the story about the fig-seller who was crying figs, *cauneas*, just as Crassus was starting on his fatal expedition to Parthia, and who was understood by the people in the street to be crying *cave ne eas*. In the mss. we find *Lanui* = *Lanuvi* (Ep. 644 : 728. 1), and *iuet* = *iuvet* Fam. iii. 1. 1. (181) cp. *iuverint* (Catull. 66. 18). Again, it must be borne in mind that the connotation of *avaritia* is by no means coextensive with our 'avarice,' but rather means 'rapacity,' and is applied in that sense to the sea by Horace. A spendthrift might be *avarus*, though he could not be 'avaricious' or 'a miser.' Dolabella was dipping deeply into the funds in the temple of Ops, yet he would not pay his debts or refund Tullia's dower. Fr. Schmidt suggests ἀπιστεῖα, with an ironical signification, meaning the noble action of Dolabella in not paying his debts: cp. πᾶξιν, below. But it is unsafe to introduce an ironical word by conjecture. If we read ἀπιστεῖα, we should prefer to alter *adfectus* to *refectus*, though that would be a violent proceeding. Muecke suggests ἀργία. We ourselves thought of *artitia*, a word which might possibly have been coined to express 'tightness' (in money matters). Meyer proposes *malitia*, which would be a very strong word for the cautious Atticus to use. O. E. Schmidt (*Rh. Mus.* 1898, p. 222) thinks Att. used

ἀπιστεῖα—Cicero's word 721. 2—ironically in the sense of *bonitas*, i.e. 'solvency.' But it is not certain that *bonitas* has that meaning, though of course we have such expressions as *bonum nomen*.

*portum propiorem*] 'a readier 'more convenient' haven.' He may refer to death: cp. *omnisque in limine portus*, Verg. Aen. vii. 598: but, as Dr. Reid points out, his statement that he has a choice, and the words *nostram aetatem* following *huic aetati*, render that supposition unlikely: though Cic. does at times think of death: cp. 732. 4; 728. 3, *mihi quidem βεβιωται*. He thinks that the haven is Athens, and that *propiorem* means 'more suitable': cp. Clu. 30 *propiora huius causae et adiunctiora*. This seems more probable, as the tone of the letter is not excessively despondent.

*non utrum vis*] 'I have not the choice,' lit, 'it is not a case of which you please.' Just as here *utrum vis* means 'a free choice,' so in 718. 2, *neque huc neque illuc* means 'neutrality': cp. *quod egerit*, 754. 1.

*nostram aetatem . . . abhorrere*] cp. 718. 2 fin.

2. *de Clodio, itemque de Deiotaro*] See on Epp. 715. 1: 716; 717.

3. *coronatis*] See on 719. 1.  
*posuisse luctus gratia*] 'Quintus seems to have gone into the Circus with the crown to honour Caesar's victory [cp. note to 719. 1], but to have taken it off when

Ego etiam ad Siccam : tibi hoc oneris non impono : nolo te illum iratum habere. Servi orationem cognosco : in qua plus timoris video quam consili. Sed quoniam perterriti omnes sumus, adsentior Servio. Publilius tecum tricatus est. Huc enim Caerellia missa ab istis est legata ad me, cui facile persuasi mihi id quod rogaret ne licere quidem, non modo non libere. Antonium si videro, accurate agam de Buthroto. 5. Venio ad recentiores litteras, quamquam de Servio iam rescripsi. 'Me facere magnam *πρᾶξιν* Dolabellae.' Mihi mehercule ita videtur; non potuisse maior tali re talique tempore. Sed tamen, quidquid ei tribuo, tribuo ex tuis litteris. Tibi vero adsentior maiorem *πρᾶξιν* eius fore, si mihi quod debuit dissolverit. Brutus velim sit Asturae. 6. Quod autem laudas me quod nihil ante de profectione constitutionem quam ista quo evasura sint videro, muto sententiam. Neque quidquam tamen ante quam te videro. Atticam meam gratias mihi agere de matre gaudeo, cui quidem ego totam villam cellamque tradidi, eamque cogitabam v Idus videre. Tu Atticae salutem dices. Nos Piliam diligenter tuebimur.

Caesar's statue appeared in the *pompa Circensis*, and roused lamentation' (Reid).

4. *orationem cognosco*] 'I recognize the timid style of Servius' discourse.' We must refer *orationem* to a private talk with Atticus, not a speech in public.

*tricatus est*] 'has been shuffling'; Publilius and his mother were trying to induce Cicero to take back Publilia, and had sent Caerellia as an ambassadress to him on that mission. For *tricatus est* cp. Att. xv. 13a. 5 (795) *tricatur scilicet ut monetalis*.

*cui facile . . . libere*] 'whom I easily persuaded as regards the granting of her request that not only I wouldn't but I shouldn't': cp. Plaut. Pers. 376 for plays with these words *Lubere tibi per me licere intellego: verum lubere hau liceat, si lubeat mihi*.

5. *mihi . . . maior*] 'It appears to me to be so (i.e. great); that it could not be greater.' Understand *videtur* with *potuisse*. See Adn. Crit.

*maiorem πρᾶξιν*] Possibly a play on the word *πρᾶξιν*, which means—(1) 'an exploit'; (2) 'the exacting of money.' We might say 'Dolabella has acquitted himself well. I wish he would acquit him of his debt'; or 'a score for Dolabella: but I should be better pleased that a score of another kind should occupy his attention.' But the joke does not proceed quite completely: for *πρᾶξιν* should mean 'exacting a debt' and there was no question of Dolabella's doing that: he should pay. Probably, however, *πρᾶξιν* is *coup*, 'achievement,' in each case, and there is no play on the double sense.

*Asturae*] cp. 720 fin.

6. *villam*] His Cumanum, 720. 4; 724. 1.

*cellam*] 'the storeroom.' We might say 'I have put the house and the keys at her service.' The Thesaurus seems to take the meaning to be the cupboard or safe where the domestic money was kept: cp. Seneca De Tranq. An. 8. 6.



## 726. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 18).

POMPEII; MAY 9; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Dolabella, de nominibus Albiano et Patulciano, de Montano, de Servio, de Bruto causaque rei publicae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Saepius me iam agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimis in caelum videar efferre. Ego autem, quamquam sane probum factum, tamen ut tanto opere laudarem adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris. Sed totum se a te abalienavit Dolabella ea de causa qua me quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit. O hominem pudentem! Kal. Ian. debuit: adhuc non solvit, praesertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberi manu liberarit et opem ab Ope petierit. Licet enim iocari, ne me valde conturbatum putes. Atque ego ad eum iuxta Idus litteras dederam bene mane, eodem autem die tuas litteras vesperi acceperam in Pompeiano, sane celeriter tertio abs te die. Sed, ut ad te eo ipso die scripseram, satis aculeatas ad Dolabellam litteras dedi, quae si nihil profecerint, puto fore ut me praesentem non sustineat. 2. Albanum te confecisse arbitror. De Patulciano nomine, quod mihi suppetiatus es gratissimum est et simile tuorum omnium. Sed ego

1. *rem gestam Dolabellae*] See 720. 2. *unis et alteris*] 'more than one': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 101, *ducendus et unus et comes alter*.

*eadem causa*] that is, because he would pay neither Cicero nor Atticus.

*Faberi manu*] Faberius had been secretary to Caesar. Antony used him to insert whatever he wished in Caesar's instructions; he thus became virtually possessed of Caesar's fortune, and had already used some of it to buy the co-operation of Dolabella.

*opem ab Ope*] This is Cobet's ingenious correction of *opem ab eo* of the mss. Schütz had already conjectured *Opis opem*. Dolabella had drawn on the money which Caesar had deposited in the temple of Ops for the Parthian war. We can offer no translation that retains the play on the words. To render 'opulence from Ops' will hardly do, as *ops* in the singular means 'help,' 'assistance,' not 'wealth.' It is difficult to obtain any joke out of the ms. reading. Possibly we might

read *Opem ab eo*, 'gained the favours of Wealth from him,' *petere* in the sense of 'wooing.' For this plundering, cp. 719. 5, *rapinas scribis ad Opis fieri*, and Phil. ii. 93.

*tertio abs te die*] It generally took four days for a letter to reach Pompeii from Rome: cp. 725. 1.

*aculeatas*] 'stinging.' Where Cic. speaks of the letter in 725. 4, he only says *scripsi diligenter*.

2. *Albanum*] Possibly Sabinus Albius wished to purchase the property of which he had been left joint-heir with Cicero, 627 [14].

*suppetiatus es*] 'you have come to my aid.' The word *suppetiari* does not occur elsewhere in Cicero, nor does *suppetias ire*, but *suppetiatus* is inferred here from *suspendiatus* M<sup>1</sup>, *suppeditatus* M<sup>2</sup>. It is found more than once in Apuleius (cp. Met. viii. 20), especially the supine *suppetiatum*, with words of 'calling' (i. 14; vii. 7). Müller conjectures *succenturiatus es*.

Erotem ad ista expedienda factum mihi videbar reliquisse, cuius non sine magna culpa vacillarunt. Sed cum ipso videro. 3. De Montano, ut saepe ad te scripsi, erit tibi tota res curae. Servius proficiscens quod desperanter tecum locutus est minime miror, neque ei quidquam in desperatione concedo. 4. Brutus noster, singularis vir, si in senatum non est Kal. Iuniis venturus, quid facturum sit in foro nescio. Sed hoc ipse melius. Ego ex iis quae parari video non multum Idibus Martiis profectum iudico. Itaque de Graecia cotidie magis et magis cogito. Nec enim Bruto meo exsilium, ut scribit ipse, meditati video quid prodesse possim. Leonidae me litterae non satis delectarunt. De Herode tibi adsentior. Saufei legisse vellem. Ego ex Pompeiano vi Idus Mai. cogitabam.

## 727. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 20).

PUTEOLI; MAY 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo et epistulis ab Attico acceptis, de negotio Albiano, de Buthroto Attici, de L. Antonii et Dolabellae contionibus, de Cleopatra, de re publica e Bruto pendente, de litteris ad Brutum et Cassium datis, de Hirtio, de Dolabella, de Pansa, de bello civili imminente, de Q. filio, de Octavio, de Pilia et de epulis Vestorii.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. E Pompeiano navi advectus sum in Luculli nostri hospitium vi Idus, hora fere III: egressus autem e navi accepi tuas litteras,

*ad ista . . . factum*] 'a man made for (i.e. naturally fitted for) clearing up such accounts': for *factus* ad cp. Off. i. 103, *neque enim ita generati a natura sumus ut ad ludum et iocum facti esse videamur.*

*reliquisse*] sc. at Rome.  
*vacillarunt*] 'they became unbalanced.'

3. *De Montano*] cp. 599. 1; 721. 4; 724. 6.

*Servius*] Sulpicius, the jurist. He was of a timid nature always, cp. Att. x. 14. 1 (400): 725. 4.

4. *singularis vir*] 'one in a thousand.' *in foro*] i.e. in making a harangue to the people: cp. 727. 3.

*melius*] sc. *fecerit*, 'he will manage this better than I can suggest.' For ellipse of *facere* or *agere*, cp. 748. 2 and Index.

*profectum*] from *proficio*; 'I do not

see that much good has been done by (the deed of) March 15.'

*exsilium*] 725. 1.

*Leonidae . . . De Herode*] Leonides (721. 3) and Herodes were writing letters to Cicero, in which the former did not give an unqualified commendation to young Marcus, who was at Athens pursuing his studies under them: cp. Ep. 746.

*Saufei*] sc. *librum*, though it is doubtful whether this ellipse is allowable: cp. 559. 2. We have seen above (595. 3) that the name of the writer can be put for the book: cp. *Cottam*, 646. 3. Possibly *epistulam* (*epla*) was lost.

1. *Luculli nostri hospitium*] Cicero refers to a villa at Naples, which once belonged to L. Lucullus, but which is now the property of Cn. Lucullus, a friend of his (731. 1). Or he may refer

quas tuus tabellarius in Cumanum attulisse dicebatur, Nonis Mai. datas. A Lucullo postridie eadem fere hora veni in Puteolanum. Ibi accepi duas epistulas, alteram Nonis, alteram VII Idus Lanuvio datas. Audi igitur ad omnis. 2. Primum, quae de re mea gesta et in solutione et in Albiano negotio grata. De tuo autem Buthroto, cum in Pompeiano essem, Misenum venit Antonius: inde ante discessit quam illum venisse audissem in Samnium: a quo vide quid speres. Romae igitur de Buthroto. L. Antoni horribilis contio, Dolabellae praeclara. Iam vel sibi habeat nummos, modo numeret Idibus. Tertullae nollem abortum: tam enim Cassii sunt iam quam Bruti serendi. De regina velim *ita*, atque

to the son of the great Lucullus who was a friend of Brutus (Phil. x. 8), and fell at Philippi (Val. Max. iv. 7. 4): cp. Fin. iii. 9 and Ep. 554. Cicero now replies to several letters which were delivered to him together, some of which he received from Lanuvium, some having been directed to Cumae, some to Puteoli.

*hora fere III*] For the hour mentioned at which something happened cp. 734 init.

2. *gesta*] There is no need to alter to *gesti* with Boot, as we did in our former edition. For examples of *sunt* or *est* omitted in short clauses cp. 756 (*compositum*); Fam. x. 26. 1 (907) *si iam confecta*.

*in solutione*] sc. *Patulciana* 726. 2.

*Albiano negotio*] cp. 726. 2.

*audissem*] We should not alter to *audivi*, though 730. 2 would seem to favour it, *Veni enim Misenum cum ego essem in Pompeiano, inde ante profectus est quam ego eum venisse cognovi*. The subj. implies that Antony was careful to leave Misenum before Cic. could have learned that he had arrived there, cp. Madvig 360. The deliberateness of this avoidance of any meeting on Antony's part leads Cic. to say: 'Just see how little you have to expect from him. Accordingly, it is at Rome that the matter must be discussed.' sc. *agetur*, as in the common phrase *sed coram*: and § 3 init.

*L. Antoni*]. L. Antonius, the brother of M. Antonius, made a violent speech on the subject of the division of the territory reclaimed from the Pomptine marshes and of certain other allotments among the Roman poor. He was opposed by Dolabella. Cicero, in Phil. xiii. 37, calls L. Antonius, ironically, *aequissimus agri privati et publici decempeductor*.

*nummos . . . Idibus*] It is just possible that Cicero here means no more than 'I will not press Dolabella for the money due to me, provided he pays the interest on the Ides.' Gronovius, however, sees far more point in the words, which he understands to mean 'provided he is true to the Ides,' that is, 'provided he upholds the act of those who slew Caesar on the Ides.' But *numeret* would hardly express this meaning. Cicero would have written *modo satisfaciat Idibus, or modo tueatur Idus*. Probably the meaning is, 'let him keep his money now, if only he will pay me on the Ides.' Atticus may have said, 'Better let him keep his money now'; he will pay later on. Or the *nummos* may refer to his late windfalls from the temple of Ops: 'Let him keep his gains, if only he pays me these Ides.'

*Tertullae*] 'I am sorry for dear Tertia's miscarriage. We want to keep up the stock of Cassius as well as that of Brutus,' lit. 'Cassii as well as Bruti ought to be procreated.' Tertia was the wife of Cassius, and the sister of Brutus. For the unusual form of the diminutive, cp. *vulticulus* and *dextella* below, § 5; *integellus*, Fam. ix. 10. 3 (537); *hilarula*, Att. xvi. 11, *fin.* (799); *amicillus*, suggested by us on Att. xiii. 51 (669), where see note.

*velim ita*] We have inserted *ita*, which makes the ellipse possible, and would easily have fallen out before *atque*. What the report was which he hopes may be true concerning Cleopatra and her son by Caesar we have no means of discovering, but it is probably the same as that referred to 730 *fin.* in *de regina rumor exstinguetur*, and 734. 4 in *de regina velim verum sit*.

etiam de Caesare illo. Persolvi primae epistulae : venio ad secundam. 3. De Quintis, Buthroto, cum venero, ut scribis. Quod Cicero suppeditas, gratum. Quod errare me putas qui rem publicam putem pendere e Bruto, sic se res habet : aut nulla erit aut ab istisve servabitur. Quod me hortaris ut scriptam contionem mittam, accipe a me, mi Attice, καθολικὸν θεώρημα earum rerum in quibus satis exercitati sumus : nemo umquam neque poëta neque orator fuit qui quemquam meliorem quam se arbitraretur ; hoc etiam malis contingit ; quid tu Bruto putas et ingenioso et erudito ? De quo etiam experti sumus nuper in edicto. Scripseram rogatu tuo. Meum mihi placebat, illi suum. Quin etiam, cum ipsius precibus paene adductus scripsissem ad eum 'de optimo genere dicendi,' non modo mihi sed etiam tibi scripsit sibi illud quod mihi placeret non probari. Qua re sine, quaeso, sibi quemque scribere.

Suam quoique sponsam, mihi meam : suum quoique amorem, mihi meum.

Non scite. Hoc enim Atilius, poeta durissimus. Atque utinam

*de Caesare illo*] As Cleopatra's son by Caesar is always called *Caesarion*, Dr. Reid thinks we must either read *Caesarione* or *Caesaris filio*. But Cic. only means that the boy was one of the Caesar family.

3. *scriptam contionem*] For the use of Brutus on his return, when he proposed to address the people in the forum : see 726. 4.

καθολικὸν θεώρημα] 'Here is an axiomatic proposition for you on a subject with which I am conversant, *Never was there poet or orator who thought any one better than himself*,' cp. Arist. Eth. ix. 7. 3. πᾶς γὰρ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον ἀγαπᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγαπηθεῖν ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐμψύχου γενομένου· μάλιστα δ' ὥς τοῦτο περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς συμβαίνει· ὑπεραγαπῶσι γὰρ οὗτοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ποιήματα, στέργοντες ὥσπερ τέκνα. cp. Plat. Rep. 330c. καθολικὸν θεώρημα seems to be a philosophical expression, something like 'fundamental axiom.'

*in edicto*] cp. § 4. This must be the edictum referred to in the words *neque solum edicto sed etiam litteris id fecerimus*, 740. 1, written in May. The allusion cannot be, as Manutius supposed, to Fam. xi. 3 (782), which was not written till

August 4 of this year. Cicero had given to Brutus a draft of the edict which he thought should be drawn up by Brutus. The latter preferred his own.

*Quin etiam*] He gives another example of the truth of his fundamental axiom : Brutus did not approve of Cicero's views on oratory as laid down in the treatise *Orator ad M. Brutum*, which here and in Fam. xii. 17. 2 (493) he calls *de optimo genere dicendi*, but which elsewhere, e.g. Fam. vi. 18. 4 (534) ; xv. 20. 1 (702) ; De Div. ii. 4, he entitles *Orator*.

*Qua re . . . scite*] 'Wherefore, pray let each man write for himself : "Each man his bride, mine for me ; each man his pride, mine for me." A poor verse.' It reminds one of the song, 'Every man his fancy, mine my Nancy.' Brutus appeared to Cicero to be *otiosus atque diiunctus* (tedious and disjointed), Cicero to Brutus to be *fractus atque elumbis* (lacking in even flow and in virility) : see Tac. Dial. 18.

*Non scite*] 'a poor verse,' on account of the jingling assonance.

*Atilius*] 'a most wooden poet.' He made a poor translation of the 'Electra' of Sophocles, and was styled by Porcius

liceat isti contionari! Cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit, vicimus. Ducem enim novi belli civilis aut nemo sequetur aut ii sequentur qui facile vincantur. 4. Venio ad tertiam. Gratas fuisse meas litteras Bruto et Cassio gaudeo. Itaque iis rescripsi. Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam et ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo, qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Dolabellam valde placere tibi video, mihi quidem egregie. Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat se bene sentire et cupere pacem. Causam armorum quaeri plane video. Edictum Bruti et Cassi probō. Quod vis ut suscipiam cogitationem quidnam istis agendum putem, consilia temporum sunt, quae in horas commutari vides. Dolabellae et prima illa actio et haec contra Antonium contio mihi profecisse permultum videtur. Prorsus ibat res; nunc autem videmur habituri ducem: quod unum municipia bonique desiderant. 5. Epicuri mentionem facis et audes dicere μή πολιτεύεσθαι? Non te Bruti nostri vulticulus ab ista oratione deterret? Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antoni est dextella. Per eum igitur quod vole-

Licinus *ferreum scriptorem*, Fin. i. 5: cp. Suet. Caes. 84.

*Ducem . . . vincantur*] a remarkable criticism, justified by the events. 'If he becomes the leader in a new civil war, no one will follow him, or only such will follow as can be easily conquered.' But he was wrong in thinking that Dolabella was the leader they wanted, § 4.

4. *Hirtium*] For the uncertainty as to the attitude of Hirtius cp. 728. 4; 732. 4; 737. 1; 738. 1-4.

*vivit habitatque*] almost proverbial: 'he and Balbus are inseparable.' Dr. Reid (on Acad. ii. 115) points out that this phrase shows "that *vivere cum* does not necessarily mean to live at some one's house. Its usual sense is 'to be some one's intimate friend,' but it is occasionally used merely of staying a day or two at a man's house": cp. *cum Pansa vixi*, below, and Att. iv. 15. 5 (143).

*cupere pacem*] whereas the Caesarians *timere otium* (728. 2).

*Causam armorum*] 'that Antony is looking for an excuse for war.'

*Edictum*] cp. 740. 1 *edicto*. It dismissed the young men of the municipal towns whom Brutus and Cassius had collected to serve as a sort of body-guard which would enable them to return to Rome: cp. Ferrero iii. pp. 39 and 48.

*Quod vis ut*] 'as to your desire that I should enter on a consideration of what their course should be, their policy is dependent on the circumstances which you see are changing every hour.' *Quod vis* is the excellent emendation of Madvig. *Quaeris* of the mss could not mean 'you ask me (to undertake),' which would be *rogas* or *postulas*. Of course we could take *quaeris* with *quidnam putem*, 'you ask me what I think, with a view to making me enter on the consideration,' but that would be a somewhat unnatural form of expression.

*Prorsus ibat res*] 'things were in good train, but now we seem likely to have a leader (the principal thing we wanted)': cp. 720. 3. *incipit res melius ire*.

5. μή πολιτεύεσθαι] sc. τὸν σόφον—in the style of the κυρίαί δοξαι.

*vulticulus*] 'the phiz'; he uses a jocular word to describe the severe face of Brutus.

*dextella*] The diminutive expresses contempt. We should say something like 'the right-hand man, save the mark.' See note on *Tertullae*, above, § 2. Cp. Tennyson's *Guinevere*:—

'While yet Sir Lancelot, my right arm,  
The mightiest of my knights, abode with me.'

*Per eum . . . auferemus*] This is ironical. He will get the Buthrotian business settled for us!

mus facile auferemus. Exspecto, si, ut putas, L. Antonius produxit Octavium, qualis contio fuerit. Haec scripsi. Statimen im Cassi tabellarius. Eram continuo Piliam salutaturus, deinde ad epulas Vestori navicula. Atticae plurimam salutem.

## 728. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 21).

WITH VESTORIUS AT PUTEOLI; MAY 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

De Dolabellae litteris ad se datis, de sermone cum Balbo a se habito, de bello civili imminenti, de Caesaris caede animo virili, consilio puerili facta, de senectute sua, de Hirtio ad optimates traducendo, de Octavii contione exspectata, de aere alieno Dolabellae.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum paullo ante dedissem ad te Cassi tabellario litteras, v Idus venit noster tabellarius, et quidem, portenti simile, sine tuis litteris. Sed cito conieci Lanuvi te fuisse. Eros autem festinavit ut ad me litterae Dolabellae perferrentur, non de re mea—nondum enim meas acceperat—sed rescripsit ad eas, quarum exemplum tibi miseram, sane luculente. 2. Ad me autem, cum Cassi tabellarium dimissem, statim Balbus. O dii boni, quam facile perspiceres timere otium! Et nosti virum quam tectus, sed tamen Antoni consilia narrabat: illum circumire veteranos, ut acta Caesaris sancirent idque se facturos esse iurarent ut arma

*produxit*] A private person could not address the people unless 'introduced' by a magistrate. Dio Cass. xlv. 6. 3 says it was Tiberius Cannutius who introduced Octavian to the people, but he is confusing this event with a later one: cp. Att. xvi. 15. 3 (807) and note.

*Haec scripsi*] Editors usually add an adverb, such as *statim*, *raptim*, *summatim*, *citatim*; but we do not see that any addition to the text is necessary. *Haec scripsi* means 'No more at present.'

*tabellarius*] sc. *proficiscetur*: cp. 769. 6 *Is hinc vi Idus*.

*ad epulas Vestori navicula*] sc. *iturus* 'then to take boat [for Puteoli] to sup with Vestorius.'

1. *de re mea*] 'about the money which he owed me.'

*acceperat*] sc. *Dolabella*.

*quarum*] sc. Ep. 722.

2. *Balbus*] sc. *venit*; cp. 709. 1.

*timere otium*] of the Caesarians: cp.

§ 4 and 729. 1. Contrast *cupere pacem* of the conservatives, 728. 4. See note to 732. 3, also 704. 3. The amnesty was the bulwark of the conservatives, and they were constantly afraid of its being annulled.

*tectus*] 'guarded.'

*circumire*] 'that he is canvassing.'

*arma*] *ut rata* is the conjecture of Vict. for *utram* of the mss. The emendation most generally accepted is that of Lambinus, *arma*; for some such word as *arma* seems to be required by the verb *inspicerent*, something which the colonial and municipal authorities (*duumviri*) could 'inspect, oversee.' Perhaps *castra*, as

omnes haberent eaque duumviri omnibus mensibus inspicerent. Questus est etiam de sua invidia, eaque omnis oratio fuit ut amare videretur Antonium. Quid quaeris? Nihil sinceri. 3. Mihi autem non est dubium quin res spectet ad castra. Acta enim illa res est animo virili, consilio puerili. Quis enim hoc non vidit, regni heredem relictum? Quid autem absurdius?

Hoc metuere, alterum in metu non ponere!

Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa ὑποσόλεια. Ponti Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri! Legendus mihi saepius est 'Cato maior' ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia. Sed mihi quidem βεβίωται; viderint iuvenes. Tu mea curabis, ut curas. 4. Haec scripsi seu dictavi apposita secunda mensa apud Vestorium. Postridie apud Hirtium cogitabam et quidem †πεντέλοιπον. Sic hominem traducere ad optimatis paro. Ἀῆρος πολύς. Nemo est istorum qui otium non

Otto suggests, would more readily have yielded the corrupt *utram*. Dr. Reid notes that unless the reference is to arms, there would be little point in *omnes*. Mr. Jeans, no doubt feeling this a difficulty, reading *rata*, translates 'and that two commissioners should report upon them monthly'; but *inspicerent* could hardly mean 'should report upon.'

3. *illa res*] the murder of Caesar. For the sentiment cp. 734. 2.

*Hoc . . . alterum*] the tyranny of Caesar and that of Antony. Cicero is fond of this line, the author of which is unknown: "To fear the one, the other not to dread": cp. 598. 3.

ὑποσόλεια] 'somewhat anomalous': cp. 708. 2 σόλοιον.

Ponti] Servilia, the mother of Brutus, was in possession of a villa formerly owned by Pontius, who was on the senatorial side. We do not know whether she acquired it by purchase or as a gift from Caesar.

'Cato maior'] His *De Senectute*, which he sometimes calls *O Tite* (773. 1), from the first words of the treatise.

βεβίωται] 'But as for myself, *Vizi*,' 'moi, j'ai vécu,' Jeans.

4. *mensa*] Note that it was not unusual to write letters during meals: cp. 708. 2; 715. 3 (the latter also was written by Cicero when at the table of Vestorius).

πεντέλοιπον] If this word is sound, it can only mean 'a survivor of five,' or 'a survivor to five.' It is easy to see

that Hirtius might be spoken of as the only one still faithful to Puteoli of the five who at one time constituted a little *coterie* there, namely, Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus, Lentulus Spinther, and perhaps Philippus. But this interpretation can hardly stand. The only thing certain is that Hirtius is referred to: cp. 732. 4, πεντέλοιπον *movere ista videntur*. For Cicero's attempts to gain over Hirtius cp. 727. 4; 737. 1; 738. 1. Hence, as he had the reputation of a *bon vivant*, Cicero may have called him παντόλοιχον, 'our friend Sweet-tooth,' or even *patinolechon*, meaning 'plate-licker,' a Latin-and-Greek word such as possibly underlies *ριζόθρουν*: see note on that word, 713. 3. But *et quidem* does not go well with this. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xi. 262) conjectures *πάν τὸ λοιπὸν*, and thinks it may have been a nickname of Hirtius, who was very hospitable, and used, perhaps, to ask his friends to dine this day and every day. Hence he is called *πάν τὸ λοιπὸν* in 732. 4, like the prince of Denmark who was called 'Est-il possible?'

*Sic*] 'It is by dining in his company I am going to bring him over to the right side.'

Ἀῆρος] 'a pack of fribbles! there is not one of them who is not afraid of peace.' Or better, perhaps, 'rubbish and nonsense ( *vraie folie*)—my hoping to win over Hirtius.'

*otium non timeat*] cp. § 2.

timeat. Qua re talaria videamus. Quidvis enim potius quam castra. Atticae salutem plurimam velim dicas. Exspecto Octavi contionem et si quid aliud, maxime autem ecquid Dolabella tinniat an in meo nomine tabulas novas fecerit.

## 729. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XIV. 22).

PUTEOLI; MAY 14; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo Arpinum suscipiendo et litteris Attici eo mittendis, de consiliis Caesarianorum, de bello civili futuro nec a se vitando, dein quaerit ab Attico quid sibi agendum putet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Certior a Pilia factus mitti ad te Idibus tabellarios, statim hoc nescio quid exaravi. Primum igitur scire te volui me hinc Arpinum xvi Kalend. Iun. Eo igitur mittes, si quid erit posthac: quamquam ipse iam iamque adero. Cupio enim ante quam Romam venio odorari diligentius quid futurum sit. Quamquam vereor ne nihil a coniectura aberrem. Minime enim obscurum est quid isti moliantur—meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cenat, valde amat illum quem Brutus noster sauciavit—et si quaeris—perspexi enim plane—timent otium: ὑπόθεσιν autem hanc habent eamque prae se ferunt, clarissimum virum interfectum, totam rem publicam illius interitu perturbatam: irrita

*talaria videamus*] ‘let us look to our seven-league boots,’ the πέδιλα with which were winged the feet of Mercury, the messenger of the gods.

*castra*] cp. 725. 1. *nostram aetatem a castris abhorrevit.*

*ecquid Dolabella tinniat*] ‘whether Dolabella is going to come down with the chink, or has proclaimed a clear sheet as regards his debt to me too.’ Dolabella had proposed very socialistic laws in 47: cp. Livy Epit. cxiii, *cum seditiones Romae a P. Dolabella tribuno plebis legem ferente de novis tabulis excitatae essent.*

1. *igitur*] See on 708. 1.

*iam iamque*] ‘anon.’

*odorari*] cp. 705. 2; Att. iv. 14. 2 (138); vi. 4. 3 (268).

*ne nihil aberrem*] ‘I fear I shall be quite right in what I had guessed,’ that is, ‘I fear my forecast of things will turn out to be only too near the actual state of the case.’ We have added *a* with Crat. cp. Phil. xii. 23: N.D. i. 100: Pliny Ep. iv. 28. 3. The word *coniectura* appears to approximate to the meaning ‘hitting the mark.’ Mayor on N.D. i. 100 quotes Quintilian iii. 6. 30 *coniectura dicta est a coniectu, id est, directione quadam rationis ad veritatem*, and compares *consequi* = ‘to obtain.’

*meus discipulus*] Hirtius, who had been taking lessons in declamation from Cicero.

*amat illum*] i.e. Caesar.

*timent otium*] cp. 728. 2.

*ὑπόθεσιν*] ‘their text,’ the theme on which they are always dwelling.



fore quae ille egisset, simul ac desisteremus timere: clementiam illi malo fuisse, qua si usus non esset, nihil ei tale accidere potuisse. 2. Mihi autem venit in mentem, si Pompeius cum exercitu firmo veniat, quod est εὔλογον, certe fore bellum. Haec me species cogitatioque perturbat. Neque enim iam quod tibi tum licuit nobis nunc licebit; nam aperte laetati sumus. Deinde habent in ore nos ingratos. Nullo modo licebit quod tum et tibi licuit et multis. Φαινοπροσωπητέον ergo et ἰτέον in castra? Miliens mori melius, huic praesertim aetati. Itaque me Idus Martiae non tam consolantur quam antea. Magnum enim mendum continent, nisi illi iuvenes

ἄλλοις ἐν ἐσθλοῖς τόνδ' ἀπωθούνται ψόγον.

Sed, si tu melius quippiam speras, quod et plura audis et interes consiliis, scribas ad me velim simulque cogites quid agendum nobis sit super legatione votiva. Equidem in his locis moneor a multis, ne in senatu Kalendis. Dicuntur enim occulte milites ad eam diem comparari, et quidem in istos, qui mihi videntur ubivis tutius quam in senatu fore.

2. εὔλογον] 'vraisemblable.' We should probably write, 'and the odds are on this.'

species cogitatioque] 'the mental picture (of war).' This almost amounts to a hendiadys. Cicero means, 'when I think of war, and the picture of it rises before my mind's eye, I am much disquieted.' cp. for the idea Verg. Aen. viii. 557, et propior iam adparet Martis imago. This species would be a good parallel to quote for the able suggestion of O. E. Schmidt in Att. vii. 8. 5 (299), ex illa sententia ἰδέα [MSS. ἔ] relinquendae urbis novet hominem.

quod tum . . . licuit] neutrality in the Civil War: cp. 718. 2, a very similar passage to the present.

Deinde . . . ingratos] For two reasons Cic. considers that he could not join the Caesarians, and if he wished to do so he would not be cordially accepted by them: 1) he openly exulted at Caesar's assassination, 2) they view him as an ingrate: or Caesar has showed not only clemency but no little friendliness to Cicero alluring the Civil War.

Φαινοπροσωπητέον] 'must I put in appearance and be off to the tented

field?' cp. Att. vii. 21. 1 (319). For ἰτέον see on Att. x. 6. 1 (386).

huic praesertim aetati] 'especially for one of my age.'

nisi illi iuvenes] 'unless Brutus and Cassius by other noble deeds wipe out this blot.' Possibly this refers to the censure passed on Brutus and Cassius for not having killed Antony as well as Caesar. The author of the verse is unknown: cp. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, p. 860. The correction of *elsi* to *nisi* seems unavoidable, as we do not hear of any 'noble deeds' that Brutus and Cassius were engaged in at this time.

legatione votiva] cp. 718. 4. But there it would seem that he was asking to be made one of Caesar's military *legati*, though without obligation to perform special military duty; and it was such a post that he afterwards obtained from Dolabella (744. 4). Here he speaks of a *legatio votiva*, a species of *legatio libera*: cp. note to Att. ii. 18. 3 (43); and iv. 2. 6 (91); and he was uncertain for some time (cp. 741. 1; 744. 4) for which he should apply.

ne in senatu] sc. *adsim*: istos are Brutus and Cassius.

## 730. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 1 a).

LEAVING PUTEOLI; MAY 17; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De morte Alexionis medici, de Antonio a se non convento Miseni, de sermone cum Hirtio habito, etiam de negotio Attici Buthrotio, de re publica quid cum Hirtio locutus sit, de Q. filio, de Caerellia aliaque quadam muliere, de Bruti litteris.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O factum male de Alexione! Incredibile est quanta me molestia adfecerit, nec mehercule ex ea parte maxime, quod plerique mecum, 'ad quem igitur te medicum conferes?' Quid mihi iam medico? aut si opus est, tanta inopia est? Amorem erga me, humanitatem suavitatemque desidero. Etiam illud: quid est quod non pertimescendum sit, cum hominem temperantem, summum medicum tantus improvise morbus oppresserit? Sed ad haec omnia una consolatio est, quod ea condicione nati sumus ut nihil quod homini accidere possit recusare debeamus.

2. De Antonio iam antea tibi scripsi non esse eum a me conventum. Venit enim Misenum, cum ego essem in Pompeiano, inde ante profectus est quam ego eum venisse cognovi. Sed casu, cum legerem tuas litteras, Hirtius erat apud me in Puteolano: ei legi et egi. Primum, quod attinet, nihil mihi concedebat, deinde

1. *O factum male*] See 651. This Alexio is not to be confounded with the Alexio who managed the affairs of Atticus in Epirus (642. 3).

*Quid mihi iam medico?*] *opus est* seems to be omitted sometimes in such phrases: cp. 557. 5 *quid enim mihi foro?* where, however, a few mss. have *cum foro*: Verr. v. 45, *quid enim tibi navi?* which Priscian (i. 344. 8 Keil) quotes, with *opus fuit* added. Verg. Aen. iv. 98 *quo certamine tanto?* is hardly apposite. Additions have been proposed such as *<cum> medico* (Wes.) or *medico <opus est>* (Otto), or *<a> medico* 'What have I to hope now from a physician?' (Reid).

*homini*] cp. 555. 4: 718. 3: Fam. v. 16. 2 (529).

2. *De Antonio*] See 727. 2.

*et egi*] The meaning is 'I reasoned about them,' i.e. about what you said in

them. But the ellipses are unsymmetrical (*Litteras*) *legi et (de eis) egi*. Wes. proposes *ei legi et <cum eo> egi*. Peerlkamp would read *et relegi*. The phrase, however, is justified by the assonance of the two words, 'I read and said them to him.' So we might say, 'he would not be led or said by me,' a phrase not to be strictly analysed grammatically.

*Primum, quod attinet*] *Primum* must mean 'at first,' as *deinde* shows. For *attinet* without *ad* the Thesaurus quotes, besides this passage, Rhet. Herenn. 1. 1, *ea conquisierunt quae nihil attinebant*: Hor. Od. i. 19. 12: Augustin. Serm. *assunt duae mulieres et quod magis attinet publicanae*. Possibly *quod attinet* = 'what is of importance,' 'and this is of importance.' The first opinion of Hirtius was of importance, as it showed the views of his party on the subject. He was a

ad summam arbitrum me statuebat non modo huius rei sed totius consulatus sui. Cum Antonio autem sic agemus ut perspiciat, si in eo negotio nobis satis fecerit, totum me futurum suum. Dolabellam spero domi esse. 3. Redeamus ad nostros: de quibus tu bonam spem te significas habere propter edictorum humanitatem. Ego autem perspexi, cum a me xvii Kal. de Puteolano Neapolim Pansae conveniendi causa proficisceretur Hirtius, omnem eius sensum. Seduxi enim et ad pacem sum cohortatus. Non poterat scilicet negare se velle pacem, sed non minus se nostrorum arma timere quam Antoni, et tamen utrosque non sine causa praesidium habere, se autem utraque arma metuere. Quid quaeris? Οὐδὲν

quiet man, who could be easily induced to agree with an importunate suitor. But it would be more natural in point of sense to take just the opposite meaning and read *quod attinet* <nihil>, *nihil concedebat*, his first refusal meant nothing. It seems hard even in a letter to take *attinet* for *attineret*, and interpret 'he granted nothing of any importance.' It would be better to read *attineret*. Moreover, to express 'nothing of importance,' the natural order would have been *nihil quod attinet*. But on the whole we think *quod attinet* = 'and this is of importance,' parenthetical, is the best interpretation. In 551. 2 we have *quia nihil attinuit* = 'because it was of no importance,' 'it did not matter.'

*ad summam*] 'to sum up in a word': cp. *ad summam* DIC M. TULLI: *adsentior* Cn. Pompeio, Att. vii. 7. 7 (298); *ad summam non posse ista sic abire*, 703. 1.

*consulatus sui*] which he was to hold in the forthcoming year.

*domi esse*] Lehmann, pp. 73, 74, shows that *domum* means *Romam* and *domi Romae* in several places in the Letters, e.g., 586. 3; 654. 1; see note on Att. ii. 3. 1 (40). It was at Rome that Cicero was going to discuss the Buthrotian question with Antony: cp. 727. 2. It seems possible too that we should explain *nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem*, Q. Fr. iii. 1. 14 (148), 'my town house is now just as charming as any of my suburban retreats.' We cannot accept the suggestion of Lambinus, who, comparing *foris esse* 'to be bankrupt,' in Pis. 12, thinks *domi esse* here means, 'to be solvent.' We could not assume that because a needy man is said 'to be out of elbows,' a prosperous man could be said 'to be in at elbows.' It is clear

that he is here referring to the cause of the Buthrotians, to which he thinks, as appears from other letters, e.g. 727. 2; 738. 1-3, Dolabella can give material help, if in Rome. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xii. (1902), p. 138) thinks *domi esse* means 'Dolabella is our man,' as we might say 'we have him in our pocket': and he interprets the difficult passage, Q. Fr. ii. 8 (10). 4 (123) *Hortus domi est* 'I have the Garden (i.e. Epicurean literature) at my finger ends.' He also refers to 733. 3 *Hirtius est tuus*.

3. *nostros*] Brutus and Cassius. *edictorum*] One of these *edicta* was that referred to in 740. 1, in which Brutus dismissed the young men from the provincial towns whom he had enrolled as a sort of escort or body-guard. Another may have had some intimation that he was ready to go into exile (725. 1: 726. 4) if it would conduce to peace. But we cannot be sure. Brutus was the sort of solemn person who would like to issue manifestoes.

Οὐδὲν ὑγιές] These words seem to indicate that he thought Hirtius was concealing his real opinion. At least they form part of a verse (Eur. Andr. 448), ἐλικτὰ κοῦδὲν ὑγιές ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίε] φρονοῦντες, which Cicero quotes in Att. ii. 25. 1 (52) to indicate a tortuous and hypocritical state of feeling: cp. 728. 2, *nihil sinceri*. It is interesting to observe the way Cicero speaks of Hirtius in a private letter, and in the De Fato 2, which was written at this time, *Nam cum essem in Puteolano Hirtiusque noster, consul designatus* (cp. 712. 2 *duo quidem quasi designati consules*) *iisdem in locis, vir nobis amicissimus et iis studiis in quibus nos a pueritia viximus deditus: multum*

ἡγίς. 4. De Q. filio tibi adsentior : patri quidem certe gratissimae [et] bellae tuae litterae fuerunt. Caerelliae vero facile satis feci, nec valde laborare mihi visa est, et, si illa, ego certe non laborarem. Istam vero, quam tibi molestam scribis esse, auditam a te esse omnino demiror. Nam quod eam collaudavi apud amicos, audientibus tribus filiis eius et filia tua, τὸδ' ἐκ τούτου ; [quid est hoc ?].

Quid est autem cur ego personatus ambulem ?

Parumne foeda persona est ipsius senectutis ? 5. Quod Brutus rogat, ut ante Kalendas, ad me quoque scripsit, et fortasse faciam. Sed plane quid velit nescio. Quid enim illi adferre consili possum, cum ipse egeam consilio et cum ille suae immortalitati melius

*una eramus, maxime nos quidem exquirentes ea consilia quae ad pacem et ad concordiam civium pertinerent*: yet he is represented in 728. 4 as one of that class (*istorum*) of whom *nemo est qui otium non timeat*: cp. 729. 1.

4. *Caerelliae*] See on 725. 4, from which it appears that Caerellia tried to bring about a reconciliation between Cicero and his divorced wife Publilia. Cicero adds—'I easily satisfied her [that it was impossible and undesirable]; she did not seem to take a keen interest in the matter, and even if she had, I certainly should not have done so.'

*Istam vero*] Some editors refer *istam* to Publilia's mother, who may have built hopes of a reconciliation on some kind words about her used by Cicero in the presence of members of her family. Schütz, with more probability, understands *istam* as referring to some other candidate for Cicero's hand, who 'bored Atticus to plead her cause because Cicero had spoken well of her.' Or the passage may mean, 'that lady who you say perturbs you, I wonder you heard of her at all.' It is quite uncertain who is meant by *istam*. We are not sure that *tua* should not be omitted, as has been suggested. Attica was a mere child, barely seven years old. The reading of the Greek is uncertain. M gives ΤΟΕΤΟΤΟΤ. Z is stated to have had τὸ ἐκ τούτου. It may be τὸδ' ἐκ τούτου; 'does this follow from that?' that is, 'is it a fair *sequitur* that if a man speaks well of a woman he is prepared to make her his wife?'

*quid est hoc*] We agree with Wesenberg that this is the gloss of a puzzled

copyist, and we are disposed to echo it ourselves. Dr. Reid (p. 139) suggests, as does Kayser, τί ἐκ τούτου; 'what follows from that?' and supposes *quid est hoc*? to be a kind of translation of those words. Lamb. conjectured τί ἐστὶ τούτο; of which *quid est hoc*? is a gloss.

*quid est autem . . . senectutis*] Taking the view that *istam* refers to some candidate for Cicero's hand, we understand the connexion to be as follows: in quoting the words of some poet:

'Why should I wear a mask before men's eyes?'

Cicero means 'Why should I wear the mask (act the part) of a man who was still of age to marry, and so be careful of praising ladies' looks? Why should I not be natural, and speak of them unreservedly as an old man may?' The reference to a mask in the quotation leads Cicero to continue, not quite appositely indeed: 'Isn't the mask of old age ugly enough to dispel all idea of marriage coming my way?' The mask in the comic verse would be the attractive mask of a young man; the reference in what Cicero adds would be to the repulsive mask of an old man. We agree with Prof. Palmer that the words *quid . . . ambulem* are from some old play.

5. *ut ante Kalendas*] sc. *eum conveniam*: cp. for ellipse, 565. 1.

*quid velit nescio*] We incline to think that there was a suspicion that Brutus was going to take some vigorous step in opposition to Antony: cp. 743. 1, and note to 735. 5 and to 738. 2, 3.

quam nostro otio consuluerit? De regina rumor exstinguetur. De Flamma, obsecro te, si quid potes.

## 731. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 1b).

LEAVING SINUESSA; MAY 18; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Pilia, de funere matris Cn. Luculli, de contione Bruti ad se ut corrigeret missa.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Here dederam ad te litteras exiens e Puteolano deverter-amque in Cumanum. Ibi bene valentem videram Piliam. Quin etiam paullo post Cumis eam vidi. Venerat enim in funus, cui funeri ego quoque operam dedi. Cn. Lucullus familiaris noster matrem efferebat. Mansi igitur eo die in Sinuessano, atque inde mane postridie Arpinum proficiscens hanc epistulam exaravi.

2. Erat autem nihil novi quod aut scriberem aut ex te quaererem, nisi forte hoc ad rem putas pertinere: Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam habitam in contione Capitolina, petivitque a me ut eam ne ambitiose corrigerem ante quam ederet. Est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis ut nihil possit ultra. Ego tamen, si illam causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius. Ὑπόθεσις vides quae sit et persona dicentis. Itaque eam corrigere

regina] Cleopatra: cp. 727. 2.

Flamma] See on 721. 4.

1. Here] For the double form here and heri, cp. Neue-Wagener ii<sup>3</sup>, 644.

videram] As Cicero appears not to have seen Pilia till a little later at Cumae, perhaps we should read audieram; post was added by Lambinus.

operam dedi] 'I attended.' In Att. v. 15. 6 (143) deinde Antiphonti operam sc. dedi, it is used of attending the theatre.

2. contione Capitolina] Brutus at the same time as, or a little after, the meeting of the Senate on the 17th (cp. Phil. i. 32) delivered a speech to a meeting held in the Capitol, in which he guaranteed to the veterans all the grants which Caesar had made to them. Brutus had now committed his harangue to writing, and requested Cicero to correct it.

ne ambitiose] 'to correct the speech

candidly,' 'without any bias in favour of the writer.' Boot points out that Cicero himself has explained the sense in which he uses ambitiosus by the juxtaposition of two phrases in Q. Fr. i. 2. 4, 6 (53), in Graecos ambitiosum esse and Graecis solis indulgeo. It does not seem necessary to correct the ne of the mss to nec or non; ut . . ne is a common collocation in Cicero. Or, perhaps, the remark of Brutus was more ungracious, 'without any desire to show off' Cic.'s own eloquence; or 'without any interested motive,' such as a desire to show the superiority of Cicero's style of eloquence over that of Brutus. All Brutus wanted was the correction of obvious errors. These meanings are possible: but if any one of them was really what Brutus implied, Cicero would probably have expressed some resentment.

Ὑπόθεσις] 'you observe what the theme is (cp. 729. 1), and what the position of the speaker.'

non potui. Quo enim in genere Brutus noster esse vult et quod iudicium habet de optimo genere dicendi, id ita consecutus est in ea oratione ut elegantius esse nihil possit. Sed ego secutus aliud sum, sive hoc recte sive non recte. Tu tamen velim eam orationem legas, nisi forte iam legisti, certioreque me facias quid iudices ipse. Quamquam vereor ne cognomine tuo lapsus ὑπεραττικῶς sis in iudicando. Sed si recordabere Δημοσθένους fulmina, tum intelleges posse et ἀττικώτατα et gravissime dici. Sed haec coram. Nunc nec sine epistula nec cum inani epistola volui ad te Metrodorum venire.

## 732. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 2).

VESCIANUM; MAY 19; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Attici litteris de Buthroto, de L. Antonio, de Menedemo, de consilio suo in scribendo obtinendo et ab Attico probato, de legionibus, de Buthroitiis, si Atticus per senatum speret, de Octavii contione et ludorum apparatu, de Matio, Postumio, Saserna, Balbo, de prima disputatione Tusculana sua, de Flamma, de Tyndaritanorum causa, de Alexionis morte.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. xv Kalend. e Sinuessano proficiscens cum dedissem ad te litteras devertissemque tacutius, in Vescino accepi a tabellario

[*Quo enim in genere*] 'as regards the method of speaking at which he aims and his own ideal of the art, he has achieved it in that speech to the highest degree of perfection; my ideal is different, perhaps rightly, perhaps wrongly': *sequi* is the word which Cicero constantly uses for setting before one's mind an ideal method, whether of speech or action; hence *secutus* (suggested by Pius) is the most probable correction of *solus* of the mss. Perhaps we should print 'de optimo genere dicendi' in inverted commas, as there seems to be an allusion to this alternative title of his *Orator*: cp. 727. 3.

[*eam orationem*] so the ed. Rom.: M has *tum*. Perhaps *totam*. See Adn. Crit.

[*lapsus*] 'falling into an error by reason of your name, I fear you will be hyper-Attic.' The name *Atticus* would lead him to approve the *Attic* style of oratory: but he fell into the error of excess and became *hyper-Attic*. There is no need to adopt *abusus* as suggested by Boot.

[*et ἀττικώτατα et gravissime*] Owing to *et* before ἀττικώτατα, we have added *et* before *gravissime* with Lamb. 'that speeches can be made both in the most

Attic style and in the most powerful language.' The Attic school of rhetoric was at this time represented by Calvus and Brutus, and the Rhodian school by Cicero. Hortensius had been the representative of the Asianic school founded by Hegesias. Cicero here implies that the Attic school, though its main characteristic was simplicity and chasteness, yet could attain, on a great occasion, an elevation of style which the oratory of Brutus failed to reach. We can well imagine the way Demosthenes would have 'fulminated' on the Ides of March, in that crisis of the world's history, when the speech of Brutus was so tame and cold. The oration which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Brutus at the funeral of Caesar admirably represents the character here ascribed to his oratory by Cicero.

1. *acutius*] We agree with Wesenberg that under this word is concealed the name of some friend with whom Cicero sojourned, such as *ad Vettium*.

[*Vescino*] Sinuessa was in the *saltus Vescinus*, and was built over an old

tuas litteras, in quibus nimis multa de Buthroto. Non enim tibi ea res maiori curae aut est aut erit quam mihi. Sic enim decet te mea curare, tua me. Quam ob rem id quidem sic susceptum est mihi ut nihil sim habiturus antiquius. 2. L. Antonium contionatum esse cognovi tuis litteris et aliis sordide, sed id quale fuerit nescio: nihil enim scripti. De Menedemo, probe: Quintus certe ea dictat quae scribis. Consilium meum a te probari, quod ea non scribam quae tu a me postularis, facile patior, multoque magis id probabis, si orationem eam de qua hodie ad te scripsi legeris. Quae de legionibus scribis, ea vera sunt. Sed non satis hoc mihi videris tibi persuasisse, qui de Buthrotiis nostris per senatum speres confici posse; quod, puto (tantum enim video), non videmur esse victuri. Sed, ut iam nos hoc fallat, de Buthroto te non fallat. 3. De Octavi contione idem sentio quod tu, ludorumque

Ausonian town called Vescia: cp. C.I.L. x. p. 463. Cp. *Vescino*, Liv. x. 21. 8.

2. *contionatum . . . sordide*] 'made a wretchedly poor speech'; the reference seems to be to the manner, not to the matter, of the speech.

*scripti*] 'there was no written copy of the speech.' By this rendering Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xii. p. 141) defends the ms. reading. That speeches were often written out and disseminated shortly after delivery can be seen from Att. vii. 8. 5 (299); 722. 7. For the genitive he compares *aedificati . . . nihil* in Att. iv. 8. 1 (112): and perhaps *scripti* should be written for *scriptis* in Att. x. 5. 3 (416). The vulg. *nihil enim scripsisti* would have to mean 'you did not write out any part of it,' an unusual sense to give the words.

*De Menedemo*] Cicero calls this Menedemus *nequissimum Graeculum*, in Phil. xiii. 33. He was a creature of Caesar's, and a rumour now prevailed that he had been executed. In 734. 4 Cicero expresses his regret that this rumour proved to be unfounded.

*quae tu a me postularis*] This refers to Atticus' request that Cic. should write a speech for Brutus to deliver to the people on his return to Rome (727. 3).

*facile patior*] cp. 590. 1.

*orationem eam*] sc. *Bruti*.

*hodie*] cp. 731. 2.

*Quae de legionibus*] that Antony wished to bring four legions from Macedonia. They did not come to Italy until August. *qui . . . speres*] 'though you report

hostile measures on the part of Antony, you hardly seem to credit your own news when you indulge a hope that we may be able to get a *senatus consultum* settling the Buthrotian business in which, I opine—for that is all I can see—we do not seem likely to be successful. But supposing I am mistaken in this forecast, you will not be disappointed in the matter of the Buthrotians.' We have adopted the punctuation suggested by Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xii. p. 143). We still think that the rumour about the legions was that Antony was going to bring over the legions from Macedonia. The rumour about disaffection in the Martian and Fourth legions came to Cicero's ears a little later (734. 1). Cicero, always wishing to prophesy smooth things to Atticus about the Buthrotian business in which Atticus was so deeply interested, but for which Cicero was not really very solicitous, says that it was secure in any case: and indeed so it turned out. But Cic. gave no reason here for his opinion. He meant Att. to understand that he thought the case was so plain and just that there would be no difficulty.

3. *De Octavi contione*] cp. 727. 5; 728. 4.

*ludorumque*] the games which Octavian was proposing to give in July in honour of the victory of Pharsalia, and of which the superintendents were Matius (785. 6), Postumus (712. 2; 713. 2), and Saserna (Bell. Afr. 9. 1; 57. 1; Phil. xiii. 28), all friends and followers of Caesar.

eius apparatus et Matus ac Postumus mihi procuratores non placent: Saserna collega dignus. Sed isti omnes, quem ad modum sentis, non minus otium timent quam nos arma. Balbum levare invidia per nos velim, sed ne ipse quidem id fieri posse confidit. Itaque alia cogitat. 4. Quod prima disputatio Tusculana te confirmat sane gaudeo: neque enim ullum est perfugium aut melius aut paratius. Flamma quod bene loquitur non moleste fero: Tyndaritanorum causa, de qua causa laborat, quae sit ignoro: hos tamen . . . Πεντέλοιπον movere ista videntur, in primis erogatio pecuniae. De Alexione doleo, sed, quoniam inciderat in tam gravem morbum, bene actum cum illo arbitror: quos tamen secundos heredes scire velim et diem testamenti.

*otium timent*] 728. 2, 4; 729. 1. Octavian appears to have made no allusion to the amnesty in his speech.

*levare invidia*] cp. 728. 2, *Questus est etiam de sua invidia eaque omnis eius oratio fuit ut amare videretur Antonium. Quid quaeris? Nihil sinceri.*

4. *confirmat*] 'fortifies you against the fear of death.' The Tusculan Disputations were probably composed in the autumn of 45.

*Flamma*] 'I am glad Flamma speaks encouragingly' about his prospects of being able to pay the money for which Montanus was security: cp. 721. 4.

*de qua causa*] Most editors correct *causa* to *Casca* or *Pansa*; but Lehmann, p. 113, has shown that this repetition of the substantive in the relative clause, though most frequent in the Orations (e.g. *Rosc. Am.* 72, *Sull.* 43, *de domo* 110, *Vat.* 34, *Balb.* 27), is also found in the Letters, as in *Fam.* iii. 8. 4 (222); ix. 24. 1 (820); ix. 25. 3 (246); xiii. 9. 2 (237); xiii. 58 (248); so also in *funus cui funeri* in the last letter, and *lex . . . quae lex*, 778. 11. The Balliol codex is said to read *tam* for *causa*, which is possible: so does the cod. Helmstadtensis, which also has *laboras*.

*hos tamen*] The verb is lost: perhaps it was in Greek. The meaning was pro-

bably 'I will assist.' Dr. Reid suggests *noscam tamen*, 'however, I'll take their brief.'

Πεντέλοιπον] See on 728. 4.

*ista*] 'affairs with you,' i.e. at Rome: cp. 776 fin.

*erogatio pecuniae*] The money deposited in the temple of Ops by Caesar, and appropriated by Antony. It is worth noticing that Hirtius seems to have become disturbed by reason of Antony's inroad on the money of the State. Towards the end of the month he appears to have become alarmed by Antony's troops of veterans (741. 1).

*quos tamen secundos heredes*] We should probably understand, but not supply, *scripserit*. The ellipse of *scribere* is common. The construction will then be a colloquial one: 'what second heirs I should like to know, and the limit of time under the will.'

*diem testamenti*] The limit of time within which the heirs were bound to take formal possession of the property bequeathed: cp. note to 663. 3: but we confess to be unable to quote any parallel. In Quintilian v. 10. 44, *signator qui ante diem tabularum decessit*, it means 'before the date of the execution of the will.' Could it be 'the day the will is opened'? lit. 'the day of the will.'



## 733. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 3).

ARPINUM; MAY 22; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Respondet ad litteras duas Attici, quo die in Tusculanum venturus sit, non esse a se parendum victoribus, de Calvae testamento, de tabula Demonici, de litteris ad Dolabellam datis, de Alexione, de Hirtio, de Antonio, de Q. filio, de oratione Bruti, de Bruto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Undecimo Kalend. accepi in Arpinati duas epistulas tuas, quibus duabus meis respondisti. Una erat xv Kal., altera xii data. Ad superiorem igitur prius. Accurres in Tusculanum, ut scribis, quo me vi Kal. venturum arbitrabar. Quod scribis parendum victoribus, non mihi quidem, cui sunt multa potiora. Nam illa, quae recordaris, Lentulo et Marcello consulibus acta in aede Apollinis, nec causa eadem est nec simile tempus, praesertim cum Marcellum scribas aliosque discedere. Erit igitur nobis coram odorandum et constituendum tutone Romae esse possimus. Novi conventus habitatores sane movent. In magnis enim versa-

1. *in Arpinati*] This is perhaps the best correction of *nati* of the mss. It is strongly defended by Ruete (p. 21).

*non mihi quidem*] 'I must not at all events,' i.e. there will be no compulsion on me to obey them: for death, exile, or anything was, in Cicero's mind, preferable to submission.

*illa quae recordaris*] At the beginning of the Civil War in 49, when preparations for war were made (Caes. B. C. i. 6), though Cicero advocated peace and compromise at that time (cp. note to vol. iii<sup>2</sup>, p. xciii and Fam. vi. 6. 5, Ep. 488). The case is different now: Antony is no Caesar. For the *nominativus pendens*, cp. Madv. on Fin. iii. 11. It is possible, however, that *<nec erant eadem>* has been lost before *nec causa eadem*. F has *acta <sine me>* in aede, and Ant. *acta <me>* in aede, and so has M, but *me* is deleted. Possibly the reading of F is right (cp. 488. 6, *susceptum bellum est quiescente me*): for Cicero could have attended the meeting in the Temple of Apollo, as it was outside the walls: cp. Fam. viii. 4. 4 (206). The senate was held there, so

that Pompey might attend, as he could not enter the city while retaining his imperium.

*nec causa eadem . . . tempus*] 'neither the merits of the case nor the circumstances are the same' (Shuckburgh). He seems to mean that the constitutionalists have not as strong a case or as powerful support as they had five years earlier. Then it would have been unpatriotic for any citizen to have refused to come and take part in the deliberations of the Senate. We think, however, that *causa* rather means 'our side,' 'our cause,' 'our political party,' cp. 738. 1, *causae vero amicissimus*: and note to Att. vii. 3. 5 (294) *causam solam illa causa non habet*.

*discedere*] 'leaving town.' Marcellus (consul in 50) at this time seems to have avoided politics. He was married to Octavia, sister of Octavian.

*Novi conventus habitatores*] The new colonists established by Antony in Campania. He uses the word *conventus*, not *colonia*, as the establishment of the new settlement at Casilinum was illegal according to augural law (Phil. ii. 102). These

mur angustiis. Sed sunt ista parvi: quin etiam maiora contemnimus. Calvae testamentum cognovi, hominis turpis ac sordidi. Tabula Demonici quod tibi curae est, gratum. De † malo scripsi iam pridem ad Dolabellam accuratissime, modo redditae litterae sint. Eius causa et cupio et debeo. 2. Venio ad propiorem. Cognovi de Alexione quae desiderabam. Hirtius est tuus. Antonio quam est volo peius esse. De Q. filio, ut scribis, † A. M. C. De patre coram agemus. Brutum omni re qua possum cupio iuvare, cuius de oratiuncula idem te quod me sentire video. Sed parum intellego quid me velis scribere quasi a Bruto habitam orationem cum ille ediderit. Qui tandem convenit? An sic, ut in tyrannum iure optimo caesum? Multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo et tempore. De sella Caesaris, bene tribuni:

veterans probably had been located at Casilinum, but had not yet been provided with lands, so that they were only dwellers in this new aggregation. As such they would cause Cic. anxiety, as they would have no local tie to keep them from lending aid to Antony. For *conventus* of an irregular gathering, cp. Fam. iv. 1. 1 (387) in *senatum vel potius in conventum senatorum*.

*Tabula*] 'auction': cp. 584. 4. Popma supposes that Demonicus was a debtor of Cicero.

† *malo*] Some proper name is hidden under the word *malo*. Shuckburgh and Dr. Reid suppose it is *Manlio*, referring to the influence which Dolabella seems to have had to further the interests of Manlius Torquatus: 623. 1; 652. 2; 662. 2. This seems very probable.

*et debeo*] It would be quite possible to supply in thought *cupere*; but Boot has clearly shown that *debere causa alicuius* is good Ciceronian Latin; see 616. 2.

2. *de Alexione*] cp. 732 fin.

*tuus*] i.e. for you in the Buthrotian business.

*quam est*] The mss. give *quoniam est*. There are two courses open: (1) understand *male*, from *peius*, 'as he is in a bad way, I hope he will be worse'—a somewhat violent proceeding; or actually to add *male*, comparing 748 init. *L. Antonio male sit*; (2) to alter *quoniam* to *quam*—an easy, but of course suspiciously easy, change. Dr. Reid thinks that the rarity of *quam* preceding the comparative led the copyist to make the alteration, and that in his anxiety to change the unusual feature that he had

recognized he did not notice that he had introduced a still more novel construction. The position of *quam* before the comparative in Deiot. 8 led to the introduction of *tam* even before the time of Priscian: see Mr. Fausset's and Dr. Reid's notes. It is suggested by Dr. Sihler (*Cicero of Arpinum*, p. 410) that the cause of Antony's trouble was the growing popularity of Octavian: or it may have been his growing unpopularity with the conservatives owing to his bringing the veterans to Rome, and plundering the treasury (Ferrero, iii, 55 note); cp. 734. 1 *Antoni consilia turbulenta*.

A. M. C.] The best restoration here seems to be that of Turnebus and Gronovius, ΑΛΙΣ, 'enough,' 'iam satis.'

*quod me*] For this kind of attraction cp. 662. 1; De Sen. 1; Madv. Fin. ii. 88.

*quid me velis*] 'what you mean by wanting me to write in the form of a speech as made by him.' We think with Gronovius and Wes. that we must read *habitam orationem* for *habita oratione*.

*Qui tandem convenit?*] 'what in the world would be the appropriateness of doing such a thing' (lit. 'how in the world would it be suitable?') 'would there not be an awkwardness in such a course?' (i.e. would it not offend Brutus?) 'or should I treat the death of Caesar as the just execution of a tyrant?' (i.e. shall I write a general disquisition on the just execution of a tyrant?) For *tandem* in questions with some note of wondering or impatience, cp. Tusc. iii. 8: Cat. i. 1, 16: Sall. Cat. 20. 9.

*sella Caesaris*] A golden chair in which

praeclaros etiam XIII ordines! Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo, modo et libenter fuerit et sat diu.

## 734. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 4, §§ 1-4).

ARPINUM; MAY 24; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De epistula Q. Fufi ad se data, tum ad duas Attici epistulas respondet, in his de turbulentis Antonii consiliis et de incerta rei publicae condicione, de adventu in Tusculanum suo, de Buthrotiis, de oratione Bruti, de Caesaris morte iam paene dolenda, quid sibi suisque faciendum sit quaerit.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. ix Kalend. H. x fere a Q. Fufio venit tabellarius. Nescio quid ab eo litterularum, uti me sibi restituerem: sane insulse, ut solet: nisi forte quem non ames omnia videntur insulse fieri.

to witness the games had been publicly presented to Caesar. When Octavian wished to produce this at the games, he was prevented by the tribunes, and amid the applause of the Equites, who occupied the first fourteen rows. This event is stated by Appian (iii. 28) to have occurred at games (perhaps the Ludi Ceriales) exhibited by Critonius, who said that he would not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense. They should have been celebrated in April, but may perhaps have been put off to May: cp. Ferrero iii. 56 note. A similar attempt to produce Caesar's golden chair appears to have been made at the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris or Veneris Genetricis in July (Nic. Dam. c. 28): cp. Plut. Ant. 16, and Appian l. c.

*praeclaros . . . ordines*] acc. of exclamation, without interjection.

*apud me*] perhaps at Astura, 714. 1: 720. 4.

1. ix Kalend.] x of M must be corrected. Arpinum was about 85 miles from Rome, so a letter could not have reached Cicero on the day on which it was written. (Ruete.)

H. x.] = *hora decima*. H. is Bücheler's correction of II. of M. For the hour of an event specified cp. 727. 1: for the abbreviation H. for *hora*, cp. 757: Q. Fr. iii. 1. 24 (148).

*Fufio*] Q. Fufius Calenus had taken an active part against Cicero in the Clodian incident, and had afterwards been a follower of Caesar and Antony. It is he who is made to deliver the great invective against Cicero in Dio Cass. (xlv. 1-28). He was the especial opponent of Cicero during the last year of the orator's life.

*Nescio quid*] 'he brought me a kind of a note from Fufius, asking me to make friends with him, and showing his usual want of tact; though indeed I suppose if you have no affection for a man you think everything is stupidly done.' The elliptico-adversative use of *nisi* in the Letters has been frequently noticed.

*quem*] Sjögren (*Xáπρες to Leo*, p. 296) defends *quem* of the mss. He shows that in such general expressions the relative sometimes refers to the whole sentence, being virtually = *si quis*, comparing Plaut. Asin. 323 *em istaec virtus est, quando usust, qui malum fert fortiter*: Terence Hec. 608 *istuc sapere est qui ubique opus sit animum possit flectere*: Cic. Leg. ii. 19 *qui secus faxit, deus ipse vindex erit*: Ennius ap. N. D. iii. 66 *Qui volt esse (qu. vere) quod volt ita dat se res ut operam dabit*, 'where there's a will, there's a way.' Müller adds <ab eo> before *videntur*. We might also alter to *quae* with Bosius, or read *nisi* <si> *forte quem*. Dr. Reid suggests *quom*. But Sjögren's explanation seems preferable.

Scripsi ita ut te probaturum existimo. Mihi duas a te epistulas reddidit, unam xi, alteram x. Ad recentiore[m] prius et plenior[em]. \* \* laudo. Si vero etiam Carfulenus: ἄνω ποταμῶν. Antoni consilia narras turbulenta, atque utinam potius per populum agat quam per senatum! quod quidem ita credo. Sed mihi totum eius consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Quoquo modo ego de illius nervis existimo, non videtur fieri posse sine bello. Sed non cupio, quoniam cavetur Buthrotiis. Rides? † aps condoleo non mea potius adsiduitate,

alteram X.] Wes. (E. A. 137) adds *daram* 'quod Cicero sic nunquam audientium relinquit': but cp. 725. 1, *accepi binas a te litteras, alteras sexto die, alteras quarto*.

*plenior[em]* 'more ample,' 'fuller.' This is the conjecture of Klotz for *lenior[em]*. Dr. Reid suggests *levior[em]*, referring to 719. 1 *magni quidem ponderis, to epistulam paulo graviorem* in Att. i. 13. 1 (19), and to *ponderosa epistula* used jocularly in ii. 11. 1 (39). But this letter, to judge from the reply of Cicero, was the more weighty of the two: and though you might say a letter was *minus gravis* or *ponderosa*, we doubt if you would say *levior*; that would rather mean 'trifling.'

\* \* laudo] Boot suggests *de legione M(artia)* for *et lenior[em]*. Dr. Reid most ingeniously (*Hermathena* xii. 147) proposes <*Egnatuleium*>. He was quaestor of the Fourth Legion, and stirred it up to desert Antony (Phil. iii. 7 and 39). This is rendered very probable by *etiam*. Carfulenus was an officer in the Martian Legion (Fam. x. 33. 4, Ep. 890). Münzer in Pauly-Wissowa (s. v.) supposes that the name *Egnatuleius* dropped out after Δεύκιος in Appian iv. 26, and that he is the Lucius who is there stated to have perished in the proscription. The actual desertion of Antony by those two legions did not take place till November; but it is noticeable that their leaning towards the constitutionalists was surmised as early as May. In ἄνω ποταμῶν the reference is to the well-known chorus in Eur. Med. 409.

*Antoni consilia . . . turbulenta*] About a month before it had been rumoured (719. 4) that Antony proposed to get on June 1 an exchange of provinces, viz. the two Gauls instead of Macedonia; but apparently that change was not to come into operation until next year, when his consulship would be at an end. Now

the rumour was that he was going to have that change effected at once, and Decimus was to be deprived of his province before the year was out.

*quod quidem ita credo*] 'which I believe will be the case' = *ita fore ut dixi*, cp. Fam. ii. 3. 2 (169) *quod ita esse confido*. He did carry his plans by the help of the people, not the senate, by suborning the tribunes and inducing the people to give him the province of Gaul, which had been assigned to D. Brutus.

*nervis*] 'power,' 'resources'; cp. Phil. v. 5 *nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam*; also Pro Lege Manil. 17 *si vectigalia nervos esse reip. semper duximus*.

*Buthrotiis*] He ironically says, 'I don't want war, because as long as this hollow state of peace continues the Buthrotians are secure in the possession of their property, all the acts of Caesar still holding good.' He means that is the only good that our present state of peace brings about. Gronovius thinks that Cicero says he desires war (*non cupio fieri sine bello*), because war would take the attention of the *agripetae* off Buthrotum. Atticus might smile at Cicero's saying that the Buthrotians are the chief reason why the question of peace or war is of any interest to him. He then adds, 'I had rather they had owed their immunity to my services on their behalf in the senate.'

† *aps condoleo*] Lamb. suggested *At ego doleo*. Though far from certain, we know no emendation that is better. For some guesses see Adn. Crit. Dr. Reid thinks it is a corruption of *ab isto tamen doleo*, 'I am sorry that the settlement of the business rests with Antony.' It is possible that we should read *At seo.* (= *senatus consulto*) *doleo, non mea potius, &c.* 'But I am sorry that it is by a decree of the Senate, and not by my personal efforts that the matter is being

diligentia, gratia perfici. 2. Quod scribis te nescire quid nostris faciundum sit, iam pridem me illa ἀπορία sollicitat. Itaque stulta iam Iduum Martiarum est consolatio. Animis enim usi sumus virilibus, consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Excisa enim est arbor, non evulsa; itaque quam fruticetur vides. Redeamus igitur, quoniam saepe usurpas, ad ‘Tusculanas disputationes.’ Saufeium de te celemus: ego numquam indicabo. Quod te a Bruto scribis, ut certior fieret quo die in Tusculano essem futurus, ut ad te ante scripsi, vi Kal., et quidem ibi te quam primum per videre velim. Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum et quidem non sine multo sermone. Sed μελήσει. 3. Redeo ad superiorem: ex qua praetereo illa prima de Buthrotiis; quae

mihi sunt inclusa medullis,

carried through.’ Atticus may have told Cicero that the matter was in a fair way to settlement (cp. *quoniam cavetur Buthrotiis*), as he was in process of obtaining a decree of the Senate on the question. It would appear that this had been a course which Atticus had viewed with favour, though Cicero did not think that it was likely to succeed: cp. 732. 2. Atticus probably obtained assurance about the decree of the Senate after he had written on the 22nd, and before he wrote on the 23rd, as in the former he asks for Cicero’s assistance in the matter (cp. § 3).

2. *nostris*] Brutus and Cassius. It is probably the dative: ‘What is to be done by our heroes?’ cp. § 4; but in both places it might be abl., ‘What is to become of?’: though even in that sense it might be dative: see Reid on Acad. ii. 96.

*Animis . . . puerilibus*] cp. 728. 3.

*Excisa . . . vides*] ‘the tree has only been felled, not plucked up by the roots, and so you see how it is putting forth its shoots’: cp. Prov. Cons. 43. *nonne vobis videor . . . illud tristissimum tempus debere si ex rerum natura non possim evellere, ex animo quidem certe excidere?*

*fruticetur*] This is the only place where the deponent form occurs. This passage is quoted in Nonius 479.

*Redeamus . . . ad*] ‘let us return to the [consolation afforded by the] Tusculan essays [which teach us not to fear death], but we must not let Saufeius know of such an act on your part.’ This very frigid joke must be supposed to be an allusion to the fact that the 1st Tusc. Disp. is mainly Stoic doctrine, and

so opposed to the Epicureans, to which school Saufeius and Atticus belonged.

*de te*] So Popma for *pete* of M. Corradus reads *peto*. Dr. Reid *puto*, comparing Att. ix. 6. 2 (360), *sed, opinor, quiescamus* for this parenthetical use with the subjunctive.

*a Bruto*] sc. *rogatum esse*; but these words need not be expressed, as Lehmann, p. 7, has shown. He quotes, among many other similar ellipses, *in hanc rem ἐπαυα te* (rogare), Att. xii. 5. 1 (471). Add Att. ix. 18. 1 (376) *Summa fuit ut ille, quasi exitum quaerens, ut deliberarem*: Att. xvi. 9 (798) *litterae ab Octaviano: nunc quidem, ut Romam statim veniam*.

*Tusculano*] So Baiter and Dr. Reid (*ib.* 149) think we may alter *Tusculanum* of the mss. as *esse in* with acc. is only found in legal and official language (e.g. Pro Quinct. 22). The usual alteration is to read *venturus* or *iturus* for *futurus*. The former is not improbable: for in cod. Harleianus 2682 of De Senect. 71, we find *futurus* for *venturus*, which seems to show that the words were confused by copyists.

*per videre velim*] = *pervelim videre*. This tmesis of *per* is often found with adjectives: e.g. Att. i. 4. 3 (9) *per mihi gratum est*: Fam. iii. 5. 3 (205) *per fore accommodatum tibi*: and see Index.

*Puto enim*] ‘I think I shall have to go to Lanuvium (to meet Brutus), and even that I cannot do without giving rise to much comment, but *nous verrons*.’ *Sed μελήσει* is a formula for dismissing a subject: cp. Att. xii. 3. 2 (468); 724. 3.

3. *mihi . . . medullis*] ‘is in my heart,

sit modo, ut scribis, locus agendi. De oratione Bruti prorsus contendis, cum iterum tam multis verbis agis. Egone ut eam causam quam is scripsit? Ego scribam non rogatus ab eo? Nulla *παρεγχείρησις* fieri potest contumeliosior. At, inquis, *Ἡρακλείδειον* aliquid. Non recuso id quidem, sed et componendum argumentum est et scribendi expectandum tempus maturius. Licet enim de me, ut libet, existimes (velim quidem quam optime), si haec ita manant ut videntur (feres quod dicam), me Idus Martiae non delectant. Ille enim numquam revertisset, nos timor confirmare eius acta non coëgisset: aut, ut in Saufei eam relinquamque 'Tusculanas disputationes,' ad quas tu etiam Vestorium hortaris, ita gratiosi eramus apud illum (quem di mortuum perdunt!) ut nostrae aetati, quoniam interfecto domino liberi non sumus, non fuerit dominus ille fugiendus. Rubeo, mihi crede. Sed iam scripseram: delere nolui. 4. De Menedemo vellem verum fuisset. De regina velim verum sit. Cetera coram; et maxime quid nostris faciendum sit, quid etiam nobis, si Antonius militibus obsessurus est senatum. Hanc epistulam si illius tabellario dedissem, veritus sum ne solveret. Itaque misi dedita. Erat enim rescribendum tuis.

ay, in my heart of hearts.' We agree with Moser that these words are probably taken from some poet: in Fam. xv. 16 (531) we have *qui mihi haeres in medullis*: cp. Ov. Trist. i. 5. 9 *haec mihi semper erunt imis infixae medullis*.

*De oratione . . . contendis*] 'As regards the oration of Brutus, you are positively insistent.' Atticus wanted Cicero to write a speech purporting to be one delivered by Brutus: cp. 733. 3.

*Nulla παρεγχείρησις*] 'there could not be a more flagrant case of poaching'; 'I could not put my finger in the pie in a more insulting manner.'

*Ἡρακλείδειον*] Something in the style of Heracleides of Pontus, a pupil of Plato, who wrote on political subjects: cp. 764. 2; 772. 6; Att. xv. 13. 3 (794); xvi. 11. 3 (799).

*manant*] 'go on' from bad to worse: cp. *manabat enim illud malum urbanum* 723. 1, and note there.

*Ille enim numquam*] 'Caesar would never have come back to life' (in the person of Antony). So Boot. But would not this idea have been expressed by some such words as *nunquam in Antonio revix-*

*isset*? More probably it means 'Caesar would never have returned from the East,' whither he was about to set out. Atticus knew of his projected Eastern expedition, and would have understood *revertisset* in this sense, hardly in the sense ascribed to it by Boot.

*aut*] 'or,' to take the Epicurean standpoint of personal considerations.

*in Saufei eam*] Some word like *sectam* must be understood. Bosius conjectured *ἀλρεσιν*. He says he is 'joining the school of Saufei the Epicurean, and abandoning the (high ground of the) Tusc. Disp.,' when he comes to the consideration of the private and personal advantages which he might have enjoyed under the rule of Caesar.

*Vestorium*] Att. was urging a man so little given to philosophical subjects as Vestorius (715. 3) to read the Tusculan Disputations.

4 *Menedemo*] 732. 2.

*regina*] 727. 2; 730. 5.

*coram*] sc. *disseremus*, or some such word—a common ellipse.

*nostris*] cp. § 2.

*dedita*] 'express,' sc. *opera*, which

## 735. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 4b).

ARPINUM; MAY 24; A. U. C. 716; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris ad Brutum dandis, de Tirone ad Dolabellam misso, de L. Caesare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

5. Quam vellem Bruto studium tuum navare potuisses! Ego igitur ad eum litteras. Ad Dolabellam Tironem misi cum mandatis et litteris. Eum ad te vocabis et, si quid habebis quod placeat, scribes. Ecce autem de transverso L. Caesar ut veniam ad se rogat in Nemus aut scribam quo se venire velim: Bruto enim placere se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam et inexplicabilem!

most editors supply in the text, and which perhaps we ought to add with the Thesaurus, especially as *opera* might easily have fallen out before *erat*. But it seems within the limits of ellipse that part of a well-known phrase should be omitted in a familiar letter, just as we might write 'the Long' for 'the Long Vacation': or 'the open' for 'the open field' in such a phrase as 'he refused to come into the open.' Similarly in 738. 4 we have *obsignata* for *obsignata epistula*, where most editors insert *epistula*, wrongly, as it seems to us. Kalb (*Archiv* i. 83) quotes a gloss *dedicta ἐπίτηδες*, CGL ii. 39. 51: cp 311. 58. But in no other place in Cicero do we find *opera* omitted.

5. *studium tuum*] 'How I wish you could have shown Brutus your great interest in his cause.' This seems to refer to an effort made by Brutus and Cassius to raise a loan from Atticus, on which mission they sent one Caius Flavius to Rome: cp. Nepos Att. 8, §§ 3-4, an important passage to show the attitude of Atticus. He would lend money to Brutus as an individual, but he would not take political sides with him. We print it in full as an appendix to this letter. It seems to us that Brutus and Cassius were at this time really thinking of taking some decided steps in the direction of civil war: cp. 727. 3 (early in May) *ducem enim novi civilis belli aut nemo sequetur aut ii sequentur qui facile*

*vincantur*: 738. 2 *ne quod calidius ineant consilium*: 743. 1 *ut moliantur aliquid? nec audent nec iam possunt*: 763. 2 *nonnullos interdum iacit igniculos virilis*. This request to Atticus for a loan, the anxious way Cicero avoids giving advice (737. 1: cp. 743), though he evidently did not think that Brutus was the man for such an enterprise (cp. 768. 1 *quanta ἀνυχαλία*), and the urgent advice of Hirtius that they should do nothing hot-headed (*calidius* 738. 2) all point in this direction. The movement collapsed on the present occasion, we think, owing to the refusal of Atticus to finance it. Money obtained from Appuleius and Antistius, quaestors of Asia and Syria, next year enabled Brutus to raise forces on a considerable scale: cp. note to Brut. i. 11 (850).

*de transverso*] 'all of a sudden,' a rather rare phrase for what happens suddenly and unexpectedly. Cp. Cornif. ad Herenn. iv. 14. In Seneca Vit. beat. 15. 6, we have *ex transverso*: also Petron. 55: and Cicero Acad. ii. 121, *Ecce tibi e transverso*.

*L. Caesar*] He was uncle of Antony, who was son of his sister Julia. L. Caesar had been consul in 64.

*Nemus*] *his praedium Nemorense*, near the sacred grove of Diana in the vicinity of Aricia; see on Att. vi. 1. 25 (252).

*O rem odiosam*] 'what a bore, and what a puzzle for me!' It annoyed him, was a bore, to have to choose his words as he would be obliged to do in an interview

Puto me ergo iturum, et inde Romam, nisi quid mutaro. Summatim adhuc ad te: nihildum enim a Balbo. Tuas igitur exspecto, nec actorum solum sed etiam futurorum.

### 736. TREBONIUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 16).

ATHENS; MAY 25; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Trebonius M. Ciceroni gratulatur de filio, quem optimis studiis deditum Athenis viderat. Mittit versus in M. Antonium a se conscriptos, quibus argumentum ab ipso Cicerone sumptum persecutus erat. Petit ut Cicero de se mentionem faciat in commentariis de Caesaris interitu.

#### TREBONIUS CICERONI SAL.

1. S. v. b. Athenas veni a. d. XI Kal. Iun. atque ibi, quod maxime optabam, vidi filium tuum, deditum optimis studiis sum-

with Antony's uncle, and it was a puzzle to him how he could ever go through the talk with L. Caesar without prejudicing himself somehow.

*Summatim*] sc. *litteras misi*, 'I am writing so far with no detail, for I have nothing as yet from Balbus.' The unexpected visit of L. Caesar northwards is referred to. Cicero knew nothing more about its cause than he had written: for he had heard nothing from Balbus. He and L. Caesar had been in the neighbourhood of Naples (722. 3; 724. 2), and Cicero seems to have expected some notification from Balbus why a man in such bad health would take a long journey. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xii. 149) suggests *summa tamen adhuc apud te*, 'even now I depend entirely on you,' on the ground that Cicero does not appear (as the letters hereabouts show) to have been prevented from writing fully to Att. by the absence of a letter from Balbus. But the matter in question is the definite one about L. Caesar.

*nihildum*] sc. *cognoram*; he had as yet heard nothing from Balbus of the designs of Antony.

*Tuas*] sc. *litteras*; 'I expect your letters (giving an account), not only of the past, but of the future.'

*actorum*] *Litterae actorum*, for 'a letter about the past,' is a somewhat rare expression, but defensible as a genitive of material.

#### APPENDIX. (Nepos, Atticus 8.)

Occiso Caesare cum res publica penes Brutos videretur esse et Cassium ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisset, sic M. Bruto usus est, ut nullo ille adulescens aequali familiaris quam hoc sene, neque solum eum principem consili haberet, sed etiam in convictu. Excogitatum est a quibusdam, ut privatum aerarium Caesaris interfectores ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur. Id facile effici posse arbitrati sunt, si principes eius ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est a C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus ut eius rei princeps esse vellet. At ille, qui officia amicis praestanda sine factione existimaret semperque a talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit: si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset, usurum, quantum eae paterentur, se neque cum quoquam de ea re collocuturum neque coiturum. Sic ille consensionis globus huius unius dissensione disiectus est. Neque multo post superior esse coepit Antonius, ita ut Brutus et Cassius omissa cura provinciarum, quae iis diebus causa datae erant a consule, desperatis rebus in exilium proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum ceteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abiecto Bruto Italiaque cedenti sestertium centum milia muneris misit. Eidem in Epiro absens trecenta iussit dari, neque eo magis potenti adlatus est Antonio neque desperatos reliquit.

1. *deditum . . . fama*] 'diligent in



maque modestiae fama: qua ex re quantam voluptatem ceperim scire potes etiam me tacente; non enim nescis quanti te faciam et quam pro nostro veterrimo verissimoque amore omnibus tuis etiam minimis commodis, non modo tanto bono gaudeam. Noli putare, mi Cicero, me hoc auribus tuis dare: nihil adulescente tuo atque adeo nostro—nihil enim mihi a te potest esse seiunctum—aut amabilius omnibus iis qui Athenis sunt est aut studiosius earum artium quas tu maxime amas, hoc est optimarum. Itaque tibi, quod vere facere possum, libenter quoque gratulor nec minus etiam nobis, quod eum, quem necesse erat diligere qualiscumque esset, talem habemus ut libenter quoque diligamus. 2. Qui cum mihi in sermone iniecisset se velle Asiam visere, non modo invitatus sed etiam rogatus est a me ut id potissimum nobis obtinentibus provinciam faceret; cui nos et caritate et amore tuum officium prae-statueros non debes dubitare. Illud quoque erit nobis curae ut Cratippus una cum eo sit, ne putes in Asia feriatum illum ab iis studiis in quae tua cohortatione incitatur futurum; nam illum paratum, ut video, et ingressum pleno gradu cohortari non intermitteremus, quo in dies longius discendo exercendoque se procedat. 3. Vos quid ageretis in re publica, cum has litteras dabam, non sciebam: audiebam quaedam turbulenta, quae scilicet cupio esse

his literary studies, and bearing an excellent character.'

*et quam . . . gaudeam*] 'and how truly, in virtue of our very old-standing and sincere affection, I rejoice when even trifling advantages fall to your lot, not to mention so great a blessing as this,' i.e. having such an excellent son. Yet young Marcus was not such a credit to his father after all (cp. Senec. Rhet. Suasor. 7. 13; Plin. H. N. xiv. 147), though he did fair service in the army of Brutus (Phil. x. 13).

*hoc auribus tuis dare*] a variation of the expression *dare verba*, 'to pay with words,' 'to deceive.' Cicero, loving father that he was, confesses that he is easily deceived as regards his son: cp. 746, *vel verba mihi dari facile patior in hoc meque libenter praebeo credulum*.

*atque adeo*] 'or rather'; cp. note to Att. i. 17. 9 (23).

*libenter*] 'quite spontaneously.'

*2. caritate . . . praestatueros*] 'that I, with all the love and affection of a father, will fill your place.' For the

accusative and infinitive after *dubitare*, in the sense of 'to be in doubt,' cp. note to 786. 2, and Fam. x. 31. 5 (824).

*Cratippus*] Cicero had a high opinion of this eminent Peripatetic philosopher. He not only urged the Areopagites to request Cratippus to open a school at Athens, but obtained for him from Caesar a grant of Roman citizenship. Cicero thought that he was not merely the most distinguished Peripatetic of the day (Off. i. 2; iii. 5), but that he was worthy of being ranked with the greatest names of that school in any age (Off. ii. 8). For his pleasant relations with young Cicero, cp. the latter's epistle to Tiro, Ep. 786.

*et ingressum pleno gradu*] 'and marching quick step.'

*discendo exercendoque se*] 'in his studies and his exercises,' i.e. that he may develop himself fully both in mind and body; the exercises referred to were most probably bodily exercises: cp. Att. vi. 1. 12 (252), *Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur*.

falsa, ut aliquando otiosa libertate fruamur ; quod vel miuime mihi adhuc contigit. Ego tamen nactus in navigatione nostra pusillum laxamenti concinnavi tibi munusculum ex instituto meo, et dictum cum magno nostro honore a te dictum conclusi et tibi infra subscripsi : in quibus versiculis si tibi quibusdam verbis εὐθυρρημονέστερος videbor, turpitude personae eius in quam liberius invehimur nos vindicabit. Ignosces etiam iracundiae nostrae, quae iusta est in eius modi et homines et civis. Deinde, qui magis hoc Lucilio licuerit adsumere libertatis quam nobis ? cum, etiamsi odio pari fuerit in eos quos laesit, tamen certe non magis dignos habuerit in quos tanta libertate verborum incurreret. 4. Tu, sicut mihi pollicitus es, adiunges me quam primum ad tuos sermones ; namque illud non dubito quin, si quid de interitu Caesaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem et rei et amoris tui ferre. Vale et matrem meosque tibi commendatos habe. D. VIII K. Iun. Athenis.

3. *otiosa libertate*] 'leisure and freedom.'

*Ego tamen . . . subscripsi*] 'However, as I obtained a bit of leisure during the sea-voyage, I concocted a little present for you, as I had determined ; and inserted a witticism, which you made, paying a high compliment to me ; and I added a foot-note, acknowledging it as yours.' For *dicere dicta*, cp. De Orat. ii. 222 ; Plane. 85. On that passage Dr. Holden compares Cicero in a letter to Cornelius Nepos ap. Macrob. ii. 1. 14, *itaque nostri cum omnia quae dixissemus dicta essent, quae facete et breviter et acute locuti essemus, ea proprio nomine appellari dicta voluerunt*. For *pusillum* = 'a little bit' cp. 559. 3 ; also in the joke De Orat. ii. 245 *perpusillum*, 'a very tiny bit,' to which Dr. Reid has referred us : cp., too, Cato, R. R. i. 90 ; Quintil. viii. 6. 28.

εὐθυρρημονέστερος] 'rather too out-spoken' : cp. 633. 5, ὁ σοφὸς εὐθυρρημονήσει.

*personae eius*] 'of that character,' 'personage,' i.e. Antony, not as mere Antony, but in his public capacity as magistrate, the debauchee consul.

*Lucilio*] cp. Juv. i. 165, *Ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est Crimini-bus*, and Mayor's note.

*odio pari*] For similar ablatives of quality cp. note to 694. 3.

4. *adiunges . . . sermones*] 'you will insert my name as soon as possible in your dialogues.'

*minimam partem*] On the Ides of March Trebonius drew Antony aside out of the senate house, so that he might not be present while Caesar was being slain.

## 737. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 5).

RUSCULUM; MAY 27 OR 28; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris Bruti et Cassii sibi redditis, de provincia Bruti et Cassii quid sentiant Balbus et Hirtius, de consilio suo ut absit ab urbe.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A Bruto tabellarius rediit: attulit et ab eo et Cassio. Consilium meum magno opere exquirunt, Brutus quidem, utrum de duobus. O rem miseram! Plane non habeo quid scribam. Itaque silentio puto me usurum, nisi quid aliud tibi videtur. Sin tibi quid venit in mentem, scribe, quaeso. Cassius vero vehementer orat ac petit ut Hirtium quam optimum faciam. Sanum putas?  $\dagger\delta\tau\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ . Epistulam tibi misi. 2. Ut tu de provincia Bruti et Cassi per senatus consultum, ita scribit et

1. attulit] sc. epistulas. This word is often omitted (see Lehmann, p. 10, and Müller's crit. note on p. 171. 30 of his edition of Att., and 559. 16 of Q. Fr.), e.g. Ep. 735 fin. *Tuas*; 659 init. *ad matrem, plenam pietatis* (sc. epistulam misit). But in all the passages quoted, except the doubtful *Saufei* (sc. litteras; cp. *Leonidae litterae* just before) *legisse vellem* 726 fin., there is some adjective or pronoun added. But the mention of *tabellarius* here justifies the ellipse; though *litteras* (*lit'*) might have fallen but after *attulit*.

et Cassio] It is not necessary to add a: cp. Att. i. 1. 2 (10), *et ab amicis et existimatione*, quoted by Dr. Reid.

utrum de duobus] 'which of the two things they ought to do,' whether they ought to come to Rome, to be present in the senate on the 1st of June, or remain in Lanuvium, and avoid the dangers which threatened them. Or it might be the question whether they should stay in Italy and take some vigorous measures (743. 1) or go into exile (725. 1; 726. 4). If it was the latter alternative, we do not wonder at Cicero's reluctance to give advice.

orat ac petit] This seems an ant Climax. However, it may pass in a letter, and it would be rash to correct *orat* to *errat* with Lambinus.

Sanum putas] 'do you think Cassius is in his senses' (to make such a proposal)?

$\dagger\delta\tau\epsilon\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ ] We think it

better to give the corrupt words obelised than to introduce any of the conjectures (for which see Adn. Crit.) into the text. By far the best of these is that of Victorius (made also independently by Mr. Shuckburgh)  $\delta\ \theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\pi\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ , 'our treasure turns out to be but dust'—a proverb for disappointed hopes: cp. Gaisford's *Paroemiographi Graeci*, p. 254. Lucian often uses it Zeuxis 2: Hermotimus 71: Navigium 26; cp. Timon 41. Hirtius is no treasure; as we would say, he is a broken reed, for he is a Caesarian at heart: cp. 738. 1. Bosius suggests  $\delta\ \gamma\upsilon\alpha\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , 'the fuller turned charcoal-maker,' i.e. I am unfitted for the task of converting Hirtius. (The allusion is to the fable of Aesop (59 ed. Halm) of the Charcoal-maker and the Fuller, teaching that people of opposite views cannot live together.) But Cic. expresses no such diffidence elsewhere (727. 4; 728. 4; 730. 3), but generally distrust of Hirtius. The letter of Hirtius shows that any hopes he had of him were vain. The moral of the fable, teaching that people of incompatible occupations and views should not live together, does not easily lead to the Greek, which would mean 'the Fuller is become the Charcoal-maker,' and does not readily give the supposed sense of unfitness.

Epistulam tibi misi] He seems to have forgotten to enclose the letter, until writing the next day: cp. Ep. 738.

2. de provincia] sc. actum iri scribis,

Balbus et Hirtius, *qui* quidem se afuturum (etenim iam in Tusculano est) mihiq[ue] ut absim vehementer auctor est, ille quidem periculi causa, quod sibi etiam fuisse dicit, ego autem, etiam ut nullum periculum sit, tantum abest ut Antoni suspicionem fugere nunc curem ne videar eius secundis rebus non delectari, ut mihi causa ea sit cur Romam venire nolim ne illum videam. 3. Varro autem noster ad me epistulam misit sibi a nescio quo missam—nomen enim delerat—in qua scriptum erat veteranos eos qui reiciantur—nam partem esse dimissam—improbissime loqui, ut magno periculo Romae sint futuri qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Quis porro noster itus reditus, vultus incessus inter istos? Quod si, ut scribis, L. Antonius in D. Brutum, reliqui

‘that proposals will be made about the province.’

*qui quidem*] The addition of *qui* is a good conjecture of Bosius, supported by his notorious ‘Crusellinus.’ A line further on he also conjectures *actutum*, which is hardly a Ciceronian word. Understand *scribit* with *qui*, and cp. 738. 2 for the statement of Hirtius. Müller suggests, with much ingenuity, that we should read *et Balbus et <Oppius>, Hirtius quidem, &c.* But after the death of Caesar we do not hear of Oppius being in any close connexion with Balbus.

*afuturum*] With Boot, Baiter, and Ruete, we accept the conjecture of Orelli for *acturum* of the mss. The letter of Hirtius (738. 2) shows that he intended to absent himself from the meeting of the senate, and advised Cicero to do the same. We must understand *ait* by zeugma out of *auctor est*.

*periculi causa*] On account of the danger which Cicero would have to encounter in coming to Rome.

*fugere curem*] ‘so far am I from concerning myself to avoid exciting the suspicion of Antony by appearing to lack sympathy with his successes, that my unwillingness to meet him is my reason for not wishing to go to Rome.’ The form of the sentence is confused by the *tantum abest ut*. He would more naturally have written, ‘I do not concern myself about Antony’s suspicions, &c.; nay, more, I am determined not to meet him, and that is why I will not go to Rome.’ The same phrase has complicated the construction. *Curo fugere* is hardly Ciceronian; but *non curo fugere* would be

a normal construction: cp. Att. vii. 15. 2 (311). In this case *tantum abest ut curem* is treated *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, as if it were *non curo*.

3. *qui reiciantur*] ‘whose claims (i.e. to public land) have been put off—for he states that a certain portion of them have been disbanded—are using most seditious language.’ For the dangers to the constitutionalists from such veterans cp. 740. 2.

*Quis porro*] ‘in the midst of these malcontents what will be my goings to and fro, my look, my gait?’ The words *itus . . . incessus* have the appearance of a quotation from a play; though it is, we allow, far from certain, as it is hard to see what is the metre. Dr. Reid notes that *Itus* is formed by Cicero from the usage *isti redisti* (Phil. ii. 78), and it is generally found with *reditus* Suet. Tib. 38: Amm. xxiii. 2. 4; yet see Lucr. iii. 389; cp. Cicero’s formations *obviam itio* (431. 1; 667. 4) and *domum itio* (De Div. i. 68), though *itio* does not occur elsewhere in Cicero: but *itiones* is found in Terence Phorm. 1012. For the asyndeton of pairs of words somewhat similar cp. Off. i. 128 *status incessus, sessio accubitio, voltus oculi, manuum motus teneant illud decorum*.

*Quod si*] ‘But if, as you tell me, L. Antonius is proceeding against D. Brutus, and the rest against Brutus and Cassius.’ These refer either to attacks in the Senate, or perhaps to legal proceedings. They can hardly refer to military actions; cp. Ferrero iii. 59 note, who justly asks, ‘Why was Lucius Antonius to march against Decimus Brutus when everybody was

in nostros, ego quid faciam? aut quo me pacto geram? Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Nec tam statui ex Italia exire, de quo tecum deliberabo, quam istuc non venire.

## 738. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 6).

TUSCULUM; MAY 28 OR 29; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De epistula sua auctoribus Bruto et Cassio ad Hirtium data et de epistula ab illo rescripta, quam in epistulam suam includit, de reditu Serviliae.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum ad me Brutus noster scripsisset et Cassius, ut Hirtium, qui adhuc bonus fuisset (sciebam neque eum confidebam fore mea auctoritate meliorem; Antonio est enim fortasse iratior, causae vero amicissimus), tamen ad eum scripsi eique dignitatem Bruti et Cassi commendavi. Ille quid mihi rescripsisset scire te volui, si forte idem tu quod ego existimares, istos etiam nunc vereri ne forte ipsi nostri plus animi habeant quam habent.

## "HIRTIIUS CICERONI SUO SAL.

2. Rurene iam redierim quaeris. An ego, cum omnes caleant, ignaviter aliquid faciam? Etiam ex urbe sum profectus. Utilius

saying that Marcus wished to secure the province of Gaul? And how could there be any question of making war upon Brutus and Cassius, who possessed no army?"

*in qua . . . dignitate*] 'wherein the largest measure of dignity accompanied my renown, and even my servitude did not lose it wholly.'

*istuc*] to Rome.

*Cum . . . commendavi*] We have adopted the punctuation of Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xii. 151), which does not require any addition. It leaves *Hirtium* without being governed by any verb; but such an anacoluthon is natural after a long parenthesis. The objections to the reading adopted previously (see Adn. Crit.) are (1) the additions of *fuisse* and *facere*, (2) the three parentheses, (3) *eum* = *talem*, (4) the

removal of the clause *Antonio est enim* from the clause *neque enim confidebam fore . . . meliorem*, for which it assigns the reason. For Hirtius's opinions cp. 727. 4; 728. 4; 730. 3.

*tamen*] i.e. although he is still at heart a devoted Caesarian.

*istos . . . habent*] 'that the Caesarians begin to fear that our two friends (Brutus and Cassius) have more spirit than they actually have': cp. 743. 1 *ut moliantur aliquid*? *Nec audent nec iam possunt*.

2. *Rurene*] 'you ask have I already returned from the country [he had been in Naples]. Could I play the laggard when all are so active? [Of course I have come back to Rome] and what is more [so active am I that] I have left the city again. I thought it more expedient to be away. I am writing this just on my departure for

enim statui abesse. Has tibi litteras exiens in Tusculanum scripsi. Noli autem me tam strenuum putare ut ad Nonas recurram. Nihil enim iam video opus esse nostra cura, quoniam praesidia sunt in tot annos provisa. Brutus et Cassius utinam, quam facile a te de me impetrare possunt, ita per te exorentur ne quod calidius ineant consilium! 'Cedentis' enim haec ais scripsisse: quo? aut qua re? 3. Retine, obsecro te, Cicero, illos, et noli sinere haec omnia perire, quae funditus medius fidius rapinis, incendiis, caedibus pervertuntur. Tantum, si quid timent, caveant: nihil praeterea moliantur. Non *medius* fidius acerrimis consiliis plus quam etiam inertissimis, dum modo diligentibus, consequentur. Haec enim quae fluunt per se diuturna non sunt, in contentione praesentis ad nocendum habent viris. Quid speres de illis in Tusculanum ad me scribe."

4. Habes Hirti epistolam, cui rescripsi nil illos calidius cogitare, idque confirmavi. Hoc quaecumque esset te scire volui. Obsignata iam Balbus ad me Serviliam redisse, confirmare non discessuros. Nunc exspecto a te litteras.

Tusculum. Do not fancy that I shall be so active as to return for the Nones.' All this about his activity is somewhat laboured irony. Dr. Reid (*ib.* 152) would punctuate *Etiam: ex urbe profectus sum* 'Yes, I am a malingerer. I have left the city.' But he had been in the country, and showed energy by coming back. Continuing the irony he says, 'I have gone away, too,' thus showing more energy. We think of the story in Lucian (*Quomodo hist.* 3) of Diogenes rolling his tub up and down the Ceramicus when everyone else was busy with warlike preparations. It was expected that there would be meetings of the Senate on both the Kalends and the Nones, at which a consul elect, as Hirtius was, ought to be present. It was at the meeting on the Nones that Brutus and Cassius were commissioned to buy corn in Asia and Sicily.

*praesidia*] see 708. 4, where Cicero writes that Caesar had arranged the consuls and tribunes of the people for two years. But the words *in tot annos* would seem to have a more general application, and to refer to all the measures, military and otherwise, by which Caesar had sought to ensure the stability of the State.

*Brutus et Cassius*] 'Would that they could be persuaded by you, as easily as they can get from you in my case a similar assurance, to refrain from any precipitate step. You say they wrote to you what was in their letter *on their departure*. Where were they going, and why?' Hirtius feared that Brutus and Cassius had possibly left Italy with a view to raise forces in the East, and return in arms.

*calidius*] cp. Off. i. 82 *quibus periculosa et calida consilia quietis et cogitatis splendiora et maiora videantur*.

3. *haec omnia*] 'the whole empire': cp. note to 552. 1 and Nägelsbach, pp. 154, 155 (ed. 7).

*Non medius fidius*] 'I pledge my honour they will gain no more by the most dashing proceedings than by masterly inactivity accompanied with vigilance. The present flood cannot last long if let alone (*per se*): if a struggle occurs, they (the Antonians) have forces at hand to do much harm': *haec quae fluunt* seems to mean Antony's flood of prosperity: cp. Off. i. 90 *rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem fluentibus*.

4. *Obsignata*] sc. *epistula*: cp. note to 734. 4.

## 739. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 7).

TUSCULUM; MAY 28 OR 29; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris Attici et Sexti, de Servio pacificatore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Gratum, quod mihi epistulas, quae quidem me delectarunt, in primis Sexti nostri. Dices 'quia te laudat.' Puto mehercule id quoque esse causae, sed tamen etiam ante quam ad eum locum veni, valde mihi placebat cum sensus eius de re publica cum† tum scribendi. Servius vero pacificator cum librariolo suo videntur obisse legationem et omnis captiunculas pertimescere. Debuerat

*Serviliam*] the mother of Brutus, who had just seen her son at Lanuvium.

*confirmare*] 'that she avers that Brutus and Cassius will not leave Italy.'

*epistulas*] sc. *misisti*.

*Sexti*] i.e. Sextus Peducaeus: cp. Att. xv. 13. 3 (794).

*sensus eius de re publica*] 'his political principles.'

*scribendi*] We agree with Boot that the word which lies hidden under *tum* is more likely to have been *τόπος*, or some other Greek word, than *cura* or *causa*. Dr. Reid suggests *consilium*, comparing Att. viii. 14. 1 (349) *scribendi sententiam*: and thinks that possibly a similar corruption of *consilium* is to be found in the *tum* in Q. Fr. i. 1. 22 (30). Fr. Schmidt and Müller read *genus*.

*Servius*] Serv. Sulpicius, the juriconsult, took on himself the task of bringing about a state of general amity by his personal exertions as a peace-maker. Cicero, ridiculing his abortive mission, writes that 'he has gone on a peace-making embassy with his clerk' (cp. Att. iv. 1. 1 (107); Balb. 14: or 'his little case' of law-books, diminutive of *librarium*, cp. De Leg. i. 7: but then we shall have to read *videtur*), and is on his guard (as a juriconsult) against all quips and quiddities of the law that may be used against him.' We do not know to what negotiations of Servius Cicero is referring. Servius carried legal pedantry into political negotiations: cp. Att. x. 15. 2 (401),

*Servi consilio nihil expeditur: omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrunt*. Possibly Servius was going to urge that his motion (cp. Phil. i. 3) about the *acta Caesaris* should be maintained. The plural *videntur* is a hint that his secretary has as much chance as himself of effecting the desired object. In the case of a substantive connected with another by *cum* the plural may be used when the things predicated apply equally to both; cp. Ter. Heaut. 473; Cic. Phil. xii. 27; Fam. xiv. 7. 2 (402); Liv. xxi. 60. 7; Sall. Cat. 43. 1; Jug. 38. 6; 101. 5; Nepos Phoc. 2. 2. It is very rare in classical Greek, but cp. Thucyd. iii. 109. 2; Xen. Hell. i. 1. 10. Cicero then adds, 'His proper course was not the legal hand-grip, but the next alternative,' i.e. an appeal to the sword. (Possibly some word like *cogitare* is to be understood with *debuerat*: or, perhaps, *vocare*, this being the technical word (Murena 26) in the phrase *te ex iure manum consortum voco*.) This sentiment he expresses by means of the quotation from Ennius, fully explained on Fam. vii. 13. 2 (171), where see note. The words *quae sequuntur* are *sed magi ferro Rem repetunt*. We might paraphrase—

'He should have bethought him that this is a time when

*Man calls not man to sift the plea of Right,  
But seeks the brute arbitrament of Might.*

It is the second verse that he should have remembered.'

autem non 'ex iure manum consertum,' sed quae sequuntur: tuque scribes.

740. M. BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRAETORS, TO  
M. ANTONIUS (FAM. XI. 2).

LANUVIUM; MAY (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Brutus et Cassius praetores quaerunt a M. Antonio putetne ipsos in urbe tutos fore militum veteranorum frequentia.

BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETORES M. ANTONIO COS.

1. De tua fide et benevolentia in nos nisi persuasum esset nobis, *non* scripsissemus haec tibi: quae profecto, quoniam istum animum habes, in optimam partem accipies: scribitur nobis magnam veteranorum multitudinem Romam convenisse iam et ad Kalendas Iunias futuram multo maiorem: de te si dubitemus aut vereamur, simus nostri dissimiles; sed certe, cum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus tuoque adducti consilio dimiserimus ex municipiis nostros necessarios, neque solum edicto sed etiam litteris id fecerimus, digni sumus quos habeas tui consili participes, in ea praesertim re quae ad nos pertinet. 2. Qua re petimus a te,

*tuque scribes*] 'and you will write on the matter,' i.e. the imminence of recourse to violence. Kayser wishes to read *tuque* <ei> *scribes*.

A copy of this letter was probably sent to Cicero; hence its appearance in the correspondence: cp. note to Ep. 700.

1. *non scripsissemus*] So HD, and Mr. Allen's codices. M has *conscriptissemus*. The negative is imperatively required; *con* has taken its place.

*convenisse*] About April 25, Antony had started on a journey into Italy, in order to summon veterans to Rome for June 1. Many returned with him, and many were to follow. The excesses of Antony during that journey, his return to Rome, and the general alarm caused thereby are vigorously depicted by Cicero in Phil. ii. 100-108. During the latter part of May Antony appears to have been in Rome: cp. 734. 1, 4.

*simus nostri dissimiles*] 'we should be untrue to ourselves.'

*cum ipsi . . . fuerimus*] 'when we put ourselves entirely at your disposal': cp. Att. i. 11. 1 (7); Fam. x. 31. 4 (824). It is, as Bardt says, the technical expression for an inferior magistrate's position with regard to his superior: cp. Phil. vi. 4.

*ex municipiis nostros necessarios*] 'our friends from the provincial towns': cp. Phil. x. 7, *qui* (sc. Brutus) *cum praetor urbis esset urbe caruit . . . cumque concursu cotidiano bonorum omnium qui admirabilis ad eum fieri solebat praesidioque Italiae cunctae saeptus posset esse, absens iudicio bonorum defensurus esse maluit quam praesens manu*.

*edicto*] cp. 727. 4, *edictum Bruti et Cassi probo*.

*digni sumus . . . participes*] 'We deserve that you should put us in possession of your intentions.'



facias nos certiores tuae voluntatis in nos; putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara cogitare audimus; quod velle et probare vix quisquam posse videtur qui nos salvos et honestos velit. Nos ab initio spectasse otium nec quicquam aliud libertate communi quaesisse exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos potest nisi tu, quod certe abest ab tua virtute et fide; sed alius nemo facultatem habet decipiendi nos; tibi enim uni credidimus et credituri sumus. 3. Maximo timore de nobis adficiuntur amici nostri; quibus etsi tua fides explorata est, tamen illud in mentem venit, multitudinem veteranorum facilius impelli ab aliis quolibet quam a te retineri posse. Rescribas nobis ad omnia rogamus: nam illud valde leve est ac nugatorium, ea re denuntiaturum esse veteranis quod de commodis eorum mense Iunio laturus esses. Quem enim impedimento futurum putas cum de nobis certum sit nos quieturos? Non debemus cuiquam videri nimium cupidi vitae cum accidere nobis nihil possit sine perniciē et confusione omnium rerum.

2. *ara*] cp. 720. 2, where, as in Phil. i. 5, Cicero calls it *columna*. Appian (iii. 2) calls it *βαμὸν*.

*spectasse otium*] cp. 704. 3, *inimicissimum oti, id est Bruti*. Compare this with the assertion of Cicero, that Antony and his party 'fear peace,' *timere otium*, 728. 2; 729. 1.

*aliud libertate communi*] 'other than the liberty of the community.' For this construction of *alius* with the ablative cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 208, *qui species alias veris scelerisque tumultu Permixtas capiet*; also Hor. Epist. i. 16. 20; ii. 1. 240. We cannot find any example of the construction used in classical prose composition except in this letter, Varro R. R. iii. 16. 23, and Seneca Epist. 74. 22, *aliud honesto bonum*.

*exitus*] 'what has happened.'

*credituri sumus*] Schirmer (*Ueber die Sprache des M. Brutus*, p. 19) notices that in the Correspondence with Brutus this periphrastic future occurs only five times in the letters from Cicero, but ten times

in the letters from Brutus, so that it may be considered as a feature of his style. The periphrastic future is, however, common in Cicero's writings.

3. *etsi tua fides . . . explorata est*] 'although we have every reason to trust your honour.'

*ab aliis quolibet*] so M<sup>1</sup>; M<sup>2</sup>, making a bad conjecture, alters to *ab alio quolibet*. For *quolibet impelli* cp. 782. 3, *sed pulcre intelligis non posse nos quoquam impelli*.

*nam illud . . . esse*] 'For that is a worthless and frivolous plea, that the summons has been made to the veterans on this ground, that you are going to bring forward a motion touching their interests in the month of June.'

*de commodis*] This is a reference to the proposed land-law of Lucius Antonius, which was to assign land to the veterans: cp. Phil. i. 6. It was probably passed in the second half of June.

*sine . . . rerum*] 'without general ruin and disorder.'

## 741. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 8).

TUSCULUM; MAY 31; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De epistulis Balbi et Hirtii sibi redditis, de Tirone misso cum pluribus et cum litteris ad Antonium, ut sibi legatio concedatur, de salute Attici, de C. Cassii suspitione vim armatam fore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Post tuum discessum binas a Balbo, nihil novi, itemque ab Hirtio, qui se scribit vehementer offensum esse veteranis. Expectat animus quidnam agam de Kalend. [Martii]. Misi igitur Tironem et cum Tirone plures, quibus singulis, ut quidque accidisset, dares litteras, atque etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur. Quod autem aditus ad eum difficilior esse dicitur, scripsi ad Eutrapelum ut is ei meas litteras redderet legatione mihi opus esse. Honestior est votiva, sed licet uti utraque.

2. De te, quaeso, etiam atque etiam vide. Velim possis coram: si minus possis, litteris idem consequemur. Graeceius ad me scripsit C. Cassium sibi scripsisse homines comparari, qui armati in Tusculanum mitterentur. Id quidem mihi *vix fore* videbatur,

1. *binas*] sc. *accepi*, cp. 753. 3, *Nullas a te xi Kal.* (sc. *accepi*). Atticus appears to have left Rome to attend the meeting at Lanuvium (734. 2) on the 30th, cp. 752. 2; and returned to the city next day. Atticus occasionally made such brief visits to the country: cp. note to 618.

*veteranis*] Hirtius was for the most part a Caesarian, but he disapproved of Antony's inroads on public money and of his bringing troops of veterans to Rome: cp. note to 732. 4.

*Expectat animus*] This is a somewhat unusual variation for *expecto*, but we have *animum Publi offenderem*, Att. iv. 15. 4 (143); *meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit*, Fam. v. 5. 2 (18).

*quidnam agam de Kalend.*] *Martius* is certainly wrong. It was on the 1st of June the senate was to meet. Probably Cicero wrote only *Kal.*

*commoveretur*] 'should become excited.'

*Eutrapelum*] P. Volumnius Eutrapelus, to whom Cicero wrote Fam. vii. 32. 33

(229, 474), was *Praefectus fabrum* to Antony. In an interesting letter, Fam. ix. 26 (479), we read how Cicero met Cytheris at his table, and enjoyed the evening. Cytheris was Gallus's Lycoris, Verg. Ecl. x. 2. Eutrapelus was a friend of both Atticus and Antony (Nep. Att. 10). Cicero now desired his good offices in procuring for him the *legatio votiva*. The inf. *opus esse* is governed by *litteras* = *litteras quae significarent*: cp. 742. 1.

*uti*] 'avail myself of either,' lit. 'of both,' i.e. choose which I shall take. The two alternatives appear to be either a *legatio libera* (of which a *leg. votiva* is only a special form) or a military *legatio*: cp. 744. 4 on the question of the advantages presented by the different kinds of *legatio*.

2. *Graeceius*] a friend of Brutus, not elsewhere mentioned.

*Id quidem*] It cannot be that Cicero here writes that he himself had already surmised *a priori* that a band of armed men was being raised to occupy his house.

sed cavendum tamen villaeque plures videndae. Sed aliquid crastinus dies ad cogitandum nobis  $\dagger$ dare.

## 742. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 9).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 2 OR 3; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De provinciis Bruto et Cassio decernendis, de armorum casu in domo Attici, de tristi condicione et Attici et sua, de Bruti litteris.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. IIII Nonas vesperi a Balbo redditae mihi litterae fore Nonis senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia frumentum emendum et ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram! primum ullam ab istis, dein, si aliquam, hanc legatoriam

The early editors insert *non* before *videbatur*, but perhaps *vix fore*, as Wes. proposes (Klotz had suggested *vix*), fell out before *videbatur*. Madvig brings out the same sense by supplying *ementitum* for *id quidem*. For other conjectures see Adn. Crit. Dr. Reid suggests *nihili*. The armed men would be an unlawful band, which might have been collected in those lawless times. There was no question of confiscation of the property of the residents at Tusculum.

*villae . . videndae*] 'and more villas must be provided,' in case any such step should be taken. This use of *vides* is common: see on Att. v. 1. 3 (184). But *villae* is only a conjecture for *ut ille* of M, and it is very unlikely that Cicero would speak in such an off-hand way about providing more country residences in the state of his affairs at that time. Klotz would read *vigiliae* for *villae*. Dr. Reid (*Hermath.* xii., p. 156) thinks that the object of the military visit was to force the numerous senators who lived in the district to attend the approaching meeting of the senate, cp. Phil. i. 11; ii. 79: and that *Tusculanum* does not refer only to Cicero's villa, but to the district (*agrum*) of Tusculum. He says "Though Cicero disbelieved the report, he thinks the owners of other villas at Tusculum should be warned." We are not sure how he would translate *videndae*. Is it 'must be seen to,' i.e. put into a state of defence? Perhaps we should read with

Wesenberg *visendae*, 'must be visited' to give warning about the threatened raid. Madvig suggests *tutelaque*, 'and more than one kind of defence must be seen to.'

$\dagger$ dare] *dabit* of ed. Rom. is perhaps the most tolerable emendation. See Adn. Crit. Wes. conjectures *adferet*, Müller *dederit*.

1. *curarent*] If the subjects are considered as acting separately, almost always the verb agrees with the nearest subject. This and Tusc. i. 89 (*obiecissent*) appear to be the only exceptions: cp. Lebreton, p. 20.

*ullam ab istis*] 'what a humiliation! first, that Brutus and Cassius should accept any appointment at the hands of the Caesarians; then, that, if they did, it should be one that might be discharged by a couple of lieutenants.'

*si aliquam*] This seems a natural attraction; but we cannot quote an exact parallel. Something like it is Clu. 138 (after *ut*) *intellegi potuit . . ut mare . . ventorum vi agitari atque turbari, sic populum Romanum . . . hominum seditiosorum vocibus . . concitari*: cp. Tusc. iv. 54. However, the inf. is often found in secondary sentences in or. obliqua, especially in relative clauses. Lebreton, pp. 372-4.

*legatoriam*] We think it possible that Cicero wrote *legatorum provinciam* just as he wrote *ieiuna tabellari legatio*, Att.

provinciam! Atque haud scio an melius sit quam ad Eurotam sedere. Sed haec casus gubernabit. Ait autem eodem tempore decretum iri ut et iis et reliquis praetoriis provinciae decernantur. Hoc certe melius quam illa Περσική porticus. Nolo enim Lacedaemonem† longinquo quom Lanuvium existimavit.† Rides, inquires, in talibus rebus? Quid faciam? Plorando fessus sum. 2. Di immortales! quam me conturbatum tenuit epistulae tuae prior pagina? Quid autem iste in domo tua casus armorum? Sed hunc quidem nimbum cito transisse laetor. Tu quid egeris tua cum tristi tum etiam difficili ad consiliandum legatione vehementer exspecto. Est enim inexplicabilis. Ita circumsedemur copiis omnibus. Me quidem Bruti litterae, quas ostendis a te lectas, ita perturbarunt ut, quamquam ante egebam consilio, tamen animi dolore sim tardior. Sed plura, cum ista cognoro. Hoc autem tempore quod scriberem nihil erat, eoque minus quod

ii. 7. 3 (34), and *Dionis legatio* in the next letter. The word *legatorius* is, however, not impossible. Boot suggested *nugatoriam*. Possibly *delegatoriam*, though that word is not attested for certain until the time of the Theodosian Code. It is, however, a natural formation.

*ad Eurotam*] Brutus, who was a great philo-Laconian, had given to a stream in his property at Lanuvium the name of the Lacedaemonian river Eurotas, and had named a certain portico of his after the *στοὰ Περσική*, erected by the Spartans to commemorate the battle of Plataea (cp. Vitruv. i. 1. 6; Paus. iii. 11. 3). The gist of the whole passage is, that it would be better for Brutus to be engaged in some public work, however far beneath his dignity, than to be idling away his time at Lanuvium.

*iis et reliquis praetoriis*] This passage proves that the *curatio frumenti* was different from the regular provinces to be assigned to Brutus and Cassius as praetors. The provinces they ultimately got as such were Crete and Cyrene (cp. note to 783. 1); but they do not appear to have obtained them till August.

*Lacedaemonem . . . existimavit*] The best attempt to get some meaning out of this passage is that of Gronovius, who would read *nolo enim Lacedaemonem longinquorem Lanuvio existimari* (*longinquorem quam Lanuvium existimari*, as

Müller, Schmidt, and Dr. Reid suggest, is better), 'you must understand that when I speak of Lacedaemon, I mean one no further off than Lanuvium; my allusions to the *Eurotas* and the Περσική porticus are to those which Brutus has so designated at Lanuvium.'

2. *casus armorum*] This is supposed to refer to some 'fracas,' of which we know nothing; lit. 'chance of arms,' 'chance outbreak': cp. *casus navigandi*, Att. vi. 1. 9 (252); *casus huius belli*, Fam. vi. 1. 7 (538). But it seems somewhat unlikely that there should be any armed fracas in Atticus' house, and that Cicero would allude to it in this way. Could it be *casus armariorum*, 'fall of cupboards (or safes)'? That would lead semi-humorously to the metaphorical use of *nimbum*, for which, in the sense of calamity, we can find no parallel. For *armarium*, of a safe in which money was kept, cp. Clu. 179; Cael. 52; Plaut. Epid. 308. But it might refer to any kind of receptacle like a cupboard. Cicero's affected horror at the fall of the cupboards would be a continuance of his jocular vein from the last section.

*legatione*] 'what you effected by your embassy': cp. Ov. Met. vi. 685 *ubi blanditiis nihil agitur*. We should not add *de*: that would rather mean 'what you effected in bringing about that embassy.' Possibly this was some visit which Att. intended to pay to Brutus and Cassius to

Subitabam tu has ipsas litteras essesne accepturus. Erat enim incertum visurusne te esset tabellarius. Ego tuas litteras vehementer exspecto.

## 743. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 10).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 5 OR 6; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Bruti litteris et de misera Bruti et Cassii condicione decretis provinciis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

O Bruti amānter scriptas litteras! O iniquum tuum tempus qui ad eum ire non possis! Ego autem quid scribam? Ut beneficio istorum utantur? Quid turpius? Ut moliantur aliquid? Nec audent nec iam possunt. Age, quiescant auctoribus nobis; quis incolumitatem praestat? Si vero aliquid de Decimo gravius, quae nostris vita, etiam si nemo molestus sit? Ludos vero non facere, quid foedius? Frumentum imponere, quae est alia Dionis

advise them what to do. Cicero himself felt the difficulty (cp. 737. 1). Att. appears to have had a more important engagement (743. 1). This is the only place in Cicero where *consiliari* occurs. Boot suggests *conciliandum*, which is approved by the Thesaurus (440. 6). But Caesar has *consiliari* twice (B. C. i. 19. 2; i. 73. 2); cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 3. 17.

1. *O iniquum . . . possis*] 'How untoward your engagement which prevented your going to him': cp. note to 742. 2.

*Ut beneficio*] 'shall I counsel them to accept a favour from the Caesarians?' The *beneficium* was the superintendence of the corn supply mentioned in the last letter (§ 1).

*Nec audent*] cp. 738. 1 note.

*de Decimo gravius*] It was surmised that an attempt would be made by Antony to deprive D. Brutus of the province of Gaul, which had been decreed to him by the senate. This attempt was made by the *Lex de permutatione provinciarum* passed in August (cp. 784. 7), and led ultimately to the Mutinensian war. He asks, 'Will Brutus and Cassius find life enduring in such a case, even though no hostile step be taken against them?'

*Ludos*] The *Ludi Apollinares* (July 6-13), which Brutus, as Praetor Urbanus, was bound to hold. He did celebrate them, but not personally. They were celebrated in his name by Gaius Antonius (App. B. C. iii. 23).

*Frumentum*] 'to load corn' (i.e. to have corn put on ship-board for transmission to Rome); 'what is this but a *Dion's embassy*?' The last words refer to the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius, who, under the pretence of sending Dion on an embassy, in effect sent him into exile. *Dionis legatio* would seem to have become proverbial for an apparent compliment which really removes the person complimented: but we do not know of any other place where it is used, nor do we know any other place where Dionysius is represented as ostensibly having sent Dion on an embassy. Plutarch Dion 15 says, οὐ φυχῆς ἀλλ' ἀποδημίας τῷ Δίωνι γεγεννημένης: and Nepos Dion 3 (*Dionysius*) ostendens se id utriusque facere causa ne, cum inter se timerent, alteruter alterum praecoccuparet. Ernesti naturally asks how this *cura annonae*, which was given to Pompey and other eminent men, comes to be spoken of so slightly here. He suggests that in other cases the *imperium*

legatio? aut quod munus in re publica sordidius? Prorsus quidem consilia tali in re ne iis quidem tuta sunt qui dant. Sed possim id negligere proficiens. Frustra vero qui ingrediar? Matris consilio cum utatur vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Sed tamen cogitabo quo genere utar litterarum. Nam silere non possum. Statim igitur mittam vel Antium vel Circeios.

### 744. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 11).

ANTIUM OR ASTURA; JUNE 8; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De colloquio cum Bruto et Cassio audientibus Servilia, Tertulla, Porcia a se in Antiati habito, de Dolabella qui Ciceronem sibi legaverit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Antium veni a. d. vi Idus. Bruto iucundus noster adventus. Deinde multis audientibus Servilia, Tertulla, Porcia quaerere quid placeret. Aderat etiam Favonius. Ego, quod eram meditatus in via, suadere, ut uteretur Asiatica curatione frumenti, nihil esse iam reliqui quod ageremus nisi ut salvus esset: in eo

was attached to the appointment, but not in this case. Probably the insignificance of the posts was due to the fact that the *curae* were confined to individual provinces, that of Brutus to Asia, and that of Cassius to Sicily; while the appointments were also well understood to be designed to shelve their holders. And in any case there never appears any indication that they were to be in a superior position to the provincial governors. For *quae est alia* cp. Phil. i. 22, *Quid est aliud hortari adolescentis ut turbulenti . . . velint esse*; ii. 7; Off. iii. 55. One is to understand *nisi haec*: cp. De Senect. 5.

*proficiens*] 'provided I were doing any good.' For this absolute use of *proficiens* see note to Fam. xv. 14. 1 (241): cp. Tusc. iv. 60 *sed raro proficit*. Kühner notes that it is often so used of drugs 'doing good.'

*ingrediar*] 'but if fruitlessly (sc. *futurus* 'if likely to act in vain'), how could I (with propriety) essay the task?'

*mittam*] sc. *litteras*. However, he changed his mind, and went in person to

Antium, from which place the next letter is written.

1. *quaerere*] Hist. inf., of which the subject is Brutus. Servilia, 'dear Tertulia,' and Portia were respectively the mother, sister, and wife of Brutus. So *suadere*, below, is hist. inf.

*Favonius*] Plutarch, Pomp. 60, says of him, ἀνὴρ τᾶλλα μὲν οὐ πονηρός, ἀνθαδεία δὲ καὶ ὕβρει πολλάκις τὴν Κάτωνος οἶόμενος ἀπομιμῆσθαι παρρησίαν. Mommsen calls him 'Cato's Sancho.' When taken prisoner after the battle of Philippi, he inveighed furiously against Octavian (Suet. Aug. 13).

*uteretur*] 'take,' 'accept,' 741. 1 fin. Ferrero (iii. 67) thinks that Dolabella's *legatio*, which Cic. had received a week before (§ 4), 'had temporarily calmed the fury of the conservative leader and his desire to exterminate the popular party.' It is quite possible, however, that he saw no adequate means for the present of resisting Antony and his veterans.

*nihil . . . reliqui*] For this partitive

etiam ipsi rei publicae esse praesidium. Quam orationem cum ingressus essem, Cassius intervenit. Ego eadem illa repetivi. Hoc loco fortibus sane oculis Cassius—Martem spirare diceres—se in Siciliam non iturum. ‘Egone ut beneficium acceperissem contumeliam?’ Quid ergo agis? inquam. At ille in Achaiam se iturum. Quid tu, inquam, Brute? ‘Romam’ inquit, ‘si tibi videtur.’ Mihi vero minime: tuto enim non eris. ‘Quid? si possem esse, placeretne?’ Atque ut omnino neque nunc neque ex praetura in provinciam ires, sed auctor non sum ut te urbi committas. Dicebam ea, quae tibi profecto in mentem veniunt, cur non esset tuto futurus. 2. Multo inde sermone querebantur, atque id quidem Cassius maxime, amissas occasiones Decimumque graviter accusabant. Ego negabam oportere

genitive, cp. a stronger case in Fam. xii. 5, 2 (821), *nihil belli reliqui fore videbatur*.  
[*intervenit*] ‘came in,’ not ‘took part for the first time in the conversation.’

[*Hoc loco*] ‘this was the moment when.’  
[*fortibus sane oculis*] ‘with a look of great determination’: cp. Att. vii. 3. 11 (294), where *fortis* is applied to a strong, resolute, decided proceeding. We know of no other passage where *fortis* is applied to a part of the body: its uses with *animus* and *pectus* (Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 20; 2. 136) are hardly parallel. It is applied to *oratio* in a similar sense in De Or. ii. 183.

[*Martem spirare*] He uses the Greek *Ἀρῆ πνέων* in Q. Fr. iii. 4. 6 (152).

[*Egone ut*] ‘Could I ever have accepted insult as a favour?’ Dr. Reid points out (*Hermath.* xii. 157) that as the discussion entirely regards future action we cannot translate ‘Was I bound to accept insult as a favour?’ He explains the pluperfect *acceperissem* on the analogy of *par erat* ‘it was always right’ where we should expect *par est*: and *par fuerat* would only strengthen the emphasis. In exclamations of this kind *ut* more idiomatically goes with the verb, e.g. *Hancine ego ut contumeliam tam insignem in me accipiam?* Ter. Eun. 771. But if we took *ut* with the verb here, we should be obliged to interpret *beneficium cont.* as ‘a favour which is really an insult,’ and this is not possible. Prof. Goligher interprets the passage quite differently. He says that the sentence *egone . . . contumeliam* is a continuation of the orat. obliqua, and would translate ‘Cassius said he would not go to Sicily, and

(asked) would I (Cicero) have accepted an insult as a favour.’ He thinks that *ego* replaces *tu* of oratio recta owing to the peculiar circumstance that Cicero is reproducing a conversation in which he himself is addressed. He urges further that a transition would not be made to the oratio recta without *inquit* or some verb of the kind being added.

[*Atque*] ‘Ay, and.’ Some editors would repeat *placeret*, but this quite obscures the characteristic use of *atque* and *ac* in vivacious talk frequent in the comic drama. Hofmann quotes *aequid autem habet homo aceti in pectore?* Atque *acidissumi*, Pl. Pseud. 739; *num quae . . . aegritudo obiecta est?* Atque *acerruma*, Bacch. 538; *cognoscite?* Ac *memoriter*, Ter. Eun. 915. Add Plaut. Pers. 830 *hic eius geminus frater*. *Hiccinest?* Ac *geminissimus*. Hofmann also shows that *nam* and *enim* are similarly used in vivacious discourse, e.g. De Or. i. 101; ii. 40, where see Wilkins’s notes.

[*ut . . . neque*] = *ne aut*: cp. Fam. ix. 2. 3 (461), *ut ea . . . nec viderem nec audirem*, beside *ne aut scurrilis iocus sit aut mimicus*, De Or. ii. 239.

[*ex praetura*] ‘after your praetorship.’ For *ex* = ‘after’ cp. note to 223. 5 and index.

[*auctor . . . ut*] This is the usual construction. We find, however, accusative and infinitive in Att. ix. 10. 5 (365), *auctor . . . te quoque profugere*, where Cicero is quoting the language of Atticus.

2. *Decimumque*] Their ground of complaint against D. Brutus was his stirring up war in his Cisalpine province, with a

praeterita, adsentiebar tamen. Quomque ingressus essem dicere quid oportuisset (nec vero quidquam novi, sed ea quae cotidie omnes), nec tamen illum locum attingerem, quemquam praeterea oportuisse tangi, sed senatum vocari, populum ardentem studio vehementius incitari, totam suscipi rem publicam, exclamat tua familiaris, 'Hoc vero neminem umquam audiui.' Ego repressi. Sed et Cassius mihi videbatur iturus—etenim Servilia pollicebatur se curaturam ut illa frumenti curatio de senatus consulto tolleretur—et noster cito deiectus est de illo inani sermone quo Romae velle esse dixerat. Constituit igitur ut ludi absente se fierent suo nomine. Proficisci autem mihi in Asiam videbatur ab Antio velle. 3. Ne multa: nihil me in illo itinere praeter conscientiam meam delectavit. Non enim fuit committendum ut ille ex Italia prius quam a me conventus esset discederet. Hoc dempto munere amoris atque officii sequebatur, ut mecum ipse

‘Η δεῦρ’ ὁδός σοι τί δύναται νῦν, θεοπρόπε;

view of procuring a triumph, instead of taking steps to oppose Antony and his party. Or possibly because Decimus, a fellow-soldier of Antony, had urged that he should be spared on the Ides of March. But this clemency is generally attributed to Marcus Brutus. Yet see Ferrero iii. 68 note.

*praeterita*] sc. *ingeri, accusari*. But the ellipse is harsh. It is barely possible that we should add *iterare*. Junius declares that two mss. add *repeti*, which no doubt is a conjecture, but a tolerable one.

*oportuisse*] sc. *fieri*, which is often omitted after *oportere* and *posse*, not only in the letters, but in the philosophical works, e.g. Tusc. i. 23.

*tangi*] 'that there was someone else (Antony) who should have had a touch' (of the daggers that slew Caesar).

*suscipi rem publicam*] sc. *a Bruto et Cassio*.

*tua familiaris*] Servilia, the mother of Brutus.

*audiui*] This passage can be taken in either of two ways. It may be that Cicero interrupted Servilia before she said something like *tam libere in filium meum ingerentem*. Servilia must have heard *ea quae cotidie omnes* (sc. *dicebant*): so that *dicentem* is not sufficient. The construction of two accusatives with *audiui* would be impossible. Hence we can take *repressi* to mean 'I interrupted her.' But it may also be taken as meaning 'I suppressed

what I was going to add,' 'I checked myself.' Boeckel contends for the latter sense, and compares *refero* = *me refero* (715. 1) and *insinuat* = *se insinuat*, Att. ii. 24. 2 (51), where we read *insinuatus*. If so, the aposiopesis was by Servilia. 'Well, on this I never heard anyone [perhaps she intended to imply 'speak so offensively']. For this sense of *repressi* cp. Sest. 144 (quoted by Boeckel) *me . . . dicentem . . . horum adspectus in ipso cursu orationis repressit*. We incline to the latter interpretation.

*frumenti curatio . . . tolleretur*] Some more honourable mission was to be assigned to enable them to absent themselves from Rome; but we do not know what Servilia had in mind, or how she proposed to carry her intention into effect. She may have considered herself sufficiently influential; and perhaps she was so, as she was very rich.

*noster*] Brutus.

*deiectus est de illo inani sermone*] 'abandoned his foolish talk,' recorded above, when he said he would go to Rome, *Romam si tibi videtur*. In *deiectus* we have a military term, 'dislodged from a position.' M gives *velle esse dixerat*. By inserting *quo Romae*, which might have fallen out after *sermone*, we have a possible sentence. Lehmann (p. 130) wishes to make an extensive addition *<vel cum mortis periculo se Romae>*. *ludi*] cp. 743.



Prorsus dissolutum offendi navigium vel potius dissipatum. Nihil consilio, nihil ratione, nihil ordine. Itaque etsi ne antea quidem dubitavi, tamen nunc eo minus 'evolare' hinc idque quam primum

ubi nec Pelopidarum facta neque famam audiam.

4. Et heus tu, ne forte sis nescius, Dolabella me sibi legavit a. d. III Nonas. Id mihi heri vesperi nuntiatum est. Votiva ne tibi quidem placebat. Etenim erat absurdum, quae, si stetisset res publica, vovissem, ea me eversa illa vota dissolvere, et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia nec facile addi potest. Aveo genus legationis, ut cum velis introire exire

3. *conscientiam*] of having done his duty to his friends.

*prius quam . . . esset*] 'before I had a meeting with him.' For the passive cp. 648. 2, *ut se conveniri nolit*.

*Hoc dempto munere*] 'save for the satisfaction of discharging this duty, I could not help asking myself, *O seer, what boots thy journey hither now?*' This verse from an unknown poet is quoted again in 775. 2. Boot strikes out the *viv* as spoiling the metre, but a comic senarius admits a dactyl in the fifth foot, not to mention the fact that *θεοπρόπτε* can scan as a trisyllable.

*dissolutum . . . dissipatum*] 'I found the ship (of state) going to pieces, or rather all in fragments'; *dissipatum* is a stronger word than *dissolutum*. Boeckel illustrates the meaning of the participles by Or. 235, *facilius est apta dissolvere quam dissipata connectere*.

*eo minus*] sc. *dubito*.

*ubi nec Pelopidarum*] see on 694. 1: "where the deeds of Pelops' children and their fame I ne'er shall hear."

4. *Et heus tu*] 'And, I say, let me tell you, Dolabella has made me his *legatus*.' We have retained *et* of the mss. and not altered to *sed*: cp. Att. vi. 1. 25 (252), and Lehmann, p. 63. The phrase *heus tu* often introduces a bit of news, or a striking remark, in the letters. Dolabella had been appointed on June 2 governor of the province of Syria. For *legavit* cp. Fam. vi. 6. 10 (488), *Cassium sibi legavit*.

*Votiva*] sc. *legatio*.

*dissolvere*] 'to pay, discharge,' a vow. *Dissolvere* is so used in Tusc. i. 100, and in Catullus 66, 38, *pristina vota novo munere dissolvo*.

*habent*] 'imply,' 'entail'; that is, *liberae legationes* are saddled with the condition that they can be held only for a fixed time, and cannot be easily prolonged beyond the period originally fixed. For the use of the verb in the sense of 'entail,' Hofmann compares *pons magnum circuitum habebat*, Caes. B. C. i. 63. 2; *castrorum mutatio habet turpem fugam et desperationem*, ii. 31. 4; *restringit sitis stabilitatem voluptatis habet*, Cic. Fin. ii. 9. Possibly the Julian Law restricted *legationes liberae* to a year, as Cicero's law had done: cp. De Leg. iii. 18; also vol. iii<sup>2</sup>, p. 328. Groebe (in his ed. of Drumann i. p. 432) points out, as a further argument that the *legatio* which Cicero obtained was not a *libera legatio*, the fact that Cic., in Phil. i. 6, speaks of it as *ius legationis liberum*, not *ius legationis liberae*. He was made the *legatus* of Dolabella, who had received the governorship of Syria for five years, and during that five years he (Cicero) was to have the privilege of entering or leaving the city at his pleasure.

*Aveo genus*] Dr. Reid notices that elsewhere the acc. after *aveo* is always a neuter pronoun. He suggests *obeo*, 'I am taking up' (cp. 739), and would alter *additum* to *datum*.

*introire exire*] For the asyndeton cp. *itus reditus*, 737. 3; *irent redirent*, Phil. ii. 89, where see Mayor's note. See also Lehmann, p. 24, where he quotes, among other asyndeta, Fam. xv. 4. 12 (238), *Graecis Latinis*; Off. i. 22, *dando accipiendo*; Tusc. v. 87, *minis blandimentis*; perhaps Att. i. 14. 1 (20), *aperte tecte*; in which cases, as here, there is a certain antithesis between the asyndetic words. Still more frequent is asyndeton without

liceat : quod nunc mihi additum est. Bella est autem huius iuris quinquenni licentia. Quamquam *quid de quinquennio cogitem?* Contrahi mihi negotium videtur. Sed βλάβσημα mittamus.

### 745. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 12).

ASTURA ; JUNE 10 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

De Buthroto, de Tironem ad Dolabellam misso, de consiliis Cassii et Bruti, de L. Antonio, de Octaviano, de Marcello.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Bene mehercule de Buthroto. At ego Tironem ad Dolabellam cum litteris, quia iusseras, miseram. Quid nocet? De nostris autem Antiatibus satis videbar plane scripsisse, ut non dubitares quin essent otiosi futuri usurique beneficio Antoni contumelioso. Cassius frumentariam rem aspernabatur. Eam

antithesis, as *ventis remis*, Fam. xii. 25. 3 (825); *equis viris*, Fam. ix. 7. 1 (462); and sometimes in the letters is the characteristically Plautine asyndeton between two verbs of the same meaning, as in *cures enitare*, Fam. iii. 9. 4 (249). Cp. also Index s.v. asyndeton.

*additum est*] 'an additional privilege which, through my appointment by Dolabella, I enjoy.' Such is, perhaps, the force of *additum* used instead of the simple *datum*.

*huius iuris quinquenni licentia*] 'the privilege of going and coming as you please for five years, which this appointment carries with it.' For the double genitive see note on *fructus tuæ suavitatis præteriti temporis*, Att. iv. 1. 2 (90); *superiorum temporum fortuna rei publicæ*, 641. 2; *cuius . . . scelera urbani consulatus*, Phil. vii. 15.

*Contrahi*] 'things seem to me to be drawing to a crisis; but *absit omen*.' What he hints at here he expresses clearly in 750. 2, *mihi res ad eandem et eam quidem propinquam spectare videtur*. Here he apologizes for his sinister forecast in a Greek expression, used much as we should use the Latin phrase *absit omen*. See I<sup>3</sup>. p. 87, where similar examples are collected. For *contrahi* cp. Acad. i. 38 *cum ea contraherent in angustumque deducerent*; Lael. 20; Nat. D. ii. 164: perhaps also

612. 2 *adsentior et istud nimium diu duci et omnia nunc undique contrahenda*; 'The business seems to be shorter than that,' 'to be closing up,' lit. 'to be in process of being shortened,' i.e. I will not live so long. This suits the next words better than Dr. Reid's view that it only means 'trouble is gathering for me,' comparing Att. vii. 7. 7 (298) *male contractis rebus*; Cat. iv. 9 *nescio an amplius mihi negoti contrahatur*. This is hardly a strong enough meaning to account for βλάβσημα. It is not certain where Cicero was when he wrote this letter. Possibly after the meeting at Antium he went on to his villa in the adjacent Astura. Cicero appears to have sold his house at Antium to Lepidus (654. 1).

1. *de Buthroto*] The best commentary on this matter is Att. xvi. 16A (767). We do not know what the good news about Buthrotum was. The land-law of Lucius Antonius seemed to be injurious to Atticus (748. 1; 751. 1); but by the end of the month Marcus Antonius and Dolabella had decided the case in his favour (778. 11, cp. 758. 2, 3).

*Antiatibus*] Brutus and Cassius, who were at Antium.

*beneficio Antoni contumelioso*] the *frumentarii curatio*: cp. 744. 1.

Servilia sublaturam ex senatus consulto se esse dicebat. Noster vero, καὶ μάλα σεμνῶς, in Asiam, postea quam mihi est adsensus tuto se Romae esse non posse (ludos enim absens facere malebat), statim autem se iturum, simul ac ludorum apparatus iis qui curaturi essent tradidisset. Navigia colligebat: erat animus in cursu. Interea in eisdem locis erant futuri. Brutus quidem se aiebat Asturae. 2. L. quidem Antonius liberaliter litteris sine cura me esse iubet. Habeo unum beneficium, alterum fortasse, si in Tusculanum venerit. O negotia non ferenda! quae feruntur tamen. Τὰν δ' αἰτίαν τῶν Βρούτων τις ἔχει. In Octaviano, ut perspexi, satis ingeni, satis animi, videbaturque erga nostros ἥρωας ita fore ut nos vellemus animatus. Sed quid aetati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid hereditati, quid κατηχήσει, magni consili est. Vitricus quidem nihil censebat, quem Asturae vidimus. Sed tamen alendus est et, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio seiungendus. Marcellus praeclare, si praecipit † nostro nostri †: cui quidem ille

[*Servilia*] cp. 744. 2.

[*Noster vero, καὶ μάλα σεμνῶς*] 'our friend Brutus, with great solemnity, (declares) that he is off to Asia.'

[*statim autem se iturum*] Editors usually alter *autem* to *ait*. But *autem* can be used in resumptions (cp. Sandys on Orat. 18), and in closer specifications of a statement, cp. Dräger, ii<sup>2</sup>. 120. It is almost equivalent to 'furthermore': cp. Holden on Off. ii. 6.

[*erat animus*] 'he is set on the voyage.' Boot well compares 556. 1, *est animus in hortis*.

[*Asturae*] Brutus was still at Antium; but he apparently was intending to come to Astura. Cicero had been desirous that he should stay in his house there a few weeks previously: 720 fin.; 725. 5.

2. [alterum fortasse] 'so I already owe him one kindness; perhaps I shall owe him another if he pays a visit to my Tusculan estate.' Cicero had said above (741. 2) that he did not believe there was any truth in the rumour that military forces would be sent to Tusculum. He now ironically speaks of a visit from L. Antonius as a new favour to himself.

[*Τὰν δ' αἰτίαν*] 'the blame rests with one of the Bruti.' It is possible that we should alter to τῶνδε: but the reading of the ms., τάνδε, is unobjectionable. We should not read τίς ἔχει; Cicero's criticism was directed against Marcus Brutus: cp. 752. 2 fin., *Haec omnis culpa Bruti*.

[κατηχήσει] 'his education.' This is a late Greek word, whence, of course, *catechism*.

[*Vitricus*] 'his stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus (cp. 715. 2), thinks he is not to be trusted.'

[*ut nihil aliud*] 'even supposing nothing else': cp. Att. xi. 14. 1 (429). The usual phrase is *si nihil aliud* Att. ii. 15. 2 (42); 16. 4 (43); Liv. ii. 43. 8.

[*Marcellus*] brother-in-law of Octavian and father of the Marcellus celebrated by Vergil, Aen. vi. 861 ff. We do not think any of the suggestions made on this passage are probable enough to warrant introduction into the text. The text is certainly corrupt, for it is clear that we could not, with Manutius, interpret *nostro nostri* as meaning 'my nephew, the son of my brother Quintus.' *Nostri* certainly refers to Brutus, as it generally does in the letters of this period. We think the best suggestion is that of Dr. Reid, *ut nostro nostra*, 'if he instils the principles of our party into him as one of our party,' i.e. if he assumes that Octavian is of course one of the constitutionalists, and advises him as such. Boot suggests νόστον *nostri*, 'Marcellus will have done splendidly if he advises Octavian to bring about the return of Brutus to Rome. Octavian seems devoted to Marcellus. He does not believe much in Hirtius and Pansa.' This is certainly ingenious. If Koch's reading, *salutaria*

deditus mihi videbatur. Pansae autem et Hirtio non nimis credebatur. Bona indoles, ἐὰν διαμείνῃ.

### 746. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 16a).

ASTURA; JUNE 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris a Cicerone suo eiusque magistris acceptis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Tandem a Cicerone tabellarius, et mehercule litterae πεπινωμένως scriptae, quod ipsum προκοπήν aliquam significat, itemque ceteri praeclara scribunt. Leonides tamen retinet suum illud "adhuc." Summis vero laudibus Herodes. Quid quaeris? Vel verba mihi dari facile patior in hoc meque libenter praebeo credulum. Tu velim, si quid tibi est a Statio scriptum quod pertineat ad me, certiore me facias.

### 747. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 16b).

ASTURA; JUNE 12; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero Attico significat se in amoenitate villae Asturae tamen Tusculanum suum desiderare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Narro tibi: haec loca venusta sunt, abdita certe et, si quid scribere velis, ab arbitris libera. Sed nescio quo modo οἶκος φίλος.

*nostris*, were the meaning, we should suggest a slight variation, *σώστρα nostris*, 'if he urges Octavian to regard Brutus as his saviour': lit. 'if he urges that a thankoffering for safety be paid to our friends.' But Dr. Reid's conjecture is much the simplest; *ille* is Octavian.

ἐὰν διαμείνῃ] 'if it only wears.'

πεπινωμένως] 'in the true classic style': see on 709. 2, and cp. *εὐπινές*, Att. xii. 6. 4 (499). This sign of 'progress' (*προκοπή*) on the part of his son, and the praises of Herodes (though Leonides still maintains his qualificatory 'so far'), encourage Cicero to be very hopeful. 'Indeed,' he says, 'in this matter I like to be hoodwinked, and gladly banish suspicion.' Leonides and

Herodes were teachers of the young Marcus.

*quod ipsum*] 'which itself (the fact that they were well written) shows some progress.'

*Statio*] The freedman of Quintus who, Cicero considered (471. 1), was a disgrace to him: cp. Att. ii. 18. 4 (46).

*Narro tibi*] These words introduce a strong assertion: see on Att. ii. 11. 1 (39).

*haec loca*] Astura.

*ab arbitris*] 'from visitors,' lit. 'from observers,' 'people to spy you out' (Shuckburgh): cp. Verr. v. 80 *ab arbitris remoto loco*. Horace (Ep. i. 11. 26) calls a place that overlooks the sea *locus effusi late maris arbiter*.

οἶκος φίλος] οἶκος ἄριστος, 'the

Itaque me referunt pedes in Tusculanum. Et tamen haec ῥωπογραφία ripulae videtur habitura celerem satietatem. Equidem etiam pluvias metuo, si "Prognostica" nostra vera sunt. Ranae enim ῥητορεύουσιν. Tu, quaeso, fac sciam ubi Brutum nostrum et quo die videre possim.

## 748. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 15).

ASTURA; JUNE 13; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De L. Antonio Buthrotiis molesto, de nummis L. Fadio curandis, de Cleopatra et Hammonio et Sara, de protectione sua per Erotis dispensationem impedita, de Ciceroni suo in annum sumptum Athenas permutando.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. L. Antonio male sit! si quidem Buthrotiis molestus est. Ego testimonium composui, quod, cum voles, obsignabitur. Nummos Arpinatium, si L. Fadius aedilis petet, vel omnis reddito.

house one loves is the best house,' something like 'be it ever so humble, there's no place like home'; cp. Att. iv. 8a. 1 (112) εἴη μοι οὗτος φίλος οἶκος.

me referunt pedes] 'my feet carry me back to Tusculum': cp. pes tamen ipse redit, Tibull. ii. 6. 14.

tamen] 'and in any case' (even without the attractions of home) 'I should soon get tired of the tame (rough) effect of the river's narrow bank.'

ῥωπογραφία] This word most probably refers to a certain 'tameness' in the neighbouring scenery; ῥωπικά means 'tawdriness, clap-trap,' in rhetoric. The commonplace style in rhetoric might give a name to a commonplace style of painting (i.e. in which the subjects are commonplace), and hence of scenery. The latter would possess a certain temporary charm for the jaded city-man, but would not appeal for long to a Cicero.

Prognostica] cp. the verses which Cicero quotes from his version of the 'Prognostica' of Aratus in De Div. i. 15,

Vos quoque signa videtis, aquae dulcis  
aluminae,  
Cum clamore paratis inanitis fundere voces,  
Absurdoque sono fontis et stagna cietis.

ῥητορεύουσιν] 'are holding forth.' In the sequel of the passage quoted from the De Div. above, Cicero calls the frogs

ranunculos, the diminutive form of the word rana, like furunculus, avunculus.

1. L. Antonio] L. Antonius, the brother of Marcus, had been appointed with six others early in June to divide lands, and was inclined to dispute the validity of the exemption procured for the Buthrotians by Cicero and Atticus: cp. 751. 1. Cicero drew up a deposition (affidavit) setting forth what he knew about the transaction, possibly that Caesar had actually consented to save the Buthrotians from confiscation (767. 5; 778. 11; 780. 15). The matter is dealt with in detail in letters to Plancus, Capito, and Cupiennius (767, 777 to 781).

si quidem] 'since,' as in si quidem ut adhuc erat liberalius esse nihil potest, Att. x. 17. 3 (403), si quidem Homerus fuit ante Romam conditam, Tusc. 1. 3.

aedilis] L. Fadius was aedile of Arpinum; for these aediles in country towns see Mayor on Juv. x. 101. Cicero and his son and nephew were aediles at Arpinum in 46: cp. Fam. xiii. 11. 3 (452). Cicero owed some money to Arpinum, perhaps water and other rates, as he did at Tusculum: cp. 692. 3. Ferrero (iii. 58), however, says that this was a sum which the municipality had previously lent Cicero at a time when it was looking for an investment. However this may

Ego ad te alia epistula scripsi *de HS cx.* quae Statio curarentur. Si ergo petet Fadius, ei volo reddi, praeter Fadum nemini. Apud me item puto depositum. . . . Id scripsi ad Erotem ut redderet. 2. *Reginam odi.* Id me iure facere scit sponsor promissorum eius Hammonius, quae quidem erant *φιλόλογα* et dignitatis meae, ut vel in contione dicere auderem. Saran autem praeterquam quod nefarium hominem, cognovi praeterea in me contumacem. Semel eum omnino domi meae vidi. Cum *φιλοφρόνως* ex eo quaererem quid opus esset, Atticum se dixit quaerere. Superbiam autem ipsius reginae, cum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore non possum. Nihil igitur cum istis, nec tam animum me quam stomachum

be, Cicero is determined to discharge this debt in full (*vel omnis reddito*), and he countermands his orders to raise a sum of money for Statius, the steward of his brother Quintus. He wishes this sum now to be applied to the payment of Fadius, as well as another sum recently placed to his account. Boot proposes to read a *Statio*, in which case the reference would be to a sum due from Quintus and to be exacted from Statius; but this change is not necessary. Cicero's money affairs were in a very involved state just now. He sent Tiro (§ 3; 749. 1; 750. 1; 752. 4) to disentangle the accounts of Eros.

*Apud me item puto depositum*] This reading cannot be right, but it is impossible to say whether a sum mentioned after the word *depositum* has fallen out, or whether that sum should be inserted before *puto* in the place of *item*, or whether we should change this last word to *idem*, and suppose Cicero to refer to a sum of money placed to his account equal to the HS cx. which he has just mentioned.

2. *Reginam odi*] The reference is to Cleopatra, who had left Rome shortly after Caesar's murder (710. 1): so the events related in this section must have occurred some time previously. Possibly Cleopatra had been spreading some unjustifiable stories about requests which Cicero had made for Greek manuscripts or works of art, or something of the kind. She had through Hammonius promised to grant those requests, but apparently had not fulfilled those promises. Hammonius was perhaps the same as the agent of Ptolemy Auletes in Rome in 56:

cp. Fam. i. 1. 1 (95). 'The requests which I made,' says Cicero, 'were quite suitable to my position and character, of which I might proclaim myself on the house-top (lit. "at a public meeting") to have been the recipient.' The reading of the mss is *sit*, not *scit*; hence Wesenberg would read *id me iure facere* <testis> *sit sponsor promissorum eius H.* Dr. Reid points out that *testis sit* is strongly supported by 749. 2, *De regina gaudeo te non laborare, testem etiam tibi probari.*

*Saran autem*] 'As to Sara, I not only know him to be a rascal, but I have found him impertinent to me personally. Once, and once only, have I seen him at my house. On that occasion I asked him quite politely what he wanted; he said he wanted Atticus.' Some editors, not seeing in the conduct of Sara anything impolite according to their code of manners, have supposed Sara to say that he was 'looking for an Attic orator,' thus intimating that Cicero did not deserve a place among them, and have resorted to other elaborate devices for importing into the sentence a breach of manners on the part of Sara sufficiently marked to be appreciable by them. Surely it was an act of *contumacia* in Sara to pay his first visit to a man like Cicero, and avow that he had not come to see Cicero, but Atticus. Dr. Reid suspects that *Sarapionem* should be read. He was one of Cleopatra's officers: cp. Dio Cass. l. 27. 1; App. B. C. iv. 61.

*Nihil igitur cum istis*] sc. *agam*. 'I won't have anything to do with them.' *me . . . arbitrantur*] 'and they credit me with no true courage, but with mere

habere arbitrantur. 3. Profectionem meam, ut video, Erotis dispensatio impedit. Nam cum ex reliquis, quae Nonis Aprilibus fecit, abundare debeam, cogor mutuari, quodque ex istis fructuosis rebus receptum est, id ego ad illud fanum sepositum putabam. Sed haec Tironi mandavi, quem ob eam causam Romam misi. Te solui impeditum impedire. 4. Cicero noster quo modestior est, eo me magis commovet. Ad me enim de hac re nihil scripsit, ad quem mirum potissimum debuit. Scripsit hoc autem ad Tironem, sibi post Kal. Aprilis—sic enim annum tempus confici—nihil datum esse; scio tibi pro tua natura semper placuisse teque existimasse et etiam ad dignitatem meam pertinere, eum non modo per liberaliter a nobis sed etiam ornate cumulateque tractari. Quae me velim cures—nec tibi essem molestus, si per alium hoc agere possem—ut permutetur Athenas quod sit in annum sumptum ei. scilicet Eros numerabit. Eius rei causa Tironem misi. Curabis igitur et ad me, si quid tibi de eo videbitur, scribes.

exhaustion of spirit': *animus* is a high quality, *stomachus* is what Hamlet calls the 'gall to make oppression bitter': cp. 28. 3 *stomachor omnia*. For the reading, see Adn. Crit. The usual correction *nam vix stomachum*, due to Bosius, is, Müller says, hardly Latin. Boot says Cicero would have said *nec animum me, ex stomachum habere arbitrantur*.

3. *Profectionem meam*] to Greece. *Erotis dispensatio*] 'the management of my finances by Eros'; *dispensatio*, 'management,' is here virtually 'mismanagement': see note on Att. i. 5. (1).

*impedit*] cp. 749. 1 fin. *ex reliquis . . . fecit*] 'from the balance which he made on April 5th.' The balance can either be on the credit or debit side: so that the word can mean either 'credit' (as here and 775. 3), or 'arrears' (Att. vi. 2. 5 (256) and Plin. p. iii. 19. 6). Cratander adds *vel* before *abundare*, perhaps from his manuscript, as it appears in some of the inferior codices: see Wesenberg.

*fructuosis rebus*] This refers probably to the rent of some house-property which Cicero owned in Rome: like the tenements (*insulae*) referred to in 749. 1, of which the rent had been earmarked for young Cicero's education.

*id . . . putabam*] 'that I thought was earmarked for my shrine.' Cicero was still thinking of the shrine for his dead

daughter; but this is the last allusion to it.

*impeditum impedire*] cp. *perditum perdamus*, Fam. xiv. 1. 5 (82); *nota noscere*, Plaut. Mil. 636; *inventum inveni*, Capt. 441 (according to Brix); *actum agere*, Ter. Phorm. 419. Dr. Reid adds Plaut. Men. 452, *contio quae homines occupatos occupat*, which also occurs in Rud. 109.

4. *scio*] Baiter adds this word here. Boot would insert it after *existimasse*, which plainly depends on some verb which has been lost, perhaps *puto* before *pro*. Lehmann would insert *perspexi* or *perspicio* after *pertinere*, comparing *nihil agere nisi quod ad me pertineat facile perspicio*, 612. 2; *quatenus quidquid . . . ad se pertineat perspicere coepit*, Fin. v. 24. The sentence can hardly represent what young Cicero wrote to Tiro, as the old editors seem to have held, if we may judge by their punctuation.

*ut permutetur Athenas*] 'to send him a bill of exchange on Athens to an amount' which will suffice for his yearly expenses. The accusative *Athenas* is probably the right form. In 560. 1 we think, on the whole, that *Athenis* goes with the clause *quod illi opus erit Athenis, permutarine possit*. It is unlikely that there would be two forms of a regular business expression, the ablative and accusative: and *-ne* would naturally go with the first word of a clause.

*ei. Scilicet*] So Crat. for *et scilicet* of M<sup>1</sup>. See Adn. Crit.

## 749. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 17).

ASTURA; JUNE 14; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Ad duas Attici epistulas respondet de multis rebus summatim, maxime de rebus privatis et negotiis communibus.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Duas accepi postridie Idus, alteram eo die datam, alteram Idibus. Prius igitur superiori. De Bruto, cum scies. De consulum ficto timore cognoveram. Sicca enim φιλοστόργως ille quidem, sed tumultuosius ad me etiam illam suspicionem pertulit, Quid tu autem? τὰ μὲν διδόμενα? Nullum enim verbum a †Siregio. Non placet. De Plaetorio vicino tuo permolesteste tuli

1. *Duas*] sc. *epistulas*. For the ellipse cp. 738. 4 *obsignata*.

*superiori*] sc. *respondebo*.

*De Bruto*] sc. *scribes*.

*consulum ficto timore*] The consuls, Antony and Dolabella, affected to believe that Brutus and Cassius had designs on their lives, and Antony made this an excuse for surrounding himself with a body-guard. They, perhaps, had some grounds for so doing, as there were rumours afloat that Brutus and Cassius were likely to have recourse to violent actions: cp. note to 735. 5; and they seem to have thought that the conspirators had more vigour than they had in Cicero's opinion (738. 1). This is, perhaps, the body-guard to which Appian, B. C. iii. 4 and 5, refers, but wrongly considers it formed as early as April: cp. 750. 2; 751. 1; 752. 4.

φιλοστόργως] cp. 764. 1.

*etiam illam suspicionem*] It is hard to say whether *etiam* means 'this suspicion among others,' or 'to me as well as to others'; probably the former. *Tumultuosius*, 'in somewhat alarmist fashion,' seems to be used much in the sense of θορυβοποιεῖν in 754. 2.

*Quid tu autem?*] 'Well, what do you say? Take the goods the gods provide? For I haven't had a word from Siregius. Annoying.' It has been held that the reference is to the *legatio* given by Dolabella. Cicero wanted the *legatio* for the purpose of leaving the country: but Dolabella had not given him any order, not even to salute Nicias (752. 1), so he could not leave. He was anxious to do so owing to his fears from the military forces now at Antony's disposal. But how

a reference to Dolabella underlies *Siregio* we can offer no explanation. Schmidt supposes τὰ μὲν διδόμενα (sc. δέχονται) to refer to the offer of the corn commissionership to M. Brutus. The passage, we fear, is still unexplained.

a† *Siregio*] Knowing nothing about this person, we cannot guess what transaction is alluded to in the proverb τὰ μὲν διδόμενα (ἀνάγκη δέχεσθαι): cp. Plato Gorg. 499 C, and Cic. Att. vi. 5. 2 (269); but possibly it was some offer from a debtor of Cicero's to compound his debt. It would be rash to read *Sara regio*, 'Sara of the queen's (Cleopatra's) court,' with Schütz. The other allusions to private matters in this letter are also quite beyond the reach of plausible conjecture. O. E. Schmidt (*Rh. Mus.* 1898, p. 237) suggests *Circeio* (the Circean Promontory), where he thinks Brutus may have been (cp. 743 fin.). He was at Astura about the 10th (745. 1), whence he went to Nesis near Naples about June 25 (757). As the context seems to point to some vigorous action on the part of the tyrannicides (cp. 738. 2), we thought that possibly the reading was *nullum enim verbum a Syria* [written *Siria*] (or *ab Asia*). *Regio non placet*. 'Sicca writes about the suspicion that is abroad that the tyrannicides are planning some move. What do you think? They must do the best they can under the circumstances: for there is not a word from Syria (which it was hoped would support them). The district (where the attempt is to be made) is unsatisfactory.' Cicero writes enigmatically about what was a secret and dangerous matter.

*Plaetorio*] We hear of a M. Plaetorius,



quemquam prius audisse quam me. De Syro prudenter. L. Antonium per M. fratrem, ut arbitror, facillime deterrebis. Antroni vetui, sed nondum acceperas litteras ne cuiquam nisi L. Fadio aedili. Aliter enim nec caute nec iure fieri potest. Quod scribis tibi deesse HS c quae Ciceroni curata sint, velim ab Erote quaeras ubi sit merces insularum. Arabioni de Sittio nihil irascor. Ego de itinere, nisi explicato  $\Delta$ , nihil cogito, quod idem tibi videri puto. 2. Habes ad superiorem. Nunc audi ad alteram. Tu vero facis ut omnia, quod Serviliae non dees, id est Bruto. De regina gaudeo te non laborare, testem etiam tibi probari. Erotis rationes et ex Tirone cognovi et vocavi ipsum. Gratissimum, quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum: de quo mirabilia Messalla, qui Lanuvio rediens ab illis venit ad me, et mehercule ipsius

who was a friend of Lentulus, Fam. i. 8. 1 (119); and of a Plaetorius who was condemned for extortion, v. 20. 8 (228). Either may have been the accuser of M. Fonteius: cp. Font. 2.

*Syro*] probably the literary slave of Atticus (558. 2).

*deterrebis*] cp. note to 748. 1.

*Antroni vetui*] sc. *aliquid dari*. 'I ordered you to give no money to Antro, but when you wrote you had not got my letter telling you not to give anything to anyone except to L. Fadius the aedile': cp. 748. 1. We do not know who Antro was.

*tibi deesse*] 'that you have not got the 100 sesteritia paid to Cicero.'

*merces insularum*] cp. 769. 5, 'the rent of the flats' on the Aventine and in the Argiletum (cp. 568. 2), the booksellers' street of Rome. He had assigned these rents to be applied to the maintenance of his son in Athens.

*Arabioni de Sittio nihil irascor*] Arabion was son of Massanassa who fought along with Juba against Caesar. After the defeat at Thapsus he was deprived of his kingdom, which was divided between Bocchus and that able adventurer P. Sittius. (For this remarkable man see Dr. Reid's Introduction to the Pro Sulla, § 16.) Arabio fled to the Pompeians in Spain, but returned after Caesar's murder, reconquered his country, and killed Sittius (App. B. C. iv. 54). The subsequent fortunes of Arabio are told by Appian 53, 56: cp. Dio xviii. 22. It is to the death of Sittius that Cic. plainly refers. It is curious how Cic. inserts this matter

of considerable public interest in the middle of an account of his financial difficulties.

$\Delta$ ] There can be little doubt that the sentiment conveyed is that of 752. 4, *nisi explicata solutione non sum discessurus*.  $\Delta$  is conjectured by Gronovius to stand for  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , which Cic. generally calls *reliquo*, and which means 'my balance' at the banker's. This is very ingenious. A symbol  $\ominus$ , which stands for  $\Delta = \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , is used for the remainder in a subtraction sum in the papyri, as Prof. Smyly has pointed out to us: cp. *Flinders-Petrie Papyri*, vol. iii, p. 364. Popma would read  $\Delta$ , which he regards as standing for *annuo*, or 'my yearly accounts'; the phrase would then mean 'till I see if I can make accounts for the year balance I will not leave.' See also on Att. ix. 9. 4 (364).

2. *facis ut omnia*] Editors would insert *probe*, but Lehmann, p. 78, shows that the text is right. Among many other passages he cites 546. 3, *quod me ab hoc maerore recreari vis facis ut omnia*, 'you act with your usual kindness,' or 'it is just like you.'

*Serviliae*] Atticus was ready to help Servilia (which in effect meant Brutus: cp. note to 704. 3) with money as far as his resources would go. He would not, however, finance the movement that the tyrannicides had now on foot (cp. 735. 5).

*testem etiam*] sc. *Hammonium*: see on last ep. § 2.

*qui . . . ad me*] *rediens ab illis* is to be taken closely together, 'who on his return from Athens came to me (at Astura) from

litterae sic et φιλοστόργως et εὐπινῶς scriptae ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgendum puto. De Buciliano Sestium puto non moleste ferre. Ego, si Tiro ad me, cogito in Tusculanum. Tu vero, quidquid erit quod me scire par sit, statim.

## 750. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 18).

ON THE WAY TO TUSCULUM; JUNE 15; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero commendat Attico negotia sua et consilium proficiscendi se scribit etiam Dolabellae significasse, Attici tamen consilium exspectat.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. xvii Kal. etsi satis videbar scripsisse ad te quid mihi opus esset et quid te facere vellem, si tibi commodum esset, tamen, cum profectus essem et in lacu navigarem, Tironem statui ad te esse mittendum, ut iis negotiis quae agerentur interesset; atque etiam scripsi ad Dolabellam me, si ei videretur, velle proficisci petiique ab eo† de mulis vecturae [itineris]. 2. Ut in his—quoniam intellego te distentissimum esse, qua de Buthroitiis, qua de Bruto, cuius etiam ludorum †suorum curam et [iam] administrationem suspicor

Lanuvium' (which was on the main road, the Via Appia, for one coming from Brundisium to Rome).

φιλοστόργως et εὐπινῶς] 'written with such affection and purity of style that I would venture to read them as models in a *conversazione*.' *Acroasis bel-lorum hominum* is mentioned in a fragment of Varro's Menippean Satires, 517 (p. 216 ed. Bücheler).

*Buciliano*] one of those who took part in the murder of Caesar. He seems to have joined with Brutus and Sestius in preparing ships on which to go to Greece: cp. 771. 4.

*si Tiro ad me*] sc. *venerit*, cp. 773. 6. *statim*] sc. *scribes*.

1. *in lacu*] the *lacus Albanus* or *Nemorensis*, not *lacus Lucrinus*.

*si ei videretur*] These words and the request for a supply of baggage mules remind us that Cicero was now *legatus* to Dolabella.

*ab eo †de mulis vecturae †[itineris]* As ZWORP (cp. Lehmann 'Att.', p. 139) omit *itineris*, we may assume that it is probably a gloss, or perhaps (but less

likely) a dittography from *ut in his*. We should certainly like to have an acc. after *petii*, and Boot conjectured *ab eodem mulos*: we do not know of any parallel in Cicero for *petere de* 'to make a request about a thing' (i.e. for a thing), though Caes. B. G. v. 3. 5 has it. The collocation *mulis vecturae* for 'transport-mules' is hardly possible. We think it must be *mulis et vectura*, or, as Dr. Reid suggests, *mulis vecturae causa*.

2. *Ut in his*] This is the conjecture of Gronovius for *et in eis*, and is resumed by the words *ut ergo . . . in re*. For *ergo* resumptive after a parenthesis cp. Fam. xv. 10. 1 (239) and note.

† *suorum*] The margin of Lambinus' ed. gives *scenicorum*, which is probable. Lehmann (p. 116) conjectures *sumptuosorum*; the more expensive the games were the more trouble would devolve on Atticus: for the adjective he compares *ludos . . . sic ut nemo sumptuosiores*, Q. Fr. iii. 8. 6 (159). The games were very costly: Plut. Brut. 21: Appian B. C. iii. 24: Cic. Phil. i. 36. For the double genitive, see on 744 fin.

*et [iam] administrationem*] *etiam* has

x magna parte ad te pertinere—ut ergo in eius modi re, tribues  
obis paullum operae: nec enim multum opus est. Mihi res ad  
aedem et eam quidem propinquam spectare videtur. Vides  
homines, vides arma. Prorsus non mihi videor esse tutus. Sin tu  
liter sentis, velim ad me scribas. Domi enim manere, si recte  
possum, multo malo.

## 751. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 19).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 16-19; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Quaerit de Buthrotiis, de Bruto, de armis quae futura sint, de Theophane, de Q.  
Cicerone, de mandatis Dolabellae, de C. Antonio, de Menedemo.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quidnam est quod audendum amplius de Buthrotiis sit?  
Egisse enim te frustra scribis. Quid autem se refert Brutus?  
Doleo mehercules te tam esse distentum: quod decem hominibus  
referendum est acceptum. Est illud quidem ἔργῳδες sed ἀνεκτὸν,

probably been developed out of *et* owing  
to the adjacent *etiam*. It is just possible  
that *iam* may have got out of place and  
should precede *pertinere*; now that Brutus  
cannot be in Rome, the administration of  
the games devolves on you.

[*Mihi res ad caedem*] cp. 752. 4. Here  
he says plainly what he only ventures to  
hint at in a letter (744) written but a  
week before in the words *contrahi mihi  
negotium videtur; sed βλάβη μί-  
νιμος*; cp. 751. 1 *De armis nihil vidi  
pertius*.

1. *sit?* *Egisse*] So we read with Wes.  
and Boot for *stetisse*. The latter would  
seem to mean 'appeared in court' (in this  
sense we could also have *stetisse*); but  
the Buthrotian matter was a political  
rather than a legal question. Müller reads  
*sit?* *Sal egisse* 'to have got into a state of  
agitation,' 'to have got into a fuss,' lit.  
to have had enough to do,' a semi-  
comic expression: cp. Petr. 58; Plaut.  
Merc. 228. Domitius Afer said of an  
actor who had a great deal of action, *non  
satis sed satagere* (Quintil. vi. 3. 54).

[*se refert*] 'why is Brutus coming back  
towards Rome instead of pursuing his

journey to Asia?' We do not hear else-  
where of this return of Brutus towards  
Rome. Probably it was a mere rumour.  
Perhaps we should read *de refert*, 'What  
does Brutus say on the matter?' i.e.  
his affair, possibly connected with the  
enterprise for which he asked, and was  
refused, a loan from Atticus (735. 2).  
The Buthrotians and Brutus were the  
two matters which were troubling Atticus  
at this time.

[*decem hominibus*] 'those ten fellows';  
thus he contemptuously designates some  
Commission of Ten, possibly appointed  
under the *Lex Antonia Cornelia de  
coloniis deducendis*. Generally, however,  
such a Commission were *Tresviri*. The  
execution of the Land Law of L.  
Antonius in Italy was assigned to a  
body of Seven.

[*Est illud . . . gratissimum*] Possibly  
Atticus had thanked Cicero for his efforts  
with Dolabella to have the Buthrotian  
business settled. Cicero says it was a  
'tough job' (ἐργῳδες), but 'all in the  
day's work' (ἀνεκτὸν), and a great  
pleasure to him, to be able to help  
Atticus at all. But it is also possible that  
*illud* refers to some favour that Atticus

mihique gratissimum. De armis, nihil vidi apertius. Fugiamus igitur; et, ut ais, coram. Theophanes quid velit nescio. Scripsit enim ad me. Cui rescripsi ut potui. Mihi autem scribit venire ad me se velle, ut de suis rebus, et quaedam quae ad me pertinerent. Tuas litteras exspecto. Vide, quaeso, ne quid temere fiat. 2. Statur scripsit ad me locutum secum esse Q. Ciceronem valde adseveranter, se haec ferre non posse: certum sibi esse ad Brutum et Cassium transire. Hoc enimvero nunc discere aveo: hoc ego quid sit interpretari non possum. Potest aliquid iratus Antonio, potest gloriam iam novam quaerere, potest totum esse *σχεδίασμα*, et nimirum ita est: sed tamen et ego vereor et pater conturbatus est. Scit enim quae ille de hoc: mecum quidem *ἄφατα* olim. Plane quid velit nescio. A Dolabella mandata habeo quae mihi videbuntur, id est, nihil. Dic mihi, C. Antonius voluitne fieri septemvir? Fuit certe dignus. De Menedemo est ut scribis. Facies omnia mihi nota.

had done for Cicero with no little trouble to Atticus himself. If so, *ἀνεκτόν* becomes a rather cavalier remark on Cicero's part. Atticus may, however, have used the word, and Cicero be merely re-echoing it.

*et, ut ais, coram*] sc. *inter nos colloquimur*, as often, e.g. 731 fin., 753. 2; 783. 6 fin. The discussion would be as to the details of the flight: cp. Att. x. 15. 3 (401) *Ibitur igitur, et ita quidem ut censes*. Lehmann (p. 34) punctuates *et ut ais* ('let us fly in the way you suggest'). *Coram Theophanes quid velit nescio*. 'What T. wants by a personal interview, I know not.' Can *velle coram* mean that? And if so, why then repeat a few lines further on that T. asked for such an interview? Boot's proposal to read *et, ut ais, curramus*, introduces a weak tautology.

*Theophanes*] of Mitylene, who had been a very important secretary of Pompey: cp. Index. We do not know the matter referred to.

*ut de suis rebus*] sc. *mecum communicet*.

2. *haec*] 'this condition of public affairs.'

*Potest*] 'Possibly he is somewhat angry with Antony.' For *iratus aliquid* cp. 728. 3, *stomachor omnia*; 763. 4 *succensere aliquid*; and Ter. Andr. 376. The acc. could only be a neut. pronoun

or adj. The dictionaries quote *nihil poterat irasci* from Quintilian (Declam. viii. 8).

*σχεδίασμα*] 'a mere freak,' 'a passing whim.'

*hoc*] Antony.

*ἄφατα*] 'what shocking things young Quintus said to me about Antony'; Cicero is probably referring to some 'shocking' remark of young Quintus like that recorded in 724. 3: *a Caesare habuisse omnia, nihil a patre, reliqua sperare ab Antonio*, which would seem quite inconsistent with a complete abandonment of the cause of Antony.

*A Dolabella*] 'My orders from Dolabella (as his *legatus*) are just whatever I like. In other words, I have no orders at all.'

*septemvir*] one of the Commission of Seven for dividing lands in Italy among the soldiers according to the law of L. Antonius, just passed.

*dignus*] 'he certainly deserves a place' among such worthy colleagues as his two brothers Marcus and Lucius, Dolabella, Nucula, Lento, and a seventh not mentioned: cp. Phil. xi. 13.

*De Menedemo*] See 732. 2; 734. 4. Att. appears to have said that M. had not been executed.

## 752. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 20).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 17-20; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De gratiis Vettieno actis, de Dolabellae mandatis, de legatione sua, de misera republicae condicione, de Sex. Pompeio, de protectione sua futura, Bruti iam facta, de negotiis privatis et rationibus nummariis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Egi gratias Vettieno; nihil enim potuit humanius. Dolabellae mandata sint quaelibet mihi, aliquid vel quod Nicias nuntiem. Quis enim haec, ut scribis, tanteno? Nunc dubitare quemquam prudentem quin meus discessus desperationis sit, non legationis? 2. Quod ais extrema quaedam iam homines de re publica loqui et eos quidem viros bonos, ego quo die audiavi illum tyrannum in contione 'clarissimum virum' appellari subdiffidere

1. *Vettieno*] A banker of Puteoli, whom Cicero charges with negligence in Att. x. 5. 3 (384), and whom, in Att. x. 11. 5 (396), he tells us he addressed as *Monetalis* or 'Business-man' in answering a letter in which Vettienus had appended *Pro Cos.* to the name of Cicero.

*sint quaelibet mihi*] 'let Dolabella's orders to me be of any kind at all, for example, that I should bring some message to Nicias.' The order of words is peculiar; we should expect *vel quod aliquid*; accordingly Dr. Reid suggests *modo (m)* for *mihi (m)*, 'provided only that it is something.' Cicero may have asked that Dolabella should give him some order, and not leave it wholly to his own wish what to do (751. 2). As Nicias appears to have been a gossip (604 fin.; 623. 2), there is some little humour in the order that he is to be told some news. Nicias was a friend of Dolabella: cp. Fam. ix. 10. 2 (537).

*tanteno*] This word is possibly the corruption of a Greek expression, perhaps ἀντεπεῖ, 'who will say nay' to what he is about to remark? For other conjectures see Adn. Crit. The most generally accepted is Gronovius' λεπτύνει, which ought to be λεπτυνεῖ, if we are to explain it, with Schütz, to mean, 'who will hair-split about (will

look closely into) my commissions from Dolabella?' But we do not think λεπτύνειν could bear this sense, nor that the sentiment would suit what follows. Corradus reads *ante nos*, understanding *nuntiabit*, which seems to give a jocose sense, 'who will tell Nicias any news sooner than I?' Perhaps *accepit* is understood—'received such orders as these.' Dr. Reid approves of *ante nos*, but he would understand *passus est*, 'Who ever was treated like this before me?' If this is the sense, we think we should read in the previous clause *sunt* (for *sint*) *quaelibet mihi, aliquid, vel*, and that Cic. is reproducing the more or less contemptuous message of Dolabella, 'Do just what you please, just something, say, tell Nicias some piece of news.'

*dubitare*] For the exclamatory infinitive cp. Att. ii. 6. 2 (33) *esse locum tam prope Romam ubi multi sint qui Vatinium nunquam viderint?* Roby, § 1358, and many examples referred to in Index, s. v. infinitive mood.

*desperationis sit*] A genitive like Off. i. 67 *acerba ita ferre ut nihil a statu naturae discedat robusti animi est magnaeque constantiae* Madvig, § 282.

2. *contione*] We do not know in what public speech Caesar was so styled. It may have been the speech of Brutus to the people in the Capitol (731. 2).

coepi: postea vero quam tecum Lanuvi vidi nostros tantum spei habere ad vivendum quantum acceperissent ab Antonio, desperavi. Itaque, mi Attice, fortiter hoc velim accipias, ut ego scribo. Genus illud interitus, quo †causurus est, foedum ducens et quasi denuntiatus nobis ab Antonio ex hac nassa exire constitui, non ad fugam sed ad spem mortis melioris. Haec omnis culpa Bruti. 3. Pompeium Carteia receptum scribis: iam igitur contra hunc exercitum. Utra ergo castra? Media enim tollit Antonius. Illa infirma, haec nefaria. Properemus igitur. Sed iuva me consilio Brundisione an Puteolis. Brutus quidem subito, sed sapienter. Πάσχω τι. Quando enim illum? Sed humana ferenda. Tu ipse eum videre non potes. Di illi mortuo, qui umquam Buthrotum!

Lanuvi] cp. 734. 2. *Tecum* shows that Att. was at the meeting at Lanuvium: cp. 741 init. note.

spei . . . ad] Boot compares *spem* . . . *ad eius salutem extinguendam*, Mil. 5. See also Att. vii. 3. 4 (294) and note.

†quo casurus est] We think the least unsatisfactory restoration of this corrupt passage is Popma's suggested by Z, *quo causae cursus est*, 'that kind of death in the direction of which the current of affairs is setting,' namely, death in the massacre which seemed likely to occur: cp. 750. 2. With it Cicero compares the *mors melior*, namely, death by the hand of his enemies in open battle. The unnatural character of the expression *quo causae cursus est* may be due to his unwillingness to speak plainly of such a horrid contingency as massacre: cp. 744 fin.; and the phrase *si haec ita manant*, used above in 734. 3 in a very similar passage, may serve as a commentary on it. Madvig's over daring emendation, *quo Catulus usus est*, would point to suicide, of which we cannot believe Cicero is thinking here. Dr. Reid suggests *quo* ('whereby') *causa casura est*. Could it be *quo Caesar caesus est*, i.e. assassination? This would suit *quasi denuntiatus nobis ab Antonio*.

ex hac nassa] 'I have resolved to get out of this drag-net (Rome), not with a view to escape, but with a view to the hope of a nobler death.' For *nassa* cp. Plaut. Mil. 581 and Mayor on Juv. 12. 123.

culpa Bruti] We think this cannot be Decimus, but must be Marcus Brutus: cp. 745. 2. If it were Decimus, that prenominal would have been added, as in 744. 2.

3. Carteia] a town in Hispania Baetica,

near Calpe (Gibraltar), now called Saint-Roch. M gives *Carthela*. In 590. 3 *Carteia* appears in M as *Cartivi*, in Z as *Cartini*. Generally here the alteration made is *Carteiam*. The acc. is natural when *se recipere* = 'to betake oneself to': but here the meaning seems to be 'to be received at Carteia': and the abl. would be normal: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 103. 3, *Alexandria reciperetur*: 102. 7 *oppido ac portu recepti non erant*: i. 35. 5. Of course *Carteiae* would be allowable, 590. 3.

exercitum] sc. *venturum* 'that accordingly at once an army will come against Antony'; or 'that presently he will come against this army of Antony here.' That it was supposed that Sextus Pompeius would carry the war into Italy appears from 729. 2, a passage which should be compared with this one: cp. also 718. 2; 753 fin.; 755.

Utra ergo castra?] sc. *sequemur*. Here, as in other cases where there is a weighing different courses, ellipse is very prevalent.

Media . . . tollit] 'makes neutrality impossible.'

an Puteolis] sc. *navem conscendam in Graeciam profecturus*.

subito] sc. *profecturus est*.

Πάσχω τι] 'I cannot but feel his departure: for when shall I see him again? However, such is life. You cannot see him either. My curse on Caesar, dead though he be, who proscribed the land of the Buthrotians,' and so kept Atticus in Rome and rendered it impossible for him to see his friend Brutus. Cicero did meet Brutus in Nesis on July 8th (769. 1).

Di illi mortuo] sc. *infesti sint* or *mala dent*, or something of the kind: cp. 769. 1

Sed acta missa. Videamus quae agenda sint. 4. Rationes Erotis, etsi ipsum nondum vidi, tamen et ex litteris eius et ex eo, quod Tiro cognovit, propemodum cognitae habeo. Versuram scribis esse faciendam mensum quinque, id est, ad Kal. Nov. HS cc: in eam diem cadere nummos qui a Quinto debentur. Velim igitur, quoniam Tiro negat tibi placere me eius rei causa Romam venire, si ea te res nihil offendet, videas unde nummi sint, mihi feras expensum. Hoc video in praesentia opus esse. Reliqua diligentius ex hoc ipso exquiram, in his de mercedibus dotatium praediorum, quae si fideliter Ciceroni curabuntur, quamquam volo laxius, tamen ei propemodum nihil deerit. Equidem video mihi quoque opus esse viaticum. Sed ei ex praediis ut cadet ita solvetur; mihi autem opus est universo. Equidem, etsi mihi videtur iste qui umbras timet ad caedem spectare, tamen nisi explicata solutione non sum discessurus. Sitne autem explicata necne tecum cognoscam. Haec putavi mea manu scribenda, itaque feci. De Fadio, ut scribis, utique alii nemini. Rescribas velim hodie.

*Di hercule istis*: Att. xvi. 11. 5 (799) *Di istis*. The ellipse with *Buthrotum* is very harsh, but may be excused by the elliptical nature of the whole passage. Otherwise we should suggest to add <proscripsit tuum.>

*missa*] sc. *faciamus*; 'let us dismiss the past and look to the future': cp. Fam. ix. 7. 2 (462) *sed ridicula missa*. Or the ellipse may be merely *sint*.

4. *Versuram mensum quinquae*] 'a five months' loan'; i.e. for five months. We do not know of any other example of this genitive (apparently that of quality) after *versura*.

*mihi feras expensum*] 'put it down to my debit account.'

*ex hoc ipso*] sc. *Erote*, whom he had not yet met.

*dotatium praediorum*] This is the property to which Cicero has already referred as the flats (*insulae*) on the Aventine and the Argiletum. They originally formed part of Terentia's dower; but after her divorce Cic. retained part of her dower, to be applied to the maintenance and education of their son: see 568. 2; 749. 1.

*quae . . . deerit*] 'which rents if carefully collected will be found to be adequate for him, even though my wish is that he should have a more liberal allowance.' There does not seem to be

any necessity to change *laxius* to *largius*, *lautius*, or *prolixius*. It is opposed to *anguste* or *arte*, which can be applied to livelihood or subsistence: cp. Liv. ii. 51. 2; xxviii. 24. 6.

*viaticum*] Both constructions are allowable with *opus est*, either personal or impersonal (with abl.): cp. *universo* in the next sentence. The former is rare: for some examples from the letters cp. note to Fam. ii. 6. 4 (177) *Dux nobis et auctor opus est*.

*Sed . . . universo*] 'but he can be paid from time to time as the rents fall due; I shall require a lump sum for the expenses of my journey.'

*ei*] So Mal. for *id* of M and *et* of F.

*qui umbras timet*] Antony, who had, or professed to have, apprehensions of an attempt on his life by Brutus and Cassius: cp. 749. 1 *De consulum ficto timore*. For the fears of a massacre cp. 750. 2; 751. 1 *de armis nihil vidi apertius*.

*Hanc*] apparently the whole letter. Ern. reads *Haec*, supposing that § 4 is meant. See Adn. Crit.

*De Fadio*] see 748. 1; 749. 1, where he tells Atticus that he had forbidden any money to be given to Antro, or indeed to be given to anyone except the aedile Fadius, who was to get the moneys of the Arpinates which were in his hands.

## 753. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 21).

TUSCULUM: JUNE 21; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 60.

De Q. filio quid Q. pater sibi scripserit, de re Cani, de aliis negotiis privatis et protectione sua adventante Sex. Pompeio.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Narro tibi, Q. pater exsultat laetitia. Scripsit enim filius se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod, cum sibi negotium daret Antonius ut eum dictatorem efficeret, praesidium occuparet, id recusasset, recusasse autem se, ne patris animum offenderet: ex eo sibi illum hostem. 'Tum me' inquit 'collegi verens ne quid mihi ille iratus tibi noceret. Itaque eum placavi. Et quidem cccc certa, reliqua in spe.' Scribit autem Staius illum cum patre habitare velle. Hoc vero mirum, et id gaudet. Ecquem tu illo certiore nebulonem? 2. Ἐποχὴν vestram de re Cani [deliberationis] probo. Nihil eram suspicatus de tabulis, ἀκεραίως restitutam arbitrabar. Quae differs, ut mecum coram, expectabo. Tabellarios quoad voles tenebis: es enim occupatus. Quod ad Xenonem, probe. Quod scribo, cum absolvero. Quinto

1. *dictatorem*] The whole of this announcement of Quintus to his father—that his design of deserting to Brutus (751. 2) arose from his unwillingness to carry out the ambition of Antony by proposing him as dictator if elected tribune next year, and occupying in Antony's interest a fortified position in the city—seems to have been a fabrication, as well as the large alleged present in money from Antony on the occasion of his reconciliation. Boot acutely remarks that we should have heard of the matter in the Philippics if there had been any truth in it. Young Quintus was given to romancing. Shuckburgh compares 605 fin.; 751. 2; 768. 2, *suspicio hunc, ut solet, alucinari*.

*habitare velle*] He had refused to live with his father: cp. 658. 1.

*gaudet*] Quintus the elder rather than Staius.

*certiorem*] This can mean 'a more thorough rascal,' 'one more certainly a rascal.' For this use of *certus* cp. *certissimus parricida*, Vat. 35: *monstrum certissimum*, Rose. Am. 63. It is, however, possible that Cicero wrote *cerriorem*. Indeed, the young man who

invented falsehoods so sure to be detected might well be called 'crazy'; and young Quintus could not have been described better than as *cerritus nebulosus*.

2. *re Cani*] See 661. 2; *vestram* refers to Att. and Quintus.

*deliberationis*] This is probably a gloss on ἐποχή, the genitive being used, as there might be a 'suspension' of other things besides discussion. Dr. Reid would wish to add <quae est> *deliberationis*, comparing Att. viii. 12. 8 (345), *etsi erat deliberationis*, 'a matter needing deliberation.'

ἀκεραίως] 'in full,' 'without any rebate.' If the reference is to Ep. 661, we may infer that there was some charge on the dowry of Cana, and that for some reason it was not refunded to her in full on her divorce from her former husband. The *tabulae* would be the documents which showed the existence of the lien on Cana's dowry. We rather think we should read *de <dotalibus> tabulis*, so that the word *dotem* may be more easily understood as subject to *restitutam*.

*ad Xenonem*] sc. *scripsisti*.

*Quod scribo*] 'the work I am now engaged on I shall forward to you when



scripsisti te ad eum litteras; nemo attulerat. 3. Tiro negat iam tibi placere Brundisium et quidem dicere aliquid de militibus. At ego iam destinaram, Hydruntem quidem. Movebant me tuae quinque horae. Hic autem quantus *πλοῦς*! Sed videbimus. Nullas a te xi. Kal. : quippe, quid enim iam novi? Cum primum gitor poteris, venies. Ego propero, ne ante Sextus, quem advenare aiunt.

## 754. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 23).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 21 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero cum de aliis rebus tum de conservanda Antonii amicitia agit cum Tirone.

## CICERO TIRONI SAL.

1. Tu vero confice professionem, si potes; etsi pecunia haec ex-

inished.' Shuckburgh thinks it may have been the *De Amicitia*.

*etum*] is Quintus. Possibly he was now at Tusculum with his brother.

3. *placere Brundisium*] as a place of embarkation for Greece, cp. 752. 3.

*de militibus*] i.e. that the legions which were coming from Macedonia might cause him trouble, cp. 771. 4. But Cicero had already made up his mind to go to Brundisium, or rather Hydruntum (Otranto), some 45 miles further south: cp. Fam. xvi. 9. 2 (292). He did not, however, go by that route (771. 4). Cicero regarded Atticus as something of an alarmist (754. 2). Ferrero (iii. 75) says the danger was from the legion called *Alaudae*, which was under orders for Macedonia at this time. In November it was on its way to Rome, Att. xvi. 8. 2 (798). It probably never crossed to Macedonia.

*tuae quinque horae*] your (statement that it was only a) five hours' passage.'

*Hic autem*] 'But this journey (from the west coast of Italy)—what an immense one it is!' For *hic* Dr. Reid compares 71. 4 *haec navigatio*; Phil. i. 7 *iter illud iter illinc*.

*Nullas*] sc. *accepi*, cp. 641. 1.

*Sextus*] sc. *adveniat*, cp. 752. 3 note.

As to the date of this letter Ruete (p. 25) notices that during the summer of 710 (44) we know that Tiro was three times in Rome: at the end of May (741. 1); from June 9 to 14 (745. 1; 749. 2; 750. 1); from June 15 to beginning of July

(750. 1; 753. 3; 766. 1). This letter, he thinks, was written in the third period: cp. § 2, *Atticus θορυβοποιεῖ* with 753. 3 of June 21, *et quidem dicere aliquid de militibus*. Lepta, too, is mentioned in a letter of July 2, 763. 1.

O. E. Schmidt, on the other hand (*N. Jahrb.* cxxix. 1884, p. 337), thinks that the projected letter to Antony, mentioned in § 2, is that which is stated in 741. 1 of May 31 to have been already written. It would appear that, on May 27, Cicero sent Tiro to Dolabella at Rome (735. 5), on which occasion Tiro, he supposes, saw Atticus, who expressed alarm at Cicero's not having applied to Antony as well as to Dolabella in the matter of the *legatio*. To Tiro's letter of the 27th, telling of the alarm of Atticus, this letter is a reply. Cicero was in Tusculum at this time. Tiro returned thither on the 29th, and brought news that Atticus would join Cicero in a visit to Brutus and Cassius at Lanuvium. This visit seems to have taken place on the 30th. Tiro's first sojourn in Rome is accordingly fixed to May 27–29. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of this argument of Schmidt's, we have adhered to Ruete's view, as we have not any confirmatory evidence of the supposition that Atticus was alarmed on Cicero's behalf at the end of May.

1. *Tu vero*] 'Yes, finish the matter of the declaration of property.' *Vero*, with the personal pronoun, shows that this is an answer to a question of Tiro's: cp. note to 574. 1; 733. init.

*professionem*] Probably this was the

eo genere est ut professione non egeat. Verum tamen. . . Balbus ad me scripsit tanta se ἐπιφορᾷ oppressum ut loqui non possit. Antonius de lege 'quod egerit.' Liceat modo rusticari! Ad Bithynicum scripsi. 2. De Servilio tu videris qui senectutem non

regular declaration which it was necessary to make at the census. Everything had to be declared of which the citizen had full ownership. But the property to which Cicero alludes may not have been strictly his own: it may, for example, have been trust-money for wards or the like. Schmidt (p. 305) thinks that there was a *professio* in the case of every formal change of property by loan or borrowing—a statement, presumably, that both parties assented to the transfer, just as we give our signatures in the case of transfer of stocks: and he is of opinion that such a private (so to speak) *professio* is referred to here. But the passages he quotes, Att. xiii. 33. 1 (616), Liv. xxxv. 7. 1-5, are not conclusive on the point.

[*Verum tamen*] For this aposiopesis, cp. 550; 602. 1; 710. 2; 715. 1; 773. 3.

ἐπιφορᾷ] 'defluxion': cp. vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 86. It probably means a defluxion or running from the nose; in fact, what we call a cold in the head, a catarrh. It is also applied to a running of the eyes, and we find it in the glosses (iv. 360. 23) used as an explanation of *lippitudo*.

[*possit*] So the mss. The consecution is unusual, but allowable, 'that he cannot speak' (the condition still continuing). Wes. reads *posset*, 'that he could not speak' (at the time of writing), which is, of course, more natural. For the former, cp. 1 Verr. i. 12, *quam* (Siciliam) *iste per triennium ita vexavit ut ea restitui in antiquum statum nullo modo possit*.

[*de lege*] Without Tiro's letter we cannot be sure what law is here referred to. Antony did a good trade in promulgating laws, ostensibly from Caesar's memoranda, which granted immunities to certain states. Thus he granted Roman citizenship to the Sicilians, at which Cicero was very indignant (715. 1). But we think the law was probably the *Lex agraria* of L. Antonius, which was passed in June: cp. Groebe (*De legibus*, §c., anni 710, p. 16) and 748. 1; 749. 1. Schmidt (*Die letzten Kämpfe*, p. 708-2) holding, as he does, the date of this letter to be May 28, considers that it was the *Lex Antonia de provinciis consularibus* passed on June 1 or 2. Orelli for *legem* wishes

to read *legionibus* (legg.) 1111 (= quattuor). Wesenberg (E. A. 58) thinks that *lege* is corrupted from *legg.* (= *legationibus*), and that the reference is to the *legationes* which certain of the anti-Caesarians (and among them Cicero himself) were trying to obtain, or had obtained, at this time: cp. 700. 2; 707. 2; 741. 1; 744. 4.

[*quod egerit*] This is the admirable restoration of Lehmann ('Att.', p. 198). We are to understand some such phrase as *id actum habeo*, signifying *non curo*. He compares Tusc. iii. 50, *Ego sum is qui dicam me non laborare: actum habiturum quod egerint*: from which passage he acutely infers that *quod egerit* was often used as a brief expression for 'it is nothing to me': cp. Att. xv. 13. 3 (794), *Clodium nihil arbitror malitiose* (sc. *fecisse*); *quamquam—sed 'quod egerit'*; Fam. xvi. 24. 2 (806), *puto utrumque* (sc. *Balbus et Hirtnius*) *ad aquas: sed 'quod egerint'*. He also uses it to explain Att. vi. 6. 4 (276), which he does by printing *At nunc Caelius non dico equidem 'quod egerit,' sed tamen multo minus laboro*. He quotes other passages somewhat similar, where, however, no indifference is expressed, but rather entire confidence: Att. ix. 10. 7 (365), *quod egeris id στερεκτέον putabo*; xi. 13. 3 (428), *quicquid egisses recte esse actum putarem*; 640. 2, *quod egeris id probabo*. This restoration supersedes his former suggestion (*Quaest. Tull.* p. 92) *Antonius de lege <en> quid egerit*; and Wesenberg's *quid egerit <non curo>*. Dr. Reid suggests *quidlibet egerit*.

[*Liceat modo rusticari*] 'Only let me have my country holiday.'

[*Bithynicum*] cp. note to 701.

2. *De Servilio*] This was Servilius Isauricus, who had just (Phil. ii. 12) died at a very advanced age (ὄπρηγρος, Dio Cass. xlv. 16. 1). He had been consul in 79, therefore must have been over 78 years of age. 'You must do as you think right as regards emulating Servilius, you who do not despise length of days. (I have no fear of death), although Atticus, because in past time he has seen me thrown off my balance by false alarms, supposes that the same

contemnis. Etsi Atticus noster, quia quondam me commoveri πανικοῖς intellexit, idem semper putat, nec videt quibus praesidiis philosophiae saeptus sim; et hercle, quod timidus ipse est, θορυβοποιεῖ. Ego tamen Antoni inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo scribamque ad eum, sed non ante quam te videro. Nec tamen te avoco a syngrapha; γόνυ κνήμης. Cras exspecto Leptam et τῆν ad cuius rutam puleio mihi tui sermonis utendum est. Vale.

## 755. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 22).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 22 OR 23; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De exitu Q. filii, de Pansa, de Sex. Pompeio, de Antonio.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Gratulor nobis Q. filium exisse: molestus non erit. Pansam bene loqui credo. Semper enim coniunctum esse cum Hirtio scio.

is the case always (and that I am afraid of death): but he does not perceive the strong guards whereby I am now protected, even the doctrines of philosophy; and, upon my word, because he is a bit timid himself he is acting the alarmist. However, I wish to keep up friendship with Antony.' Cp. Introductory note. Kayser and Wes. wish to add <at ego contemno> after *contemnis*. But the contrast between *tu* and *me* makes the train of ideas intelligible without any addition.

*Antoni inveteratam . . . amicitiam*] Though the relations between Cicero and Antony had never been very cordial, they had not as yet broken off what they called friendship with one another. Two months previously Cicero had written a rather effusive letter to him: see 717.

*syngrapha*] A bond of Tiro's own, which he wished to have paid.

γόνυ κνήμης] cp. γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον, Aristot. Eth. Nic. ix. 8. 2; Theocrit. xvi. 18, ἀπώτέρω ἢ γόνυ κνάμα. The Latin proverb is *tunica propior pallio*, Plaut. Trin. 1154, and the English, 'Charity begins at home.'

*Leptam*] Cicero wrote two letters to him, Fam. vi. 18, 19 (534, 648): cp. 763. 1.

et τῆν] Here it is generally supposed that the name of some man is lost. We think it may stand for *nostrum*, and refer to young Quintus. He was considerably

in debt (681. 1), and owed some money to Lepta (763. 1). Cicero speaks of him as *nostrum* in 768. 2 σκοπός—*hoc est enim—huic nostro nihil praebere*. In the Medicean ms. of Ep. ad Att. xv. 7. 1 (739) we find *nostrum* represented by *N*.

*ad cuius rutam puleio*] 'I shall need all the sweets of your conversation to counteract the bitters of his talk': lit. 'and for his rue I must have the pennyroyal of your conversation.' Rue 'even for ruth,' was the proverbially bitter herb, while pennyroyal (βλήχων) had an exceptionally agreeable odour: cp. Plin. H. N. xx. 152, *qua de causa dignior e puleio corona Varroni quam e rosa cubiculis nostris pronuntiata est, nam et capitis dolores imposita dicitur levare, quin et olfactu capita tueri contra frigorum aestusque iniuriam et ab siti traditur, neque aestuare eos qui duos e puleio surculos impositos auribus in sole habeant*. The word is scanned *pūlei* in Mart. xii. 32, 19 *nec corona pulei* ending a scazon. Mendelssohn notices that St. Ambrose copies this expression in a letter to Felix (Ep. i. 4, 1 = Migne, ii. 889), *Etsi habitu corporis minus valebam, tamen ubi sermone unanimi mihi pectoris tui legi, non mediocrem sumpsit ad convalescendum gratiam quasi quodam tui alloquii puleio refotus*.

*exisse*] sc. Roma.

Amicissimum Bruto et Cassio puto, si expediet—sed quando illos videbit?—Inimicum Antonio? quando aut cur? Quousque ludemur? Ego autem scripsi Sextum adventare, non quo iam adesset, sed quia certe id ageret ab armisque nullus discederet. Certe, si pergit, bellum paratum est. Hic autem noster Cytherius nisi victorem neminem victurum. Quid ad haec Pansa? utrobi erit, si bellum erit? quod videtur fore. Sed et haec alia coram, hodie quidem, ut scribis, aut cras.

### 756. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 23).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 23 OR 24; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo, de Pansa, de Silio, de Bruto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Mirifice torqueor, sine dolore tamen, sed permulta mihi de nostro itinere in utramque partem occurrunt. Quousque? inquires. Quoad erit integrum: erit autem usque dum ad navem. Pansa

*quando illos videbit?*] The whole gist of the letter is that Pansa is insincere and not to be trusted. (We may contrast with this the warm praise Cicero gives Pansa in a letter to Cassius: cp. Fam. xv. 17. 3 (541) written in January, 45.) The question when he will meet Brutus and Cassius does not seem very relevant, but it would be rash to introduce a conjecture, such as that of Graeter, *quando illi videbitur?* sc. *expedire*. Dr. Reid thinks *illos videbit* was introduced by a copyist who wished to fill up the ellipse. If the words are retained, they will mean 'but when will he see them so as to express his great friendship for them?' Pansa, and Hirtius (cp. 730. 2), seem to have been men who wished to stand well with all parties, and agreed with whoever was conversing with them on any occasion. This complaisance naturally created a suspicion of insincerity. Cicero was apparently quoting the words of Att., who said *Pansa est amicissimus Bruto et Cassio*, to which Cicero replies, 'Yes, I think so, if it will be advantageous to him.' Att. had also said *inimicus Antonio*. *Sextum*] *Pompeium*: cp. 753. 5. *nullus discederet*] 'won't budge an inch

from his hostile attitude': see I<sup>3</sup>, p. 80, for this use of *nullus*, of which we have a good example in Plaut. Rud. 143, *Is qui vocavit nullus venit*.

*pergit*] 'goes on' (as he is doing).

*Cytherius*] A nickname of Antony as the lover of the actress Cytheris. He is possibly so called in Att. x. 5 (395), where see note.

*neminem victurum*] sc. *dicat*. *Victurum* is doubtless from *vivere*. But did Cicero or Antony use the word without an intentional play on *victurum* from *vincere*?

*utrobi erit*] 'on which side will he be?' Perhaps we should read *utro ierit*: for the adv. *utro* cp. Ovid. Met. v. 166 *nescit (tigris) utro potius ruat et ruere ardet utroque*. See Adn. Crit.

*coram*] cp. 734. 4.

*torqueor*] 'I am on the rack, not of pain, but of uncertainty, so many conflicting views present themselves to me with regard to my journey': cp. 752. 3; 753. 3.

*Quoad erit integrum*] 'as long as it remains an open question, and that will be till I am at the ship.' The ellipse is *futurus sim*; and the phrase like *ad*

si tuae rescripserit, et meam tibi et illius epistulam mittam. Silium exspectabam, cui ὑπόμνημα compositum. Si quid novi. Ego litteras misi ad Brutum, cuius de itinere etiam ex te velim si quid scies cognoscere.

## 757. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 24).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 25; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris suis Bruto non redditis, de libello de Silii causa composito.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Tabellarius, quem ad Brutum miseram, ex itinere redit VII Kal. Ei Servilia dixit eo die Brutum h. is profectum. Sane dolui meas litteras redditas non esse. Silius ad me non venerat. Causam composui: eum libellum tibi misi. Te quo die expectem velim scire.

## 758. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 14).

TUSCULUM; JUNE 26 OR 27; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De acceptis a Dolabella litteris, de Buthroitiis et de sua rescripta epistula, cuius exemplum includitur in hanc epistulam, tum de componendis libris suis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VI Kal. accepi a Dolabella litteras quarum exemplum tibi misi, in quibus erat omnia se fecisse quae tu velles. Statim ei

forum esse. For *usque dum* Boot compares *usque dum per me licuerit*, 2 Verr. i. 12; *usque dum inveniretur* Pro Quinct. 67. We have *tandiu* similarly coupled with *dum*, in the sense of 'as long as' in Off. ii. 43.

*tuae rescripserit*] For the omission of *epistulae*, see on 734. 4: cp. 738. 4: 735. 5 (*litteras* omitted). Pansa, in replying to the letter of Atticus, would send his letter to Cicero to be forwarded by the latter to Atticus.

ὑπόμνημα] See on 760. The same 'memorandum' is called *causa* 'statement of the case,' and *libellus* 'a pamphlet,' in the next letter.

*Si quid novi*] sc. *scribes*: cp. Att. x. 12. 3. (397), *Tu, quaeso, si quid habebis novi* (sc. *scribes*). Dr. Reid would put a comma at *compositum*: 'I have given him a memorandum to meet any new turn of the case.'

h. is] = *hora prima semisse* 'at half an hour after the first hour,' which at this time of the year would be about 5 a.m. So Orelli for *his* of M. As Z reads *hns*, Boot conjectures *HIIS* = *hora secunda semisse*, 'half an hour after the second hour' = about a quarter past six. Schiche conjectures *in Nesidem*.

*Causam*] 756 and 760.

rescripsi et multis verbis gratias egi. Sed tamen ne miraretur cur idem iterum facerem, hoc causae sumpsi quod ex te ipso coram antea nihil potuissem cognoscere. Sed quid multa? Litteras hoc exemplo dedi :

“CICERO DOLABELLAE COS. SUO.

2. Antea cum litteris Attici nostri de tua summa liberalitate summoque erga se beneficio certior factus essem, cumque tu ipse etiam ad me scripisses te fecisse ea quae nos voluissēmus, egi tibi gratias per litteras iis verbis ut intellegeres nihil te mihi gratius facere potuisse. Postea vero quam ipse Atticus ad me venit in Tusculanum huius unius rei causa tibi ut apud me gratias ageret, cuius eximiam quamdam et admirabilem in causa Buthrotia voluntatem et singularem erga se amorem perspexisset, teneri non potui quin tibi apertius illud idem his litteris declararem. Ex omnibus enim, mi Dolabella, studiis in me et officiis, quae summa sunt, hoc scito mihi et amplissimum videri et gratissimum esse quod perfeceris ut Atticus intellegeret quantum ego te, quantum tu me amares. 3. Quod reliquum est, Buthrotiam et causam et civitatem, quamquam a te constituta est—beneficia autem nostra tueri solemus—tamen velim receptam in fidem tuam a meque etiam atque etiam tibi commendatam auctoritate et auxilio tuo tectam velis esse. Satis erit in perpetuum Buthrotiis praesidi magnaque cura et sollicitudine Atticum et me liberaris, si hoc honoris mei causa susceperis ut eos semper a te defensos velis. Quod ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.”

4. His litteris scriptis me ad συντάξεις dedi, quae quidem

1. *idem iterum facerem*] cp. § 2. ‘I adopted this excuse that I was not able to learn anything from you at our previous meeting’ (but this *special* visit of Att. showed Cicero how very grateful he was to Dolabella).

2. *cuius . . . perspexisset*] (‘as he had perceived fully your signal and remarkable exertions in the Buthrotian business, and your exceptional regard for himself’): the antecedent of *cuius* is *tibi*.

3. *beneficia . . . solemus*] We think that this is a general statement ‘and one is accustomed to continue his support where he has done a kindness.’ A somewhat similar sentiment is found in Thucyd. ii.

40. 4, βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι’ εὐνοίας ᾗ δέδωκε σφρίζει.

*velim . . . velis*] Boot justly remarks the carelessness of this repetition. In such a letter in English ‘kindly’ and ‘kindness’ would be apt to occur in the same way.

4. *συντάξεις*] σύνταξις is used of an entire work (usually *corpus*), but it can be called *liber*; σύγγραμμα and σύνταγμα are used of a separate book or portion of a work (usually *liber*). See Dr. Reid’s *Academica*, p. 31. The works to which Cicero refers are probably the *De Gloria* and Ἑρακλείδιον (764. 2; 782. 6), but

ereor ne miniata cerula tua pluribus locis notandae sint : ita sum  
 ἐρέωρος et magnis cogitationibus impeditus.

## 759. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 25).

TUSCULUM ; JUNE 29 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo varias sententias proponit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

De meo itinere variae sententiae : multi enim ad me. Sed tu  
 neumbe, quaeso, in eam curam. Magna res est. An probas, si  
 ad Kal. Ian. cogitamus? Meus animus est aequus, sic tamen ut  
 [si] nihil offensionis sit. Velim etiam scire, quo die Olympia, cum

they may perhaps be the three books  
*De Officiis*.

*miniata cerula*] The ancients used to  
 stick little red wax wafers on places where  
 they deemed correction or revision neces-  
 sary. We should say 'your red-pencil  
 marks': cp. Att. xvi. 11. 1 (799) *Cerulas*  
*enim tuas miniatulas illas extimescebam*.

*μετέωρος*] 'anxious and hampered  
 by considerations of great moment.' For  
*μετέωρος* cp. note to 770. 3.

*ad me*] sc. *scripserunt* : cp. 769. 3 *ad te*  
*cras*.

*si ad Kal. Ian.*] We must understand  
*adesse*; or, perhaps better still, express it  
 before *ad*, where it might have been lost :  
 cp. Phil. i. 6, *ea mente discessi ut adessem*  
*Kal. Ian.* For *adesse ad* cp. 719. 6 ; Att.  
 vii. 20. 2 (318) *aderunt consules ad suas*  
*Nonas*.

*animus est aequus*] 'I am in a state of  
 indifference, qualified only by a desire to  
 avoid giving offence' by the time chosen  
 either for my departure or for my return.  
 In strictness either *ut* or *si* is redundant.  
 We have bracketed *si*. It may have been  
 an error for *sed*, which originally preceded  
*Velim scire*.

*Velim etiam scire . . . scires*] This is  
 virtually the reading of M, except that  
 we read *Velim* for *et tu* with Lambinus  
 (marg.) and Shuckburgh, and bracket  
*ut*, which may be a dittography of *tu*.  
 Cicero was considering every point  
 connected with his journey to Greece.  
 If he went there, he might as well

see the Olympic games, as this was an  
 Olympic year, and also attend the  
 Eleusinian mysteries. The former took  
 place in July or August (Hecatombaeon),  
 the exact date having, no doubt, been  
 already proclaimed ; the latter about  
 September (Boedromion). As to the latter  
 Cicero had already, perhaps in a letter  
 of the day before, made inquiries from  
 Atticus. The meaning then is: "I  
 should like to know also (as well as  
 your opinion about my returning by  
 Jan. 1) the date of the Olympic games :  
 as the mysteries (i.e. the exact date of  
 the mysteries) of course you know [for  
 Atticus presumably knew all about  
 Attica and Athens]. Chance will decide  
 the plans for my journey (i.e. such con-  
 siderations as these dates will decide my  
 plans). Let us then perpend, not make  
 up our minds (as to the exact date of my  
 return : I may return sooner than the end  
 of December) : for travelling by sea in  
 winter is annoying, and that was the  
 reason I asked you for the date of the  
 mysteries' (to see if I could attend them  
 and yet get back before general naviga-  
 tion ceased for the winter)." The sea  
 was said to be 'closed' from Nov. 11  
 to March 10 : cp. Vegetius v. 9. We  
 cannot believe that *olim piaculum*, the  
 reading of Bosius, is right ; and, even if  
 it were, the reference to the very ancient  
 history of the violation of the rights of  
 the Bona Dea by Clodius seventeen years  
 before would have little point. We think  
 that Cicero at this time intended to go to

mysteria scilicet [ut] tu scires. Casus consilium nostri itineris iudicabit. Dubitemus igitur. Est enim hiberna navigatio odiosa, eoque ex te quaesieram mysteriorum diem. Brutum, ut scribis, visum iri a me puto. Ego hinc volo prid. Kal.

## 760. CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 21).

JUNE (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero C. Trebatio P. Silii causam valde commendat.

### CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

Sili causam te docui : is postea fuit apud me. Cum ei dicerem tibi videri sponsionem illam nos sine periculo facere posse, si

the Olympic games, not imagining that if he attended them the general public would think so badly of him as it did. Cicero, on fuller consideration, recognized that such an action on his part would be inexcusable (783. 5). Even at this time he thought attending games at Rome in this crisis of the State was not a right proceeding (763. 1); but to do so in a foreign country might not have appeared to him so reprehensible as it afterwards did, when public opinion set strongly against it. Possibly *scilicet* should be transferred to the next sentence, to precede *Casus*. Prof. Goligher suggests that perhaps *mysteria* may be an ignorant gloss on *Olympia*, arising from *mysteriorum*, a few lines below. For some conjectures see Adn. Crit.

*hinc volo*] sc. *proficisci*.

*Sili causam*] The explanation of this case will require a somewhat lengthy treatment. We have received valuable assistance in this note from our friend Lord Chief Justice Cherry, sometime Reid Professor in the University of Dublin.

In certain cases wherein the full forms and ceremonies of a will were not executed the praetor gave to the heir named in the will the *bonorum possessionem secundum tabulas*, provided that the essential formalities had been complied with, e.g. that the will had been sealed by seven witnesses, that the testator had the right of testation (*testamenti factio*) at the time of death, that the legatees were capable of succeeding at civil law,

&c. A woman, being in the guardianship of her agnates, was incapable of making a will without her guardians' *auctoritas*; but she could obtain powers of testamentary bequest by ceasing to be a member of her family. This could be effected by her undergoing a *capitis deminutio minima*, that is, loss of her original status as member of the family. The process consisted of a fictitious purchase of the woman, *coemptio*, whereby the purchaser, with consent of her agnatic guardian, acquired over her the power known as *manus*, but was at the same time bound by a compact to re-sell her to some one whom she might choose; hence the process was called *coemptio fiduciaria*. The person to whom she was sold then became her guardian, and either gave his *auctoritas* to the will or, as frequently happened, manumitted the woman (Gaius, i. 115 a). This *auctoritas* or manumission was required, according to strict law, in order that the woman's will should be legal. In this process we can see how the rights of the intestate heir were protected: for the intestate heir was the woman's agnatic guardian, and he would be unlikely to agree to the first step, viz. the *coemptio*, if he were to suffer ultimately by the proceeding. The agnatic guardianship of women was abolished by the Lex Claudia, passed in the reign of Claudius (Gaius, i. 157, 171; Ulpian, xi. 8), but the *auctoritas* of the guardian was still required to enable a woman to make a will, except in certain cases (Gaius, ii. 113; Ulpian, xx. 16).



BONORUM TURPILIAE POSSESSIONEM Q. CAEPIO PRAETOR EX EDICTO SUO MIHI DEDIT, negare aiebat. Servium tabulas testamenti esse eas quas instituisset is qui factionem testamenti non habuerit; hoc idem Ofilium dicere; tecum se locutum negabat meque

The present case accordingly appears to be as follows:—Turpilia made a will in favour of Silius without having freed herself from her family by *coemptio*. The Praetor, Q. Caepio, gave the *bonorum possessionem secundum tabulas testamenti* provisionally to Silius, by the interdict *quorum bonorum*, as it was called [Roby, *Roman Private Law*, i. p. 239], at the same time probably directing him to enter into a *stipulatio* with the intestate heir (who disputed the will) in order that the validity of the will might be tested. The *stipulatio* was an old form giving legal validity to an agreement. It consisted of a formal question and a formal answer: ‘*Decem aureos primis Kalendis Martiis dare spondes?*’ ‘*Spondeo.*’ The verb *spondere* was essential; it was a long time before such words as *promitto* or *dabo* were tolerated as substitutes. Hence the *stipulatio* can be called *sponsio*, as here. The form of *stipulatio* was also used extensively in legal proceedings in order to confer jurisdiction. If the Praetor thought he had not jurisdiction to decide a particular question, he made the parties enter into a *stipulatio*, conditional upon the proposition in dispute, to pay a certain sum, and thus the question whether the sum was due under the *stipulatio* really decided the point. The parties would thus be at issue, as we should say, and the question could be determined as an ordinary contract. In the present case Silius entered into a *stipulatio* with Turpilia’s intestate heir in this form—SI BONORVM TURPILIAE POSSESSIONEM Q. CAEPIO PRAETOR EX EDICTO SVO MIHI DEDIT dare mihi spondes (so much money)? and the intestate heir answered *Spondeo*. The question at issue then was—Did the edict of the Praetor acknowledge the validity of the will of a testatrix who had not fulfilled certain conditions generally held necessary to free her from her agnatic guardianship? In other words, were the formalities of *coemptio*, &c., necessary for the acquisition of rights of testation? Yes, said Servius Sulpicius and his pupil Ofilius, they are necessary: No, apparently said Trebatius, they are unessential forms, and should be disregarded in the equitable jurisdiction

of the Praetor. Under Hadrian the Senate enacted that the ceremony of *coemptio* should not be considered necessary for the purpose of giving rights of testation to a woman (Gaius, i. 115 a); and it appears from this case that an eminent counsel two centuries before was of the same opinion. Cicero, however, agreed with the views of Sulpicius; for, in his *Topica*, § 18, he says, *Si ea mulier testamentum fecit quae se capite nunquam deminuit non videtur ex edicto praetoris secundum eas tabulas possessio dari*; and as the *Topica* was written shortly after this letter, Cicero had most probably the case of Silius before his mind.

Q. Caepio] This was M. Brutus, the tyrannicide, who was Praetor urbanus in this year 44. He was adopted by his maternal uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio, and so not infrequently, where strictness of language is required, is called Q. Caepio Brutus: cp. Philipp. x. 25; Att. ii. 24. 2 (51).

dedit] There is no need whatever to alter *si . . . dedit*, in which all mss. are agreed, to *ni . . . dederit*. The praetor had provisionally given Silius the *bonorum possessionem*.

Servium] i.e. Servius Sulpicius, cp. vol. iv, p. lxxvii, ff.

idem . . . dicere] ‘holds the same opinion.’ Cicero jests on this formula: cp. Fam. vii. 10. 2 (161).

Ofilium] He was one of the most important of the pupils of Servius Sulpicius. Pomponius, in the Digest i. 2. 2. 44, says, *Is (sc. Ofilius) fuit Caesari familiarissimus et libros de iure civili plurimos et qui omnem partem operis fundarent reliquit. Nam de legibus vicissimae primus* [F. D. Sanio suggests *de legibus xx libros*] *conscribit: de iurisdictione idem edictum praetoris primus diligenter composuit, nam ante eum Servius duos libros ad Brutum perquam brevissimos ad edictum subscriptos reliquit. Fuit eodem tempore et Trebatius, qui idem Cornelii Maximi auditor fuit: Aulus Cascellius* [cp. 763.4], *Quinti Mucii auditoris Volcatii auditor* [according to the emendation of Mommsen]. . . *Ex his Trebatius peritior Cascellio, Cascellius Trebatio eloquentior fuisse dicitur, Ofilius utroque doctior.*

rogavit ut se et causam suam tibi commendarem. Nec vir melior mi Testa, nec mihi amicior P. Silio quisquam est, te tamen excepto: gratissimum mihi igitur feceris, si ad eum ultro veneris eique pollicitus eris; sed, si me amas, quam primum: hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

## 761. CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 22).

TUSCULUM (?); JUNE (?); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De actione furti iurisconsultorum sententias affert Cicero.

### CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

Inluseras heri inter scyphos quod dixeram controversiam esse, possetne heres, quod furtum antea factum esset, furti recte agere.

*Cassellii scripta non exstant nisi unus liber bene dictorum, Trebatii complures, sed minus frequentantur.* This Ofilius appears also in Att. xiii. 37. 4 (657) and probably Fam. xvi. 24. 1 (806).

*pollicitus eris*] For this absolute use of *polliceri*, cp. Q. Fr. i. 2. 16 (53).

*sed*] 'ay, and, if you love me, do so as soon as possible,' lit., 'but there is something more, I want you to do it at once.' This use of *sed*, found occasionally in the comic writers (Plaut. Rud. 799; Cas. 692), is often found in authors of the Flavian period; cp. Mayor on Juv. iv. 27; v. 147.

We put this letter in connexion with the preceding letter, as both are addressed to Trebatius and treat of legal questions; but there does not appear to be any evidence to fix the date definitely.

*Inluseras . . . adsentior*] 'You made fun of me yesterday over our cups because I said that it was a disputed point whether an heir could bring an action for theft committed before he succeeded to the inheritance. Accordingly, though I got home somewhat mellow and rather late, yet I took a note of that section where the point is discussed, and am sending it to you, copied out, in order to let you see that the opinion, which you say no one ever maintained, has been held by Sext. Aelius, M'. Manilius, and M. Brutus (who appear to have held that such an action *could* be brought). I, however,

concur with Scaevola and Testa (who held the contrary).' The question would seem at first sight to be settled by Paulus in the Digest, xlvii. 2. 47, *Si dominium rei subreptae quacumque ratione mutatum sit, domino furti actio competit, veluti hereditatis et bonorum possessori, &c.*; cp. also Paulus Sent. ii. 31. 6. But that is not so; for probably the point of Trebatius was that an action could not be brought for a theft committed while the inheritance was vacant; he did not hold that an action could not be brought for a theft committed while the former owner was alive and had the *dominium* of the commodity stolen. It was, as Mr. Roby says (*Roman Private Law* ii. 213), a recognized principle that *hereditariae rei furtum non fit*. He notices further that the opinion of Scaevola on the subject is to be found in the Digest xlvii. 4. 1. 15, *Scaevola ait possessionis furtum fieri: denique si nullus sit possessor, furtum negat fieri: idcirco autem hereditati furtum non fieri, quia possessionem hereditas non habet, quae facti est et animi. Sed nec heredis est possessio antequam possideat, quia hereditas in eum id tantum transfundit quod est hereditatis, non autem fuit possessio hereditatis*. Theft was concerned only with possession; and possession is not obtained by the will of the testator, but by the deliberate act of taking possession by the heir. During the interval between the death of the testator and the actual taking possession by the heir there was no

Itaque, etsi domum bene potus seroque redieram, tamen id caput, ubi haec controversia est, notavi et descriptum tibi misi, ut scires id, quod tu neminem sensisse dicebas, Sex. Aelium, M'. Manilium, M. Brutum sensisse: ego tamen Scaevolae et Testae adsentior.

## 762. CICERO TO OPPIUS (FAM. XI. 29).

ANAGNIA; JULY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero profecturus in Graeciam res suas Oppio commendat, cui iam multis ante beneficiis obstrictum se proficitur.

CICERO OPPIO S. D.

1. Dubitanti mihi—quod scit Atticus noster—de hoc toto consilio profectionis, quod in utramque partem in mentem multa veniebant, magnum pondus accessit ad tollendam dubitationem

possessor of the estate, and so there could be no theft. Cicero might have used a more explicit word than *antea*; but he was writing to Trebatius, who knew the question they had been discussing.

*bene potus*] There is no letter in the collection which is more natural and more spontaneous than this one. It shows Cicero in his most genial mood, and that 'eloquent Cicero,' as well as 'old Cato,' at times grew mellow with wine.

*caput*] often used in Cicero for the section or chapter of a law: cp. 2 Verr. i. 118; De Orat. 223; also of a paragraph of a letter, Fam. iii. 8. 2 (222), *prima duo capita epistulae tuae tacita mihi quodam modo relinquenda sunt*. We do not know exactly what manual of law Cicero used. "Since the beginning of the 7th century u.c. we find the *responsa prudentum* written down and published in collections, as, e.g., by the son of Cato Censorius, by M. Junius Brutus, and by P. Mucius Scaevola, consul 621 (133), while M'. Manilius published a collection of formulas. As early as the middle of the 7th century u.c., most probably under the influence of the Stoic philosophy, the Roman Law was reduced to a system by Q. Mucius Scaevola, pont. max., consul 359 (95)."—(Teuffel-Schwabe, § 48).

*notavi*] 'I made a note of' or 'abstract of': cp. Quintil. i. proem. 7,

*alterum pluribus sane diebus, quantum notando consequi potuerant, interceptum* (sc. *librum*) *boni iuvenes, sed nimium amantes mei, temerario editionis honore vulgaverant*. Or it might simply mean 'I marked.'

*Sex. Aelium*] Well known from the line of Ennius, *Egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus*: he was consul in 556 (198) and censor 560 (194): cp. De Orat. i. 198, 212. M. Brutus, father of a M. Brutus who was called Accusator, was a most upright man and learned lawyer (Brut. 130): cp. also Fin. i. 12.

*Scaevolae*] Apparently the great Quintus Mucius Scaevola, pontifex maximus, consul in 659 (95).

*Testae*] This is Trebatius Testa himself, to whom Cicero is writing the letter. As far as we know *Testa* is given to Trebatius only by Cicero, and when writing to Trebatius himself: Fam. vii. 13. 1 (171), 760, and here. Yet cp. note to 775. 1.

For Oppius cp. vol. iv, p. lxi. This letter was written shortly after Cicero's meeting with Atticus on the 28th or 29th of June (cp. § 1).

1. *profectionis*] i.e. his journey to Greece: cp. 759. 1.

*magnum pondus accessit*] 'came with great weight.'

iudicium et consilium tuum; nam et scripsisti aperte quid tibi videretur, et Atticus ad me sermonem tuum pertulit. Semper iudicavi in te et in capiendo consilio prudentiam summam esse et in dando fidem, maximeque sum expertus, cum initio civilis belli per litteras te consuluissem quid mihi faciendum esse censeret, eundumne ad Pompeium an manendum in Italia. Suasisti ut consulerem dignitati meae; ex quo quid sentiret intellexi et sum admiratus fidem tuam et in consilio dando religionem, quod, cum aliud malle amicissimum tuum putares, antiquius tibi officium meum quam illius voluntas fuit. 2. Equidem et ante hoc tempus te dilexi et semper me a te diligi sensi; et cum abessem atque in magnis periculis essem, et me absentem et meos praesentis a te cultos et defensos esse memini; et post meum reditum, quam familiariter mecum vixeris, quaeque ego de te et senserim et praedicarim, omnis qui solent haec animadvertere testis habemus. Gravissimum vero iudicium de mea fide et de constantia fecisti, cum post mortem Caesaris totum te ad amicitiam meam contulisti: quod tuum iudicium nisi mea summa benevolentia erga te omnibusque meritis comprobaro, ipse me hominem non putabo. 3. Tu, mi Oppi, conservabis amorem tuum—etsi more magis hoc quidem scribo quam quo te admonendum putem—meaque omnia tuebere: quae tibi ne ignota essent Attico mandavi; a me autem cum paulum oti nacti erimus, uberiores litteras exspectato. Da operam ut valeas; hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

*et in capiendo . . . fidem]* ‘the greatest wisdom in deliberation and candour in advising.’

*et sum . . . religionem, quod . . . fuit]* ‘and I admired your sincerity and conscientiousness in giving advice, in that, while you considered that your dear friend would prefer another course, you regarded my duty as of superior importance to his desire’: cp. Balb. and Opp. in Att. ix. 7a. 2 (351), *et tibi fidem faciemus nos ea suadere quae nobis videntur tuae dignitati, non Caesaris rationi esse utilissima, et hoc Caesarem pro sua indulgentia in suos probaturum putamus.*

*2. a te cultos et defensos esse]* ‘received attention and protection at your hands.’ We have no details as to the services which Oppius rendered to Cicero’s family in 707 (47); but he was amicably disposed to Cicero, for we hear of some conversations which Atticus had at that time with him in Cicero’s interests: cp. Att. xi. 17. 2 (432); 18. 2 (434).

*et senserim et praedicarim]* ‘the opinions I held and expressed.’  
*totum te . . . contulisti]* ‘you made yourself unreservedly my friend.’

## 763. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 26).

ARPINUM; JULY 2; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Quinti negotio, de L. Pisone, de Bruti litteris sibi redditis, de ratione itineris  
 ui, de M. Aelio, de capite Tulliano ut libere cum Cascellio loquatur, de aliis negotiis,  
 e Varrone, de M. Ennii testamento.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Quinti negotio video *a* te omnia facta. Ille tamen dolet  
 subitans utrum morem gerat Leptae an fidem infirmet filio.  
 Inaudivi L. Pisonem velle exire legatum *ψευδεγγράφῳ* senatus con-  
 ulto. Velim scire quid sit. Tabellarius ille, quem tibi dixeram *a*  
 ne ad Brutum esse missum, in Anagninum ad me venit ea nocte  
 tuae proxima ante Kal. fuit, litterasque ad me attulit, in quibus  
 unum alienum summa sua prudentia, idem illud, ut spectem ludos  
 tuos. Rescripsi scilicet primum me iam profectum, ut integrum  
 non sit: deinde *ἀτοπώτατον* esse me, qui Romam omnino post haec  
 arma non accesserim neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim  
 tuam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos

1. *Ille tamen dolet*] 'Quintus is distress-  
 ing himself with the question whether he  
 will oblige Lepta (by paying him) or spoil  
 his son's credit.' Quintus junior had given  
 his creditor, Lepta, a draft on his father.  
 Young Quintus was considerably in debt  
 about this time: cp. 681. 1; 769. 6: cp.  
 note to 754. 2 fin.

*Inaudivi*] This verb indicates that the  
 rumour is a vague one, or that the person  
 who uses it is not sure that he has taken it  
 up right: cp. 769. 2.

*ψευδεγγράφῳ*] 'bogus.' For forged  
 decrees of the senate cp. Fam. ix. 15. 4  
 (481); xii. 29. 2 (831); De Domo 50;  
 Bull. 40; Phil. v. 12; xii. 12; Plutarch  
 Cato Min. 17. Many such were now  
 being issued (723. 1). The rumour was  
 probably untrue; for Piso was in the  
 senate on August 1st, and was the only  
 senator who took up a firm attitude  
 against Antony (Phil. i. 10). He is the  
 L. Piso who was attacked so virulently  
 by Cicero in the *In Pisonem*.

*dixeram*] cp. 756 fin.  
*in Anagninum*] Cicero left Tusculum

for Arpinum on June 30. He would  
 naturally stay that night at Anagnia,  
 where he had a villa: cp. Att. xii. 1. 1  
 (505). In 56, when stopping at Anagnia,  
 he stayed with T. Titius: cp. Q. Fr. ii.  
 5. 4 (106).

*ludos suos*] The *ludi Apollinares* which,  
 as Praetor urbanus, he was bound to hold.  
 Owing to his absence they were given in  
 his name by L. Antonius, the money  
 being mainly supplied by Atticus. For  
 this request of Brutus to Cicero, and for  
 these games of Brutus, cp. Plut. Brut. 21.

*integrum*] 'so that it is not in my  
 power' to comply with his request.

*ἀτοπώτατον*] 'highly inconsistent,'  
 'a very odd paradox.'

*post haec arma*] 'after this government  
 by arms.' Cicero uses this term, because  
 Antony returned to Rome towards the end  
 of May from his visit to South Italy,  
 bringing with him many of Caesar's  
 veterans; cp. 728. 2.

*neque id . . . quam dignitatis*] 'and this  
 to ensure not so much my safety as my  
 dignity.'

facere illi honestum est cui necesse est: spectare mihi ut non est necesse sic ne honestum quidem est. Equidem illos celebrari et esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio, idque ita futurum esse confido, et tecum ago ut iam ab ipsa commissione ad me quem ad modum accipiantur hi ludi, deinde omnia reliquorum ludorum in dies singulos persequare. Sed de ludis hactenus. 2. Reliqua pars epistolae est illa quidem in utramque partem, sed tamen non nullos interdum iacit igniculos virilis: quod quale tibi videretur ut posses interpretari, misi ad te exemplum epistolae. Quamquam mihi tabellarius noster dixerat tibi quoque se attulisse litteras a Bruto easque ad te e Tusculano esse delatas. 3. Ego itinera sic composueram ut Nonis Quintilibus Puteolis essem. Valde enim festino, ita tamen ut quantum homo possit quam cautissime navigem. 4. M. Aelium cura liberabis: is me paucos pedes in extremo fundo, et eos quidem subterraneos, servitutis putasse aliquid habituros: id me iam nolle neque mihi quicquam esse tanti, sed, ut mihi dicebas, quam lenissime, potius ut cura liberetur quam ut me suscensere aliquid suspicetur. Item de illo

ab ipsa comm.] 'from the moment they are started': cp. commissione Graecorum, 770. 1.

quem ad modum . . . persequare] 'send me an account of how they are received, and all details of the remaining games day by day.'

reliquorum ludorum] Besides the *Ludi Apollinares* (from July 6 to 13), there were also in the latter part of July the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*.

2. in utramque partem] 'weighing the case on both sides.' The phrase is common: cp. 756; 762. 1; De Orat. iii. 107. Acad. i. 46 (with *disseri* expressed). This seems better than to take it 'leans now to me, now to the other side,' i.e. is both despondent and hopeful.

igniculos virilis] 'sparks of manly courage.'

interpretari] cp. 765.

3. quantum homo possit] 'as far as human prudence permits.'

4. M. Aelium] See Adn. Crit. Madvig corrected the *apud tale quid* of M to *putasse aliquid* (understanding *dicit*), not to *putat aliquid*, the conjecture generally accepted. *Nolle* and *esse* depend on *die* taken out of *cura liberabis*. The meaning will then be:—'Will you kindly relieve Aelius of all anxiety? He (says) that I have

formed the opinion that a few feet on the border of his property (adjoining mine), and those below the surface (perhaps for draining the property of Aelius), will be subject to an easement (and so would pay some rent to Cicero). Tell him I don't want to enforce it, and would not press the matter for the world (lit. nothing would be worth it, i.e. worth offending him). But your tone, as you suggested yourself, should be most conciliatory, intended to relieve him from all anxiety, and not convey the slightest suggestion of any soreness on my part.' With the reading *putat aliquid* (there being a semicolon at *subterraneos*) we could extract a somewhat similar meaning by changing *me* to *enim*. It would then be Aelius to whom it had occurred that the tax would be payable to Cicero. Lambinus says Z has *specus* for *pedes*; and M has *spe*, so that *specus* may be right. Schiche makes a good suggestion *M. Aelium cura liberabis ne paucos specus in extremo fundo et eos quidem subterraneos servitutis putet aliquid habituros*.

iam] The mss have *iamiam*, but Wes. E. A. p. 141, shows that *iamiam* is only used by Cicero of the near future, whereas *nolle* shows that the reference is to the present..

Tulliano capite libere cum Cascellio loquere. Parva res est, sed bene attendisti, nimis callide agebatur. Ego autem, si mihi imposuisset aliquid, quod paene fecit nisi tua malitia adfuisset, nimo iniquo tulissem. Itaque, utut erit, rem impediri malo. Octavam partem † tulii luminarum medium ad strane memineris cui Caerellia videris † mancipio dare ad eam summam quae sub praecone fuit maxima: id opinor esse ccclxxx. 5. Novi si quid erit atque etiam si quid prospicies quod futurum putes, scribas ad me quam saepissime velim. Varroni, quem ad modum tibi manavi, memineris excusare tarditatem litterarum mearum. Mundus est cum M. Ennio quid egerit de testamento—curiosus sum enim—facias me velim certiore. Ex Arpinati vi. Non.

[*Tulliano capite*] 'the money owed by Tullius': cp. 768. 1. Possibly this is not Tullius Montanus (599. 1): for Cicero generally speaks of him as Montanus, not Tullius.

[*loquere*] future; 'you will kindly speak freely,' *libere*, not *quam lentissime*, as he is to speak to Aelius. Cascellius was the eminent lawyer: cp. note to 760.

[*tu bene*] The insertion of *ut*, which might have fallen out before *tu*, would make the sentence run more smoothly; or read *ut* for *tu*.

[*paene fecit*] = *fecisset*.

[*nisi tua malitia adfuisset*] 'but for the aid of your shrewdness'; cp. the very similar passage, 635. 4.

[*Octavam . . . maxima*] We have given the corrupt reading in the text. There are three suggestions perhaps worthy of being recorded: (1) *Octavam partem sustuli luminarium aedium Asturae. Memineris cum Caerelliam videris mancipio dare Boot*), 'I have removed (blocked up) one-eighth of the windows in my house at Astura. Remember when you see Caerellia to make over to her the property at the price which was the highest bid at the public sale.' (2) *Octavam partem tolli luminarium in aedibus ad Streniae memineris. Quod Caerelliae videris mancipio dare* (Corradus), 'Remember to have one-eighth of the windows removed (built up)

in my house near the temple of Strenia. See that this property is made over to Caerellia at the price,' &c. Corradus, however, approves of the last clause only if we can find codices which have *quod* for *cui*. Wesenberg suggests for the latter words *quod a Caerellia iuberis mancipio dare ad eam summam quae sub praecone fuit maxima; id opinor esse*, &c., comparing (E. A. p. 141) 635. 3 for this corruption. (3) *Octavam partem Tullianarum Aedium ad Streniae memineris deberi Caerelliae; videris*, &c. (Shuckburgh), 'Remember that an eighth share of the Tullian Building near the temple of Strenia is due to Caerellia: see that it is conveyed to her at the highest price bid at the auction.' He supposes *Tullianae Aedes* refers to some block of buildings so called. The shrine of Strenia (cp. Roscher, *Lexikon* iii. 227. She was the goddess *quae faceret strenuum*) seems to have been close to where the Colosseum afterwards was. Varro L. L. v. 47, says *hinc [Carinis] oritur caput sacrae viae ab Streniae sacello quae pertinet in arcem*: cp. Fest. 293 a. 1 (ed. Müller). That Cicero owed money to Caerellia appears from 598 fin. Possibly *caveri* 'are secured to,' would more probably have passed into *cui* than *deberi*. This emendation of Shuckburgh seems the best that has yet been made.

## 764. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 27).

ARPINUM; JULY 3; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris ad Sestium datis, de discessu a se Attici, de litterarum inter commercio obtinendo, de libro suo 'De Gloria,' tum summatim respondet ad singula Attici litterarum capita, de adventu Quinti filii.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Gaudeo id te mihi suadere quod ego mea sponte pridem feceram. Nam cum ad te vi Nonas darem, eidem tabellario dedi etiam ad Sestium, scriptas πάνυ φιλοστοργως. Ille autem, quod Puteolos persequitur, humane: quod queritur, iniuste. Non enim ego tam illum exspectare, dum de Cosano rediret, debui quam ille aut non ire ante quam me vidisset aut citius reverti. Sciebam enim me celeriter velle proficisci seseque ad me in Tusculanum scripserat esse venturum. 2. Te, ut a me discesseris, lacrimasse moleste ferebam. Quod si me praesente fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. Sed illud praeclare, quod te consolatus est spes brevi tempore congregiendi, quae quidem exspectatio me maxime sustentat. Meae tibi litterae non deerunt. De Brutis scribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam 'De Gloria.' Excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδειον, quod lateat in thesauris tuis

1. *id*] probably to make the same reply to Brutus as Cic. had himself made, cp. 763. 1, 2.

πάνυ φιλοστοργως] 'in very affectionate strains': cp. 749. 1, 2.

*Ille autem*] 'It is very kind of him to pursue me even as far as Puteoli, but he has no right to complain of my not awaiting his return from Cosa.' Cicero was on his way to Puteoli, which he reached on July 7th. There Sestius meant to pick him up. Wesenberg corrected *prosequitur*, which could only mean 'accompanies,' to the reading in the text. *Persequi* generally means to follow with hostile intent; possibly here it is used semi-jocularly, as we might use 'pursue.' Cic. was perhaps not very anxious for his company. Dr. Reid, however, wishes to read *sequitur*, 'is making for,' comparing 629. 1 *cum flumina et solitudines sequeremur*; Att. x. 18. 2 (404) *Formias*

*nunc sequimur, eodem nos Furiae fortasse persequentur.* For the reading see Adm. Crit. Boot (*Obs. Crit.* 61, 62) prefers *prosequitur*, and translates 'volebat comitari,' but he adopts *persequitur* in his last edition.

*dum*] So Müller for *cum*.

2. *ut a me discesseris*] Att. seems to have made one of his brief visits (cp. 618. 1) to Tusculum at the end of June, just before Cic. left.

*De Bruto*] Cic. would meet him at Naples.

*Excudam*] 'I will hammer out something in the style of Heraclides of Pontus (cp. 631. 4) to be stowed away in your special sanctum.' *In thesauris tuis* is believed by some scholars to refer to some especially choice collection of books, to which only special friends of Atticus had access; hence, *lateat*. But no doubt, as Dr. Reid says, it means that Att. is to



De Planco memini. Attica iure queritur. Quod me de Bacchide, de statuarum coronis certiore fecisti, valde gratum, nec quidquam posthac non modo tantum sed ne tantulum quidem praeterieris. Et de Herode et Metio meminero et de omnibus quae te velle suspicabor modo. O turpem sororis tuae filium! Cum haec scriberem, adventabat αὐτῇ βουλύσει cenantibus nobis.

## 765. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 28).

ARPINUM; JULY 3; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De litteris sibi in Puteolanum mittendis, de Attica.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ego, ut ad te pridie scripseram, Nonis constitueram venire in Puteolanum. Ibi igitur cotidie tuas litteras expectabo, et maxime de ludis, de quibus etiam ad Brutum tibi scribendum est, cuius epistulae quam interpretari ipse vix poteram exemplum pridie tibi miseram. Atticae meae velim me ita excuses ut omnem culpam in te transferas et ei tamen confirmes me immutatum amorem meum mecum abstulisse.

deep it locked up in his safe, and not publish it: cp. *custodies* (772. 6); and 32. 4, 5 for unauthorized publication of Cicero's works.

3. *De Planco*] Gnaeus Plancus was the commissioner who was appointed to deal with the Buthrotian claim of exemption, and to whom Ep. 767 is addressed.

*Attica*] See on Ep. 765.

*Bacchide*] An actress who, as well as the garlands for the statues, was required for the games which Brutus was about to give. Ziehen (*Rh. Mus.* (1896) p. 593) reads *Bacchi*, and thinks the crowning of the statue of Bacchus may have had some political significance of which we have no details.

*non modo*] 'not only so important, but however unimportant.'

*Herode*] This may possibly be young Cicero's tutor at Athens (726. 4; 746): Atticus may have wished some message to be given him (cp. 773. 2). But it is so possible that he was Atticus' agent mentioned in Att. vi. 1. 25 (252).

*Metio*] Possibly the M. Metius mentioned by Caesar, B. G. i. 49. 4; 53. 8. There is a coin extant of this man; but his name is spelled Mettius.

*meminero*] 'I shall remember.' Boot cautions against ever ascribing to *meminisse* the meaning 'to mention.'

*turpem*] We do not know whether young Quintus had been committing any more recent enormity than that related in 753.

αὐτῇ βουλύσει] 'at the fa' o' the gloaming.' We gladly accept Boot's αὐτῇ for *autem*, and his remark that Greek words written in Roman characters are often a source of corruption in the letters. For βουλύσει, cp. Hom. Od. ix. 58 βουλευτόνδε 'towards evening' (when the oxen are unyoked).

*interpretari*] cp. 763. 3.

*miseram*] cp. 763. 2.

*Atticae meae*] We have no means of surmising what was the act or omission on Cicero's part, of which he says in the

## 766. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 16).

ARPINUM; BETWEEN JULY 3 AND 6; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;  
AET. CIC. 62.

De Planco. Adjunctum est exemplum epistolae M. Ciceronis ad Plancum scriptae.

CICERO SUO SAL. DIC. ATTICO.

1. Iucundissimas tuas legi litteras. Ad Plancum scripsi, misi habes exemplum. Cum Tirone quid sit locutus cognoscam ex ipso. 2. Cum sorore ages attentius, si te occupatione ista relaxaris.

## 767. CICERO TO GNAEUS PLANCUS (ATT. XVI. 16a).

ARPINUM; BETWEEN JULY 3 AND 6; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;  
AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Gnaeum Plancum rogat ut secundum senatus consultum et legem decretum Caesaris de Buthrotiis libenter, prolixè, celeriter exsequatur.

M. CICERO CN. PLANCO PRAET. DESIG. SAL.

3. Attici nostri te valde studiosum esse cognovi, mei vero ita cupidum ut mehercule paucos aequè observantis atque amantis me

last letter that little Attica had a good right to complain. Probably Cicero went away without saying good-bye to her, as Dr. Reid suggests. Cicero begs Atticus to take all the blame on himself, and to assure her that he carries away with him on his journey an unaltered affection for her. We have given in the text the reading of Wesenberg. For the corrupt reading of M, *confirmem me minuo tutam amore meo mecum attulisse*, Victorius would read *confirmes me minime totum amorem eo mecum attulisse*, 'assure her that I have not carried away with me to Puteoli all my love,' but have left behind a large share for her. The latter certainly is a more pointed message, and we are not sure that it is not a better reading than that given in the text. Gronovius would make the message a very strong

one: *me intimo totam amore eam mecum abstulisse*, 'that I have carried away every bit of her with me in my heart of hearts.'

2. *Cum sorore*] 'you will be better able to devote yourself to the affairs of your sister,' i.e. Pomponia, who had been recently divorced from Quintus.

*occupatione ista*] the long and careful attention which Atticus was devoting to the claim of the Buthrotians of which we have heard so often, and which is set forth in the next letter.

CN. PLANCO] The mss give *L. Planco*. But Lucius Plancus was in Gaul. The Plancus who was acting in Epirus was Gnaeus Plancus, brother of Lucius. He was praetor designate for 43. During

habere existimem. Ad paternas enim magnas et veteres et iustas necessitudines magnam attulit accessionem tua voluntas erga me meaque erga te par atque mutua. 4. Buthrotia tibi causa ignota non est: egi enim saepe de ea re tibi quae totam rem demonstravi, quae est acta hoc modo. Ut primum Buthrotium agrum proscriptum vidimus, commotus Atticus libellum composuit. Eum mihi dedit ut darem Caesari; eram enim cenaturus apud eum illo die. Eum libellum Caesari dedi: probavit causam, rescripsit Attico aequa eum postulare: admonuit tamen ut pecuniam reliquam Buthrotii ad diem solverent. 5. Atticus, qui civitatem conservatam cuperet, pecuniam numeravit de suo. Quod cum esset factum, adiimus ad Caesarem, verba fecimus pro Buthrotiis, liberalissimum decretum abstulimus, quod est obsignatum ab amplissimis viris. Quae cum essent acta, mirari equidem solebam pati Caesarem convenire eos qui agrum Buthrotium concupissent, neque solum pati sed etiam ei negotio te praeficere. Itaque et ego cum illo locutus sum et saepius quidem, ut etiam accusarer ab eo quod parum constantiae suae confiderem, et M. Messallae et ipsi Attico dixit ut sine cura essent, aperteque ostendebat se praesentium animos—erat enim popularis, ut noras—offendere nolle: cum autem mare transissent, curaturum se ut in alium agrum deducerentur. 6. Haec illo vivo. Post interitum autem Caesaris, ut primum ex senatus consulto causas consules cognoscere instituerunt, haec quae supra scripsi ad eos delata sunt.

that year, by permission of the Senate, he went and served under his brother in Gaul, but fell ill and returned to Rome: cp. Fam. x. 21a (862).

3. *Ad paternas . . . mutua*] 'the close, long-standing, and well-merited connexions which subsisted between our fathers have received a signal addition in your kindly feelings towards me and my reciprocation of them towards yourself.'

4. *proscriptum*] It is here stated that the reason why Buthrotum was in danger of confiscation was that it had not paid up its taxes, but it is not specified what taxes. When confiscated it was to have been divided among certain settlers, who appear (§ 5) to have felt aggrieved by Caesar's exemption of the land from division when Atticus paid up the taxes due.

*libellum*] 'a petition' setting forth the case of the Buthrotians.

*cenaturus*] Note the friendly relations of Caesar and Cicero.

*pecuniam reliquam*] 'the balance due,' 'the arrears'; they had already paid part of the requisition.

5. *qui . . . cuperet*] 'in his eagerness'; *qui cupiebat* would mean merely 'who was eager.'

*abstulimus*] 'got from him': cp. Att. xvi. 11. 3 (799).

*amplissimis viris*] Cicero was among them: cp. 778. 11.

*convenire*] 'to hold meetings' for the purpose of setting forth their claims to the property of the Buthrotians, which they believed ought to have been transferred to them. For *convenire* cp. Att. ix. 11. 4 (367) *quorum creditores convenire dicuntur*.

*ei negotio*] The commission for investigating the whole claim of the Buthrotians

Probaverunt causam sine ulla dubitatione seque ad te litteras datu-  
ros esse dixerunt. Ego autem, mi Plance, etsi non dubitabam  
quin et senatus consultum et lex et consulum decretum ac litterae  
apud te plurimum auctoritatis haberent teque ipsius Attici causa  
velle intellexeram, tamen hoc pro coniunctione et benevolentia  
nostra mihi sumpsi ut id a te peterem quod tua singularis  
humanitas suavissimique mores a te essent impetraturi. Id autem  
est ut hoc quod te tua sponte facturum esse certo scio honoris  
nostri causa libenter, prolixè, celeriter facias. 7. Mihi nemo est  
amicior nec iucundior nec carior Attico, cuius antea res solum  
familiaris agebatur eaque magna, nunc accessit etiam existimatio  
ut quod consecutus est magna et industria et gratia et vivo  
Caesare et mortuo id te adiuvante obtineat. Quod si a te erit  
impetratum, sic velim existimes, me de tua liberalitate ita interpre-  
taturum ut tuo summo beneficio me adfectum iudicem. Ego  
quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor studiose diligen-  
terque curabo. Da operam ut valeas.

## 768. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 29).

FORMIAE; JULY 6; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Bruti epistula, de M. Aelio, de Tulliano aliisque de capitibus litterarum Attici  
summatim respondet, tum de Q. filio, de Planco a Buthrotiis eiecto.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Bruti ad te epistulam misi. Di boni, quanta ἀμνηστία!  
Cognosces cum legeris. De celebratione ludorum Bruti tibi

6. *et lex*] It was not only a decree of the Senate, but a statute passed by the people, which gave the consuls the power to examine all the acts of Caesar. This law was not passed until June 2nd (778. 11). The decree of the Senate—which gave Antony, with some distinguished senators as a council, authority to investigate certain prospective arrangements and enactments determined upon by Caesar—was passed in the latter half of March (777. 8; 778. 11). The decree of the Senate *ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut benefici figeretur* (Phil. i. 3) was superseded by this decree, which, while giving the investigation to a committee, removed the limit of the Ides of March, and left it to the discretion of the committee to decide what were to be regarded

as *acta Caesaris*: cp. 723. 1 and 2. The *decretum consulum* seems to have been a recent rescript of the consuls, and to be referred to in 758. 1 *omnia se* (Dolabellam) *fecisse quae tu velles*. Caesar had previously given a similar *decretum* (§ 5).

*libenter, prolixè, celeriter*] ‘in a cordial, ample, and expeditious manner.’

7. *res familiaris*] Atticus had made an advance to Caesar on behalf of the Buthrotians, for which he could not hope to be recouped by them unless the efforts made in their favour should prove successful.

*me de tua liberalitate*] ‘I shall look on your courtesy as an act of the greatest kindness to myself.’

1. ἀμνηστία] ‘helplessness.’ There does not seem to be a Latin word exactly

adsentior. Ad M. Aelium nullus tu quidem domum, sed sicubi incidierit. De Tulliano semisse, M. Axianum adhibebis, ut scribis. Quod cum Cosano egisti, optime. Quod non solum mea verum etiam tua eadem expedis, gratum. Legationem probari meam gaudeo. Quod promittis di faxint! Quid enim mihi meis iucundius? Sed istam quam tu excipis metuo. Brutum cum convenero, perscribam omnia. De Planco et Decimo sane velim: Sextum scutum abicere nolebam. De Mundo si quid scies.

corresponding to ἀμυχανία. Brutus was not the man for vigorous action, however much for a moment he might throw out sparks of manly vigour (*non nullos inter-um iacit igniculos virilis* 763. 2).

*M. Aelium*] 763. 4.  
[*nullus tu quidem*] 'don't you go to see him—not a foot; but if he meets you have a talk with him.' Understand some word like *loqueris*. For *nullus* with prohibition cp. Plaut. Trin. 606, *At tu depol nullus creduas*. See on I<sup>3</sup>, p. 80, and 705. 1.

*Tulliano semisse*] the sum spoken of above, 763. 2, as *Tullianum caput*. He here refers to 'half of' that sum, which is to be devoted to some purpose known to Atticus.

*Axianum*] The name occurs in inscriptions (e.g. C.I.L. x. 8059. 192). We cannot alter to *Axium*, and understand Cicero's friend (see Index), for his cognomen was *Quintus*. Corradus thinks we should read *Maximus*, i.e. Egnatius Maximus (647; 662. 1).

*Cosano*] 'the man from Cosa.' Possibly Bestius is referred to (cp. 764. 1), as is suggested by Schütz. M has *Coziano*.

*tua eadem expedis*] Thus we venture to restore *tua me expedis* of M. *Eadem*, c. *opera*, means 'at the same time.' Baier, Boot, Müller, and Gurlitt read *tua <causa> me expedis*; Koch *tua <re>*, her reference being to monetary help.

*Legationem*] 'lieutenanship,' i.e. acceptance of the appointment. For this appointment cp. 744. 4.

*Quod promittis*] Probably some kind of assurance such as that all his friends will look after his interests while he is away, and will be delighted to see him and welcome him when he returns. We cannot help thinking that *meis* is abl. after her comparative, not dative. Cicero would include Att. in *meis*.

*istam quam tu excipis*] 'Attica whom you mention as an exception.' This is a

jocular reference to the little quarrel that Attica was having with Cicero for his not having bid her good-bye: cp. 765 fin. It ended by Attica making an apology, not requiring one (769. 6). This is the usual interpretation. Or perhaps it may refer to a promise that Atticus would meet Cicero in Greece (cp. 770. 4; 772. 6) if Attica's health permitted. Corradus thinks that possibly Servilia is alluded to; but that is most unlikely. We confess to feeling that *istam* may possibly be Terentia. Terentia's dower had not been repaid yet (752. 4), and there was still some of it due in July (775. 3), and even in December, Att. xvi. 15. 5 (807). Atticus may have said that he would gladly look after all Cicero's friends and affairs, except Terentia, who was rather a formidable woman of business (556. 1). Atticus may have been willing to pay off Terentia, at least Cicero asks him to do so (775. 3): but he may have said he would not have a meeting with her.

*De Planco et Decimo sane velim*] This points to some negotiations with Plancus and Decimus on the part of conservatives, who were considering if it would not be possible to secure forces both in East and West to oppose Antony: cp. Ferrero iii. 77. 78.

*scutum abicere*] 'I am sorry Sextus Pompeius is throwing away his shield,' that is, is determined to give up the combat. For *abicere scutum* of a cowardly soldier cp. Tusc. ii. 54; De Orat. ii. 294; also Tac. Germ. 6 *scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium*, and the Greek δῖψασπις. The senatorial party expected that Sext. Pompeius would continue the war: cp. 755. Appian (B.C. iii. 4) has an extraordinary story that in April Antony had, to please the Senate, proposed that Sext. Pompeius should be recalled, compensated for the loss of his father's property, and made admiral of the fleet. There can have been no truth in that story.

2. Rescripsi ad omnia tua : nunc nostra accipe. Quintus filius usque Puteolos—mirus civis, ut tu Favonium †Asinium dicas—et quidem duas ob causas et ut sit mecum et [ut] *σπείσασθαι* vult cum Bruto et Cassio. Sed tu quid ais? Scio enim te familiarem esse Othonum. Ait hic sibi Iuliam ferre : constitutum enim esse discidium. Quaesivit ex me pater qualis esset fama. Dixi nihil sane me audisse—nesciebam enim cur quaereret—nisi de ore et patre. Sed quorsus, inquam? At ille, filium velle. Tum ego, etsi *ἐβδελυτόμην*,

2. *Quintus . . . Puteolos*] Supply some verb of motion, as *persequetur*, or *me comitabitur*. 'Young Quintus is going to come with me all the way to Puteoli.'

*mirus*] 'marvellous.' This word (*mirus*) is very rarely applied to men. See note on Att. iii. 18. 2 (76): cp. Apul. Met. v. 1.

*Favonium Asinium*] M has *Favonius*. Favonius was well known to Cicero as a staunch republican. Asinius Pollio had espoused the cause of Caesar, and was now governing Spain as propraetor. It is possible, then, that Cicero here calls young Quintus a *Favonius-Asinius*, as being on both sides, or now on one and now on the other. But one cannot help feeling that Cicero would have at least chosen more typical names to express such a sentiment, and would more probably have devised some ingenious Latin equivalent of 'Mr. Facing-both-ways.' The words could hardly mean, 'so that you might dub him either a Favonius or an Asinius.' In 769. 6 young Quintus says he will be as staunch a constitutionalist as Cato. For Cato is the typical conservative: cp. Att. i. 14. 6 (20); Fam. viii. 17. 2 (408). Dr. Reid suggests *Favoni simium*, 'the ape of Favonius,' just as Favonius has been called 'the ape of Cato.' He quotes Pliny Ep. i. 5. 2, where Regulus called Arulenus Rusticus *Stoicorum simiam*. But that is a term of contempt: the context here demands a term of praise used in an ironical sense. Could it possibly be a comic superlative *Favoniissimum* 'a super-Favonius'; or *Favonianissimum*, 'a super-Favonian'? For such a comic formation cp. Plaut. Poen. 991, *nullus Poenus Poenior*; cp. for comic superlatives, *ipsissimus*, Trin. 988; *geminissimus*, Pers. 830; *patruae mi patruissime* Poen. 1197; *oculissime* Curc. 121. We have *Plautissimi versus* in Gell. iii. 3, 4, but with no comic significance.

*et ut sit mecum*] Probably *sit* is what *σπ* of M stands for: see Adn. Crit. The next *ut* should be bracketed as having arisen from the *ut* before *mecum*. The construction alters slightly, for which Dr. Reid compares Verr. v. 112 in *quo homine tantum animi fuit non solum ut istum libere laederet . . . verum morte proposita . . . defensionem causae suae scripsit*, 'for two reasons, both to be with me, and he wishes to bury the hatchet with Brutus and Cassius.'

*Iuliam*] The margin of Lambinus' ed. gives *Tutiam*, as *Tutia* appears in 772. 5. But the name *Tutia* does not appear to occur elsewhere. Nothing is known of her, or, indeed, of *Julia* either.

*ferre*] sc. *condicionem*: cp. Plaut. Trin. 488, Mil. 592; like our 'propose' (marriage). The usage without the accusative would seem to be colloquial. We can quote no parallel. Perhaps *condicionem* was lost by parepsis owing to *constitutum* following, as O. E. Schmidt (*Rh. Mus.* liii. 230) suggests.

*de ore et patre*] 'her looks and her father.' We know nothing about her father; but that is no reason why we should change the text. On account of *ἐβδελυτόμην*, it has been proposed to read here *de ore putri* (or *taetro*) or *de ore et paedore*. But the lady may have been only ill-favoured: for Cicero had something of an eye for women's looks: cp. Att. xii. 11 (502) *Alteram vero illam . . . puto, nosti. Nihil vidi foedius*.

*filium velle*] sc. *eum ducere*.

*etsi ἐβδελυτόμην*] 'though I was disgusted, I said I believed the reports were not true.' The reading is uncertain. Bosius says Z reads *putare me illa*, a reading found also in v.c., and perhaps it is best to acquiesce in that: 'I said I did not believe in those stories.' Professor Goligher wishes to read *probra illa* for *pubabulla*, which expresses the same meaning; only more dogmatically.

tamen negavi putare me illa esse vera: σκοπός—hoc est enim—  
quic nostro nihil praeberet. Illa autem οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο. Ego tamen  
suspicio hunc, ut solet, alucinari. Sed velim quaeras—facile  
autem potes—et me certiozem.

3. Obsecro te, quid est hoc? Signata iam epistula Formiani  
qui apud me cenabant Plancum se aiebant hunc Buthrotium pridie  
quam hoc scribebam, id est III Nonas, vidisse 'demissum sine  
phaleris,' servulos autem dicere eum et agripetas eiectos a  
Buthrotiis. Macte! Sed, amabo te, prescribe mihi totum negotium.

## 769. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 1).

ON THE WAY TO BRUTUS FROM PUTEOLI; JULY 8; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo et Attici litteris, de agripetis Buthroti concisis, de Planco, de  
profectione sua, de Ventidio, de Sex. Pompeio, de Pansa, de rationibus Ciceronis et re  
familiari sua, de Q. filio, de Attica et Pilia.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nonis Quinctilibus veni in Puteolanum. Postridie iens ad  
Brutum in Nesidem haec scripsi. Sed eo die quo veneram

Malaspina's codices have *negavi putavi*  
*illa*; but M has *negavi pubabulla*, from  
which Ellis very ingeniously conjectured  
*negavi probabilia*: 'I said probabilities  
were not certainties.' Gurlitt (*Philologus*  
1900, p. 103) suggests *putari illa*. The  
passage, however, is one of great  
obscurity, and cannot be regarded as yet  
settled. For the decidedly remarkable,  
but in our opinion untenable, view  
which Gurlitt entertains of the passage  
generally, we must be content to refer to  
his long discussion (*op. cit.* 96-106); but  
his suggestion that *hoc* is a dittography  
of the last three letters of ΣΚΟΠΟΣ may  
well be right.

σκοπός] 'My brother's aim—for this  
is what it comes to—is to avoid having to  
make an allowance to his son (which he  
hopes to do by promoting the marriage);  
but my lady will not be put off by this.'  
(So Casaubon.) For σκοπός compare  
Att. ii. 18. 1 (45); viii. 11. 2 (342).  
There is no Latin word which expresses  
'aim' so well as this Greek word. Quintus  
was unwilling to give his son money  
(724. 3). Possibly we should read  
τοῦτον, and the words may mean 'but  
she is not comparable with him,' i.e. is

of a different (higher) rank. The reading  
and explanation of Gronovius οὐ παρὰ  
τούτῃ, 'she will not be with him long,' as  
they are sure to fall out, seem very far-  
fetched, and, indeed, almost impossible.

hunc . . . alucinari] 'I expect young  
Quintus is romancing as usual.' For the  
romancing of young Quintus cp. 753. 1  
note.

certiozem] sc. facias.

3. Plancum] Gnaeum: cp. 767 init.

demissum sine phaleris] 'with down-  
cast looks and decorations lost.' This  
looks like a part of a verse. The rumour  
is again referred to in 769. 2; 771. 3;  
772. 1.

agripetas] 'the land-grabbers' (*qui*  
*agrum Buthrotium concupissent* 767. 5),  
called *agrarii* 778. 11, a term now less  
aptly applied to tenants who are willing  
to pay rent for land which others desire  
to occupy rent-free. Macte is 'bravo,'  
'well done.'

1. iens] for this participle of *eo* cp.  
Att. iv. 9. 2 (122). We should prefer  
*exiens*: cp. 731. 1; 738. 2: Att. xvi.  
13a fin. (802).

Nesidem] a little island off the coast

cenanti Eros tuas litteras. Itane? NONIS IULIIS? Di hercule istis! Sed stomachari totum diem licet. Quidquamne turpius quam Bruto IULIIS? Nihil vidi. Redeo ad meum igitur ἔτ' ἐῷμεν; 2. Sed quid est, quaeso, quod agripetas Buthroti concisos audio? quid autem Plancus tam cursim—ita enim inaudiebam—diem et noctem? Sane cupio scire quid sit. 3. Meam profectionem laudari gaudeo: videndum est ut mansio laudetur. Dymaeos agro pulsos mare infestum habere nil mirum. Ἐν ὁμοπλοία Bruti videtur aliquid praesidi esse sed, opinor, minuta navigia. Sed iam sciam et ad te cras. 4. De Ventidio, πανικὸν puto. De

of Naples, where Lucullus had a villa in which Brutus was now sojourning. It is now called Nisida. Shuckburgh thinks the villa may have been Servilia's, and be part of the Neapolitan estate of Pontius which she now owned (728. 3).

*litteras*] sc. attulit or reddidit: cp. Fam. xii. 30. 1 (899) *nemo ad te meas litteras?*

*Nonis Iuliis*] Antony and his party in announcing the games which were to be given under the name of Brutus, though he did not himself intend to be present, used the expression *Nonis Iuliis* instead of *Quinctilibus*. This is resented by Cicero as an insult to the tyrannicides. That a month should be called after Julius implied that he was a god like Janus or Mars.

*Di . . . istis*] sc. male faciant.

*Quidquamne*] 'Could there be a greater insult for Brutus than "July"?'

*Nihil vidi*] sc. turpius. We agree with Boot and Dr. Reid (*Hermathena*, xii (1903) 237) that these words should follow IULIIS. In the mss. they follow ἐῷμεν.

*Redeo*] 'So I can only repeat my old question *quousque tandem?*' Cicero uses ἔτ' ἐῷμεν; 'are we still to permit them to insult us?' We should, probably, in a like case, use Cicero's own words in the beginning of the first Catilinarian oration. But the emendation of Dr. Reid ἔτ', ἔωμεν 'on, away,' a quotation perhaps from a poet, is attractive. Cicero was actually on his journey from Italy; and he had not been saying (at least in the letters we have), 'How long are we to endure this?' For the position of igitur cp. 2 Verr. i. 81 *huic homini parcellis igitur, iudices?* Plaut. Epid. 499 *Quid tibi negotist meae domi igitur?* Lamb. says the reading of Z is ἔλωμεν

(which is also in the margin of M); but we cannot translate it by 'eamus' with Corradus. Lamb. prefers θέωμεν: which Turnebus suggests, as well as an alternative ἀπλωμεν.

2. *agripetas*] 768. 3; 771. 3.

*quid . . . noctem?*] sc. iter fecit, as often: cp. 771. 1 in *Nesida*. 'What is the meaning of Plancus at this high speed—for such is the rumour I heard (763. 1)—day and night?'

3. *profectionem laudari*] cp. 772. 4; 775. 2.

*mansio*] 'my stay there,' i.e. in Greece. Cicero may have anticipated the criticisms which were actually made later: 783. 5 *vituperationem me existimari ad Olympia*. Or it may be 'my staying at home' when I return to Italy.

3. *Dymaeos*] pirates whom Pompey had settled near Dyme in Achaia. They were now dispossessed of their holdings and had returned to their former mode of life. For *infestum habere* see on Att. ix. 19. 3 (377).

Ἐν ὁμοπλοία Bruti] 'in having Brutus as my fellow-traveller' (770. 3).

4. *De Ventidio*] 'I think the rumour about V. is a canard.' It was reported that Ventidius Bassus was about to join Antony, as he actually did after the Mutinensian war. O. E. Schmidt (*Philologus*, 1892, p. 202) thinks that the story told by Appian, Bell. Civ. iii. 66, that Ventidius did actually march on Rome in 43, probably arose from rumours to that effect current the year before, and alluded to in this passage: cp. Cicero's letter to Pansa in Nonius 92. 18, *nos Ventidianis rumoribus calfacimur*. But the rumour, as Cicero says, was a mere canard, and no allusion to it is made in the Philippics.



Sexto pro certo habebatur †ad arma. Quod si verum est, sine bello civili video serviendum. Quid ergo? *ad* Kal. Ian. in Pansa spes? Ἀῆρος πολὺς in vino et in somno istorum. 5. De ccx, optime; Ciceronis rationes explicentur. Ovius enim recens: is multa, quae vellem: in iis ne hoc quidem malum, [†in mandatis si habunde,†] HS LXXII satis esse, adfatim prorsus, sed Xenonem perexigue et γλίσχωρως praebere [id est minutatim]. Quod plus permutasti quam ad fructum insularum, id ille annus habeat in quem itineris sumptus accessit. Hinc ex Kal. April. ad HS LXXX accommodetur. Nunc enim insulae tantum. Videndum enim est quid, cum Romae erit. Non enim puto socrum illam ferendam. Pindaro de Cumano negaram. 6. Nunc cuius rei causa tabellarium miserim accipe. Q. filius mihi pollicetur se

[†*ad arma*] This must be wrong, as the context shows that exactly the opposite meaning is required. It would be unscientific, however, to read *ab armis*, or *haud ad arma*. Something more can be said for *ab icere arma*: cp. 768. 2; Att. x. 8. 4 (392); for if *icere* was lost, *ab* would probably have been changed to *ad*. The false reading might owe its existence to some difficult word which was misunderstood by the copyists. We suggest *ad larem*, for which see 771. 2; 'it is regarded as certain that Sex. Pompeius is going "to the hall of his fathers"': cp. Phil. ii. 75, also Dio Cass. xlv. 10. 6, καὶ [ὁ Δέπιδος] ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμολογίαν εἰσεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τὰ πατρῶα κομίσασθαι. That whole chapter about Sextus Pompeius is worth reading. Shuckburgh suggested *dare manus*. Perhaps *dearmari*.

Ἀῆρος πολὺς] 'They haven't the shadow of a serious notion among them, these drowsy drinkers'; see on Att. ix. 18. 2 (376). The reference is to Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls elect. For Ἀῆρος πολὺς cp. 728. 4 ἄῆρος πολὺς. *Nemo est istorum qui otium non timeat*.

5. recens] 'a fresh arrival' from Athens.

*perezigue*] 'in very niggardly and stingy fashion.' This passage is usually regarded as presenting in the words enclosed within square brackets examples of glosses which have found their way into the text, *in mandatis* being a gloss on *in iis*, *sat abunde* (so Man. for *si habunde*) on *adfatum*, and *id est minutatim* on γλίσχωρως. There can be no doubt that the latter is a gloss. Dr. Reid, however

(p. 259), thinks that *in mandatis* is sound, but should follow *quae vellem*. Young Cicero, apparently, gave Ovius a good many commissions which pleased his father, perhaps to send him books or something of the kind: cp. 786. 8. That passage makes Dr. Reid's proposal very probable. Among the messages sent by young Cicero was also one that his allowance was sufficient, but that a hint might be given to Xeno to supply him with somewhat larger sums at each time.

*Quod plus permutasti*] 'you say you have sent a bill of exchange for a sum exceeding the rent of the flats (assigned to the maintenance of young Marcus: cp. 749. 1). Well, let the balance over and above the rent be charged to the year in which fell the expenses of the journey. Then, from the 1st of April on, his expenses must be kept within the 80,000 sesterces (about £800)—the rent of the flats. Then we must make a new arrangement when he returns to Rome. I do not think he could endure that woman as a mother-in-law.' Cicero was contemplating some rich alliance for his son, but he regards the lady's mother as an insuperable obstacle. Since, then, his son is not about to be supported by a rich wife, Cicero says that some arrangement must be made for his maintenance when he comes to live in Rome.

*quid*] sc. *facturus sit*.

*de Cumano*] Pindarus seems to have been the agent for someone who wished to purchase Cicero's property at Cumae, which, however, Cicero was not disposed to sell.

6. *se Catonem*] sc. *fore*, 'that he will

Catonem. Egit autem et pater et filius ut tibi sponderem, sed ita ut tum crederes cum ipse cognosses. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitrato dabo. Eae te ne moverint. Has scripsi in eam partem ne me motum putares. Di faxint ut faciat ea quae promittit! Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego . . . nihil dico amplius. Is hinc vi Idus. Ait enim attributionem in Idus, se autem urgeri acriter. Tu ex meis litteris quo modo respondeas moderabere. Plura, cum et Brutum videro et Erotem remittam. Atticae meae excusationem accipio eamque amo plurimum, cui et Piliae salutem.

## 770. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 5).

PUTEOLI; JULY 9; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Bruto eiusque ludis, de Q. filio, de *δουλοία* cum Bruto vix futura, de Nepote, de epistulis suis edendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tuas iam litteras Brutus exspectabat: cui quidem ego [non] novum attuleram de 'Tereo' Acci. Ille 'Brutum' putabat.

be a very Cato': cp. 768. 2. Caelius in Fam. viii. 17. 2 (408) also seems to imply that he will show himself a perfect Cato: see note there.

*tibi sponderem*] 'The father and son beg me to guarantee the son's good conduct, asking you, however, to believe only when you have had experience yourself of his reform (cp. 770. 2). I am giving him a letter just such as he wants. Don't mind what I say in it. This letter is to prevent your thinking that I am really impressed by any reformation in the lad.' The letter referred to is possibly the one that follows. It must be allowed that Cicero's action in this matter conflicts with modern notions of the character of a gentleman.

*Is hinc*] sc. *profisciscetur*: cp. 727. 5.

*attributionem in Idus*] *Attributio* might be taken either actively or passively. In the former case it would mean that he had assigned to his creditors debts due to him on the Ides; in the latter, that on the Ides certain debts would be assigned to him, which he might transfer to his creditors. The latter seems the more

probable: cp. 606. 1; 635. 4; 773. 5; Fam. xvi. 24. 1 (806); Att. xv. 13a. 5 (795). In the former case it would be 'He says he has made an assignment of debts for the Ides.' In the latter, 'He says that an assignment of debts due to him is to be made to him on the Ides.' For the debts of young Quintus, cp. 681. 1; 763. 1.

*Atticae . . . accipio*] cp. note to 768. 1.

1. [*non*] *novum*] The striking out of the *non* here is quite justifiable, as it may have been a mere dittography of the first syllable of *novum*. However, it is not absolutely necessary to omit the word, for Brutus may have written, and told Cicero that he had already learned what Cicero had written to him, that it was the *Tereus* of Accius, and not the *Brutus*, which had been acted at the games. But the omission of *non* is to be preferred. Brutus had first imagined that it was the *Brutus*, not the *Tereus* of Accius, which was played. For the *ludi Graeci*, see Fam. vii. 1. 3 (127).

ed tamen rumoris nescio quid adflaverat commissione Graecorum frequentiam non fuisse, quod quidem me minime fefellit. Scis nim quid ego de Graecis ludis existimem. 2. Nunc audi quod pluris est quam omnia. Quintus fuit mecum dies compluris, et, si ego cuperem, ille vel pluris fuisset, sed, quantum fuit, incredibile est quam me in omni genere delectarit, in eoque maxime in quo minime satis faciebat. Sic enim commutatus est totus et scriptis meis quibusdam quae in manibus habebam et assiduitate rationis et praeceptis, ut tali animo in rem publicam quali nos volumus futurus sit. Hoc cum mihi non modo confirmasset sed etiam persuasisset, egit mecum accurate multis verbis tibi ut ponderem se dignum et te et nobis futurum, neque se postulare ut statim crederes, sed, cum ipse perspexisses, tum ut se amares. Quod nisi fidem mihi fecisset iudicassemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non fecissem id quod dicturus sum. Duxi enim mecum adulescentem ad Brutum. Sic ei probatum est quod ad te scribo ut ipsi crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit eumque laudans micissime mentionem tui fecerit, complexus osculatusque dimiserit. Quam ob rem etsi magis est quod gratuler tibi quam quod te rogem, tamen etiam rogo ut, si quae minus antea propter infirmitatem aetatis constanter ab eo fieri videbantur, ea iudices illum abiecissem mihi que credas multum adlaturam vel plurimum potius ad illius iudicium confirmandum auctoritatem tuam. 3. Bruto cum saepe iniecissem de ὁμοπλοΐα non perinde atque ego putaram adripere visus est. Existimabam μετεωρότερον esse,

[rumoris nescio quid adflaverat] 'there had been a report in the air that there was no great attendance at the exhibition of the Greek plays.' For *adflaverat*, cp. *aura rumoris*, Mur. 35; *famae perlatitur aura*, Verg. Aen. vii. 646.

[quod . . . fefellit] 'which was exactly what I expected.' For *fallere* = 'to run counter to one's expectation,' cp. Orat. 25, *quem, quaeso, nostrum fefellit ita vos esse facturos?*

2. *Quintus*] qu. add f. (= *filius*).

[quantum fuit] *Quamdiu* would be more usual, but *quantum* may very well stand for *quantum temporis* in a letter. 'As much as was with me.' Dr. Reid suggests *quot.*

[minime satis faciebat] 'in which he was (formerly) least satisfactory,' probably his relations with the Caesarian party, and his hostility to Cicero.

[in manibus habebam] possibly the *De Officiis*.

[assiduitate orationis] 'by my constantly talking to him' (Shuckburgh).

[confirmasset] 'after not only solemnly promising reform, but even convincing me that it was sincere.'

[perspexisses] 'tested it': cp. 769. 6. [me sponsorem] cp. Cicero's pledge for the loyalty of Octavian Phil. v. 50, 51: ad Brut. i. 18. 3 (915).

3. [iniecissem] 'suggested.' [ὁμοπλοΐα] 769. 3: 771. 4 'my being his *compagnon de voyage*.'

[adripere] 'to catch at it': cp. De Orat. ii. 89 *quod iste adripuit et ita sese facturum confirmavit*: Ter. Eun. 570 *summonuit me . . . servus quod ego adripui*.

[μετεωρότερον] 'in a state of some anxiety,' 'wavering between hope and

et hercule erat et maxime de ludis. At mihi, cum ad villam redissem, Cn. Lucceius, qui multum utitur Bruto, narravit illum valde morari, non tergiversantem sed expectantem si qui forte casus. Itaque dubito an Venusiam tendam et ibi expectem de legionibus: si aberunt, ut quidam arbitrantur, Hydruntem: si neutrum erit ἀσφαλές, eodem revertar. \* \* Iocari me putas? Moriar si quisquam me tenet praeter te. Etenim † circumspice, sed ante quam erubescō † 4. O dies in auspiciis Lepidi *lepide*

fear': cp. 758. 4, and Polybius viii. 22. 8 : xxiii. 9. 11.

[*non tergiversantem*] 'not from vacillation.' For the delay of Brutus cp. 771. 4.

[*de legionibus*] the legions which were expected to come from Macedonia to Italy, and which he wished to avoid meeting: cp. 753. 2.

[*neutrum*] The alternatives seem to be (1) going across by land through Brundisium to Hydrunt, in which journey there might be danger from Antony's legions; (2) going by long sea from Naples to Greece, in which there would be danger from pirates (cp. 772. 4). 'If both prove too dangerous (says Cicero), I shall return to where you are (*eodem*)': or perhaps we should read *domum*. But another view is possible. Cicero is thinking of going overland to the east coast. He would go to Venusia first: if there was no danger from the legions there, he would see about pushing on to Hydrunt. If the legions are down in that region, he will return to where he now is (Puteoli).

[*Iocari me putas*] There is no joke: something must have been lost. Dr. Reid draws attention to the fact that after *revertar* in M follows Att. xii. 3 (468), a letter which is of a similarly effusive tone to what has probably been extruded here. "In some ancestral codex," he says (*Hermath.* xii. (1903) p. 267), "a reader noted in the margin a reference to that letter, because the language held there about Atticus is very similar. The note was by some successor misunderstood as a direction to insert the whole letter. The process of insertion caused the loss of other matter, perhaps of a whole page."

[† *ante*] We have no suggestion to make here; *antequam* is in  $\Sigma$ : *ante* in  $\Delta$ . The reading of  $\Sigma$  looks as if it were right, but it baffles interpretation. Why should Cicero say that he blushes to

tell Atticus 'face to face' that he is the sole tie that binds him to Italy. He has often made use of expressions equally emphatic. And why should he ask Atticus to look round? Is it to see whether he has any rival in the regard of Cicero? It is better to own ourselves at a loss than to accept such suggestions. Prof. Goligher thinks that *ante* conceals *αὐδᾶν* in the sense of 'speaking out,' 'telling forth,' and that the passage means 'You alone would keep me in Italy. For just look around (at my other acquaintances, Brutus, Cassius, Hirtius, Pansa and the rest). But I blush to speak out about them (i.e. to describe them).' The word *αὐδᾶν* would naturally mean 'to name,' 'to tell forth,' but the sense of describe may, perhaps, be defended by Aesch. Prom. 948 οὐστίνας κομπεῖς γάμουσ ἀὐδᾶν ἔνωγε: and we should certainly wish for an accusative in one or other of the clauses. Besides Cicero had not shrunk from criticizing his political friends pretty vigorously (*quanta ἀμνηστία*, 768. 1: *λῆρος πολὺς*, 769. 4): and *αὐδᾶν* would not naturally have passed into *ante*, but into the equally familiar *audire*. The corruption would need to have been an old one to admit of the still further corruption in  $\Sigma$  caused by the addition of *quam*.

4. *O dies in auspiciis Lepidi*] This passage is to be considered along with Att. xvi. 11. 8 (799) *De Lepidianis feriis* Balbus ad me usque ad iii. Kal. sc. of December. The reference is held to be to the inauguration ceremony of Lepidus, who had succeeded in getting himself appointed Pontifex Maximus in place of Caesar. This suited fairly well with the time at which Cicero proposed to return. He certainly intended to be home before January 1st (cp. 759), and probably before the winter closing of general navigation on November 11 (Veget. v. 9): cp. 759 *est enim hiberna navigatio odiosa*. Lepidus

descriptos et apte ad consilium reditus nostri! Magna ῥοπή ad proficiendum in tuis litteris. Atque utinam te illic! Sed ut conducere putabis. 5. Nepotis epistulam exspecto. Cupidus ille meorum? qui ea quibus maxime γανριῶ legenda non putet? Et ais μετ' ἀμύμονα. Tu vero ἀμύμων: ille quidem ἄμβροτος. Mearum epistularum nulla est συναγωγή, sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae: eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur.

may have arranged for this by stating that he would take the auspices on that day; for announcements that auspices would be taken on a certain day were sometimes made, cp. Phil. ii. 81. It is possible that we should omit *in* before *auspiciis*, supposing that it got out of place, and that it should precede *tuis litteris*. Malaspina's addition of *lepide* seems required by the exclamatory form of the sentence. Cicero elsewhere plays on the name: cp. Att. vi. 1. 25 (252), 'What a nice arrangement of days has been made for the auspices (inauguration) of our nice friend (Lepidus), and how well it suits my plans for return.'

ῥοπή] 'momentum.'  
Atque utinam te illic] sc. videam, i.e. in Greece, cp. 772. 6, from which passage it appears that Atticus proposed wintering in Epirus.

5. meorum] A passage, first pointed out (we believe) by Popma, seems to prove that the philosophical works of Cicero are here referred to. The passage is a letter from Cornelius Nepos to Cicero, quoted by Lactantius, Inst. Div. iii. 15. 10, in which Nepos speaks slightly of philosophers. The passage, it is true, is directed against philosophers whose lives belie their theories, but broadly it justifies the allegation that Nepos thought very little of philosophical works of which Cicero says 'dont je me pique beaucoup.'

legenda] As M has *a legenda*, O. E. Schmidt wishes to read *omnino legenda*.

Et ais μετ' ἀμύμονα] The reference must be to some passage in the letter of Atticus, of which we can only conjecture he import. The allusion is evidently to Homer, Il. xvii. 280, where Ajax is said to come next, μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. If

Atticus had said that Nepos as a historian came next to Cicero, as Ajax came next to Achilles, Cicero would be well justified in replying, 'No, you are the Achilles, I am only the Ajax. Nepos stands above us both like one of the Homeric deities.' Atticus had done some historical work: Cicero had hardly gone beyond the planning of some such form of literary effort. It is not likely that Cicero would refer to Nepos at all except as an historian.

συναγωγή] 'corpus.'  
instar] 'to the extent of,' 'to the amount of,' 'fully.' The word is first used by Cic. (Verr. v. 44), and literally means 'weight' (cp. Lindsay *Latin Language*, p. 205). Then it is used as 'the equivalent of': cp. Tusc. i. 40 *terram ad universi caeli complexum quasi puncti instar obtinere*: Orat. 222. With our passage we may compare Varro R. R. i. 1. 10 *in volumina . . . adiecit non pauca et de Magone dempsit instar librorum VIII*. It is found in Att. x. 4. 1 (382) *voluminis instar* 'as big as a volume.' See Index for other examples from Cicero's Correspondence.

septuaginta] What were these seventy epistles? Gurlitt holds that they were the recommendatory letters in Fam. xiii. We have advanced objections to this view in vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 69. We think that they were a collection of the choicest flowers of his correspondence, and that the collection was not published by Cicero owing to the many distractions and troubles of the remainder of his life. Could LXX = *librorum viginti*? If Cicero intended to publish his whole available correspondence, it would certainly have run to at least twenty books. But the ordinary view is better.

## 771. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 4).

PUTEOLI; JULY 10; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Bruti ludis, de Sex. Pompeio, de Buthroitiis, de itinere Brundisino suo et de δημολοία cum Bruto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ita ut heri tibi narravi, vel fortasse hodie—Quintus enim altero die se aiebat—in Nesida VIII Idus. Ibi Brutus. Quam ille doluit de NONIS IULIIS! Mirifice est conturbatus. Itaque sese scripturum aiebat ut venationem eam quae postridie ludos Apollinaris futura est proscriberent in III IDUS QUINCTILIS. Libo intervenit. Is Philonem Pompei libertum et Hilarum suum libertum venisse a Sexto cum litteris ad consules sive quo alio nomine sunt. Earum exemplum nobis legit, si quid videretur. Pauca παρὰ λέξιν, ceteroqui et satis graviter et non contumaciter. Tantum addi placuit, quod erat coss. solum, ut esset PRAETT. TRIBB. PLEB. SENATUI, ne illi non proferrent eas quae ad ipsos missae essent. 2. Sextum autem nuntiant cum una solum legione fuisse Karthagine, eique eo ipso die quo oppidum Baream cepisset

1. *heri . . . vel fortasse hodie*] This is a good explanation of the use of epistolary tenses in the letters, which brings about such anomalies as the connexion of *nunc* with past tenses as in *nunc parabam, erat nunc* (773. 6); but nowhere is there a more remarkable form of expression than here where he says 'in my letter of yesterday, or perhaps of to-day, for Q. (to whom he had entrusted the letter) said he would take only two days to reach you,' thus describing the date of the letter, not by the day on which it was written (which of course Cicero knew), but by the day on which it would be received by Atticus (which he could only conjecture). It was a rapid journey if a letter reached Pompeii from Rome *tertio die* (726. 1). As Cicero thinks that Quintus will not be able to complete the journey from Puteoli to Rome *altero die*, but only *tertio die*, he adds *vel fortasse hodie*.

NONIS IULIIS] cp. 769. 1.

venationem] the fighting with wild beasts, which was to be announced for the 4th of 'Quinctilis,' not of 'July.'

Libo] 'Libo came in'; Libo was the

father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius and the brother of Scribonia who was afterwards wife of Octavian: cp. note to Fam. vii. 4 (503).

Sexto] sc. Pompeio.

sive quo alio nomine sunt] 'or whatever they are to be called' as designated only by Caesar, not by the free voice of the people: cp. 712. 2, where he calls the same Hirtius and Pansa *quasi designati consules*; and *magistratus, si quidem illi magistratus* 707. 2. Hofmann gives several examples of this qualitative ablative, especially in the letters; e.g. Fam. vi. 4. 4 (540), *quanto fuerim dolore*.

si quid videretur] 'to see if anything would strike us'; cp. Fam. xi. 19. 1 (875), *Ad senatum quas litteras misi velim prius perlegas et si qua tibi videbuntur commutes*.

παρὰ λέξιν] 'a few solecisms in language.'

2. Baream] a town in Spain, S.W. of Carthago Nova. This is the conjecture of Boot for Boream, there being no town of that name.

nuntiatum esse de Caesare; capto oppido, miram laetitiam commutationemque animorum concursumque undique, sed illum ad ex legiones quas in ulteriore reliquisset revertisse. Ad ipsum autem Libonem scripsit nihil esse nisi ad larem suum liceret. Summa postulatorum, ut omnes exercitus dimittantur qui ubique sint. Haec fere de Sexto. 3. De Buthroitiis undique quaerens nihil reperiēbam. Alii concisos agripetas, alii Plancum acceptis nummis relictis illis aufugisse. Itaque non video sciturum me quid eius sit nisi statim aliquid litterarum. 4. Iter illud Brundisium de quo dubitabam sublatum videtur. Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Haec autem navigatio habet quasdam suspensiones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ὁμοπλοία. Paratiorem enim offendi Brutum quam audiebam. Nam et ipse et Domitius bona plane habet dicrōta, suntque navigia praeterea luculenta Sesti, Buciliani, ceterorum. Nam Cassi classem, quae plane bella est, non numero ultra fretum. Illud est mihi submolestum, quod parum Brutus properare videtur. Primum confectorum ludorum

*concursumque undique*] cp. Hor. Sat. i. 9 fin., *Undique concursus*; sic me servavit Apollo.

*in ulteriore*] sc. Hispania.  
*nihil esse nisi*] 'it was a *sine qua non*,' as we should say.

*ad larem suum*] sc. reverti. The ultimatum of Pompey was that he was to be restored to his own family mansion, which had been confiscated by Caesar and appropriated by Antony: cp. note to 769. 4, and Dio Cass. xlv. 9 fin.

*Summa postulatorum*] 'the gist of his demands.'

3. *agripetas*] cp. 768. 3.

*acceptis nummis relictis illis*] 'having received the money and leaving them alone.' There was nothing in the story, cp. 772. 1. Hofmann compares for the second abl. abs. being the result of the first *exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus*: Caes. Bell. Gall. ii. 11. 5, *consumptis telis gladiis destituti*, Bell. Civ. i. 46. 1.

*quid eius sit*] 'what truth there is in the matter': cp. *quid eius sit*, Verr. v. 64; Plaut. Aul. 802 *ibo intro ut quid huius verum sit sciam*. Also such expressions as *quid eius facere potueris*, Fam. iii. 2. 3 (183), and cp. Roby § 1297.

4. *Iter illud Brundisium*] There is no need to alter with Pius to *Brundisium*, cp. Phil. v. 22: *iter Alexandream* Phil. ii. 48, quoted by Dr. Reid. In Varro's

Menippean Satires (ed. Riese, p. 199) we have *Luna Adriam itiner longum*, 'long journey from Luna to the Adriatic.'

*sublatum*] 'put aside.'

*Haec navigatio*] 'to sail from here,' from Puteoli: cp. 753. 3 *hic plous*.

*ὁμοπλοία*] cp. 770. 3. The dat. of Greek words is used for the ablative: cp. 783. 3, *quid iam opus est σχολίῳ?*

*et ipse et*] We have inserted the second *et* with Hofmann. There would be no meaning in *ipse Domitius* unless through some antithesis, as between Domitius and his attendants: *ipse* is Brutus. For Domitius, see vol. iv. lx-lxii.

*dicrōta*] 'biremes,' cp. Att. v. 11. 4 (200).

*Buciliani*] cp. 749. 2.

*non numero*] 'I do not count on them beyond the *fretum Siculum*,' lit. 'I do not count (among the things likely to render me assistance) the fleet of Cassius,' for Cassius' destination was Syria, and he would accordingly strike away south-east from the Straits. We think Cassius was not going to take up the corn-commissionership in Sicily (cp. 744. 1). For *numero* see Madv. on Fin. iv. 45, *si quidquam, nisi quod honestum sit, numeretur*, who says that *numeretur* = ἐγκρίνεται, and the exact nature of the importance of the thing which is 'counted' is to be judged from the context.

nuntios expectat: deinde, quantum intellego, tarde est navigaturus, consistens in locis pluribus. Tamen arbitror esse commodius tarde navigare quam omnino non navigare, et si, cum processerimus, exploratiora videbuntur, etesiis utemur.

## 772. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 2).

PUTEOLI; JULY 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Buthrotiis, de Erote remisso et Hortensio, de Publilio et reliquis negotiis suis ab Attico Romae sustinendis, de Bruto, de protectione sua, de Sestio, de Cassio, de Tutia, de Aebutio, de Planco et Oppio, de Attici hiematione in Epiro, dein de libro 'De Gloria.'

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VI Idus duas epistulas accepi, unam a meo tabellario, alteram a Bruti. De Buthrotiis longe alia fama in his locis fuerat, sed cum aliis multis hoc ferendum. Erotem remisi citius quam constitueram, ut esset qui Hortensio et† quia et† quibus quidem ait se Idibus constituisse. Hortensius vero impudenter: nihil enim debetur ei nisi ex tertia pensione, quae est Kal. Sext., ex qua pensione ipsa maior pars est ei soluta aliquanto ante diem. Sed haec Eros videbit Idibus. De Publilio autem, quod perscribi oportet moram non puto esse faciendam. Sed cum videas quantum de iure nostro decesserimus, qui de residuis cccc HS. cc praesentia solverimus, reliqua rescribamus, loqui cum eo, si

*exploratiora*] 'things shall seem more secure,' 'more assured': cp. 772. 4.

*etesiis*] the summer north-west or north winds: cp. Fam. ii. 15. 5 (273).

1. *et† quia et† quibus*] We have given the corrupt reading in the text. Of the conjectures (for which see Adn. Crit.) the simplest is that of Junius *ut esset qui Hortensio* (sc. solveret) *et coheredibus, quibus quidem ait se Idibus constituisse*, as may be inferred from the allusion to the transaction in 775. 3. Cicero had purchased from his co-heirs, under the will of Cluvius, their share of the property. He had paid two of the three instalments, and a part of the third, which Hortensius (or Hordeonius) now coolly demands before it is due. *Hortensius* is probably an error for *Hordeonius*, who was one of the

co-heirs, and so might naturally be acting for the rest: cp. note to 663. 3. But it is of course possible that Hortensius was another co-heir.

*perscribi*] 'I think there ought to be no delay about the draft that should be given him' for Publilia's dowry: cp. 775. 3.

*quantum . . . decesserimus*] 'how far we were from pressing our rights.'

*reliqua rescribamus*] 'are giving a cheque in repayment of the balance': cp. Ter. Phorm. 922, *illud mihi argentum rursum iube rescribi*, Phormio: Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 76 *dictantis quod tu nunquam rescribere possis*. Cicero is giving this cheque, but thinks that Publilius ought not to demand immediate payment considering all the circumstances.



ibi videbitur, poteris, eum commodum nostrum expectare debere, um tanta sit a nobis iactura facta iuris. 2. Sed amabo te, mi Attice—videsne quam blande?—omnia nostra, quoad eris Romae, ta gerito, regito, gubernato ut nihil a me exspectes. Quamquam nim reliqua satis apta sunt ad solvendum, tamen fit saepe ut ii qui debent non respondeant ad tempus. Si quid eius modi acciderit, ne quid tibi sit fama mea potius. Non modo versura rerum etiam venditione, si ita res coget, nos vindicabis. 3. Bruto tuae litterae gratae erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Veside, cum paullo ante tuas litteras acceperissem. Delectari mihi Tereus videbatur et habere maiorem Accio quam Antonio gratiam. Mihi autem quo laetiora sunt, eo plus stomachi et molestiae est populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda re publica sed in plaudendo consumere. Mihi quidem videntur istorum animi incendi etiam ad repraesentandam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen 'dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quidlibet.' 4. Consilium meum quod ais cotidie magis laudari non moleste fero, exspectabamque si quid de eo ad me scriberes. Ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam ideo trahebam ut quam diutissime integrum esset. Sed quoniam furcilla extrudi-

2. *quam blande*] 'you see how I am coaxing you.'

*ita . . . exspectes*] 'manage, direct, and guide all my concerns, but do not expect any money from me.'

*reliqua . . . solvendum*] cp. what he says 75. 3 *bella reliqua reliqui*. Dr. Reid suggests *ampla* for *apta*.

*nos vindicabis*] 'sustain my credit': lit. 'free me' (from debt).

3. *Delectari . . . gratiam*] 'He seemed to be delighted at (the success of the) Tereus' (cp. 770. 1), and to thank Accius rather than Antonius (for the success).' He considered that the applause evoked was rather due to the literary excellence of the play (of which Accius was the author) than to the trouble taken by C. Antonius the praetor in getting up the production of the play. All the authorities (Cic. Phil. i. 36; Plut. Brut. 21; Appian B.C. ii. 24) say that much expense was lavished on these games. Some applause seems to have been given for Brutus, and cries raised (Appian says by a hired crowd) that Brutus should be recalled to Rome: but the prevailing sentiment was against that course. Cicero (*l. c.*) of course says

otherwise *nisi forte Accio tum plaudī et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis*.

*repraesentandam*] 'it seems to me the party of Antony are being worked up to give an immediate instalment of their wicked policy.'

*dum modo . . . quidlibet*] 'provided they show any compunction, let it be as it may' (i.e. as little as they please), 'let but their shame be ne'er so small, if only shame they feel at all.' This is said by a father when his son shows signs of remorse. It is a verse of Afranius, and is quoted in Tusc. iv. 45 and 55.

4. *Consilium meum*] see 769. 3; 775. 2.

*Ego enim . . . incidebam*] 'For I have casually heard many different opinions on the subject.'

*trahebam*] Supply apparently *negotium* 'I am protracting the business (i.e. my departure), so that it may be left an open question as long as possible': cp. 756.

*furcilla extrudimur*] 'pitch-forked out': cp. Hor. Ep. i. 10. 24, *Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurvet*: Catull. 105. 2, *Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt*: Aristoph. Pax 637 *δικοῖς ἐάθουν*

mur, Brundisium cogito. Facilior enim et exploratior devitatio legionum fore videtur quam piratarum, qui apparere dicuntur. Sestius VI Idus expectabatur, sed non venerat, quod sciam. Cassius cum classicula sua venerat. Ego, cum eum vidissem, VI Idus in Pompeianum cogitabam, inde Aeculanum. Nosti reliqua. 5. De Iulia ita putaram. De Aebutio non credo, nec tamen curo plus quam tu. Planco et Oppio scripsi equidem, quoniam rogaras: sed, si tibi videbitur, ne necesse habueris reddere—cum enim tua causa fecerint omnia, vereor ne meas litteras supervacaneas arbitrentur—Oppio quidem utique, quem tibi amicissimum cognovi. Verum ut voles. 6. Tu, quoniam scribis hiematurum te in Epiro, feceris mihi gratum si ante eo veneris quam mihi in Italiam te auctore veniendum est. Litteras ad me quam saepissime: si de rebus minus necessariis, aliquem nactus: sin autem erit quid maius, domo mittito. Ἡρακλείδειον, si Brundisium salvi, adoriemur. 'De Gloria' misi tibi. Custodies igitur, ut soles, sed notentur eclogarii quos Salvius bonos auditores nactus in convivio dumtaxat legat. Mihi valde placent: mallet tibi Etiam atque etiam vale.

τὴν θέν. It is not very easy to see what great force was coercing Cicero to leave Italy. In 771 fin., however, he seems to think it more desirable to go than stay.

devitatio] 'the avoidance of the legions from Macedonia will be easier and surer than the avoidance of the pirates,' the *Dymaei*, as he calls them in Ep. 769: cp. also 770. 3.

classicula] 'his flotilla' one of the ἀπαξ εἰρημένον diminutives so frequent in the letters.

Aeculanum] always Aeclanum in inscriptions. A town on the Appian Way, about fifteen miles south-east of Beneventum. Cicero would come to it on his way to Brundisium.

reliqua] 'the rest of my route,' the other places at which I must stop on my way to Brundisium.

5. De Iulia] cp. note to 768. 2. As the allusion seems to be to the same person, we must alter *Tutia* of the mss to *Iulia*. Schmidt conjectures *tuta via*. We do not remember to have met Tutius or Tutia as a person's name anywhere.

Aebutio] not otherwise known: see Adn. Crit.

rogaras] The letters were probably

about the Buthrotian business: cp. 767, 777, 780.

6. in Epiro] cp. note to 770. 4: 773. 5. in Italiam te auctore] that is before Jan. 1: cp. 783. 2, *profectionis meae approbator fuisti dummodo Kal. Jan. Romae essem*.

domo] 'send some one from your own establishment with a letter.'

Ἡρακλείδειον] see on 734. 3; 764. 2. si Brundisium salvi] sc. *venerimus* cp. for ellipse 749. 2, *Ego, si Tiro ad me (sc. venerit), cogito in Tusculanum (sc. ire)*.

notentur eclogarii] The usual view is that this word means 'selected passages': but it would naturally mean 'excerptors.' 'Let the select passages be marked to be read by your Salvius, and only at a party, and before a fit audience,' cp. 773. 1. Holding that *eclogarii* were 'excerptors' not 'excerpted passages,' it was suggested by Turnebus that we should read *vocentur*. Mr. Clark (*Philologus*, 1901, pp. 209 ff.) approves of this, and would read *quaeso* for *quas*, for Z reads *quas* according to Turnebus, not *quos*. He says 'vult quidem Cicero librum de gloria custodiri, sed loca florëntiora quo avidius homines ipsum librum poscant, coram notariis

## 773. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 3).

LEAVING POMPEII; JULY 17; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Antonio ab Attico convento Tiburi, de libro 'De Senectute' suo et alio συντάγματι per Erotem misso, de Cicerone suo, de Xenone, de Herode, de Q. filio, tum de discessu suo, de rationibus suis et re familiari, de Bruto, de Cassio, de Hiera et Blesamio, de Attica et Pilia.

1. Tu vero sapienter—nunc demum enim rescribo iis litteris, quas mihi misisti convento Antonio Tiburi—sapienter igitur quod manus dedisti quodque etiam ultro gratias egisti. Certe enim, ut scribis, deseremur ocius a re publica quam a re familiari. Quod vero scribis te magis *et magis* delectare 'O Tite, si quid,' auges mihi scribendi alacritatem. Quod Erotem non sine munusculo te exspectare dicis, gaudeo non fefellisse eam rem opinionem tuam,

recitari iubet.' We are not quite sure how Mr. Clark would punctuate the sentence. He notices that Turnebus in his *Adversaria* xxiii. 29, rejects *voentur*. Dr. Reid thinks we should read ἐκλογαῖ *quas*, the corruption beginning by *quas* being assimilated to the gender of *bonos*. The natural word to expect is certainly *eclogae* or ἐκλογαῖ: but then what about *rii*? It occurred to us that perhaps we should read *eclogae* or ἐκλογαῖ *duo* [ii.] *quas*, 'You will keep the book from publication, but I would have you notice the two selected passages for Salvius to read. They please me much. I would prefer that they pleased you.' We then get a definite nominative for *placent*. Cicero may have indicated the two passages with which he was specially pleased. In Att. xvi. 11. 1 (799) he calls this kind of elegant extracts ἀνθη, but we do not think that in that passage he is referring to the *De Gloria*.

1. *Tu vero*] Here Cicero himself points to the fact that *vero* introduces an answer to a question in the letter of one's correspondent.

*igitur*] resumes as often, after a parenthesis.

*manus dedisti*] 'you acted wisely in giving in, and even thanking him.' Schütz supposes that L. Antonius had met Atticus at the Tiburtine villa of

Metellus Scipio, and had assured him that should any confiscation of the country about Tusculum be made, the property of Cicero would be safe. Cicero approves of the conduct of Atticus in not attempting to dissuade him from the design of dividing these lands, but gratefully accepting his clemency towards Cicero. See 745. 2. But we think it more probable that the other commentators are right in supposing that the matter was one connected with the Buthrotian business.

*deseremur*] 'we shall part company with our state before we are stripped of our fortunes.' It is strange how often *deseror* goes with inanimate objects in Cicero, with the preposition *a* supplied: cf. *deseror a ceteris oblectationibus voluptatum*, Att. iv. 10, 1 (121); *a mente*, Att. iii. 15. 2 (73); *illi quorum eminent audacia a consiliis militiae deseruntur*, Cluent. 183. Also Accius Trag. 594 (Ribbeck) *a fortuna opibusque omnibus desertum*.

*delectare*] We have accepted Wesenberg's correction of *delectari* of the mss; 'O Tite, si quid ego,' the first words of the *De Senectute*, by which he often refers to that treatise, may be used as the subject or as the object of the verb, but cannot stand in any other relation to it, e.g. cannot take the place of the ablative, for which it would have to stand if we read *delectari*.

sed tamen idem σύνταγμα misi ad te retractatius et quidem ἀρχέτυπον ipsum crebris locis inculcatum et reffectum. Hunc tu tralatium in macrocollum lege arcano convivis tuis, sed, si me amas, hilaris et bene acceptis, ne in me stomachum erumpant cum sint tibi irati. 2. De Cicerone velim ita sit ut audimus. De Xenone coram cognoscam, quamquam nihil ab eo arbitror neque indiligenter neque illiberaliter. De Herode faciam ut mandas, et ea quae scribis ex Saufeio et e Xenone cognoscam. 3. De Q. filio, gaudeo tibi meas litteras prius a tabellario meo quam ab ipso redditas, quamquam te nihil fefellisset. Verum tamen . . . Sed exspecto quid ille tecum, quid tu vicissim, nec dubito quin suo more uterque. Sed eas litteras Curium mihi spero redditurum, qui quidem, etsi per se est amabilis a meque diligitur, tamen accedet magnus cumulus commendationis tuae. 4. Litteris tuis satis responsum est: nunc audi quod, etsi intellego scribi necesse non esse, scribo tamen. Multa me movent in discessu, in primis mehercule quod diiungor a te: movet etiam navigationis labor

*idem σύνταγμα . . . retractatius*] 'the same brochure more fully revised.' It was the *De Gloria* 772. 6.

*inculcatum*] 'with interlineations and touched up.' On this use of the word here see a note of Dr. Reid's on Orat. 50 in Sir J. Sandys' edition. Professor Palmer thought the word means that faint letters in the archetype were blackened and deepened by a fresh application of the pen. But see Att. iii. 23. 2 (83), referred to by Dr. Reid.

*Hunc*] It is possible that we should read *Hoc*, as ἀρχέτυπον is elsewhere neuter. But we can regard it as an adj. with *libellum* understood.

*tralatium in macrocollum*] 'copied on large paper': cp. 642. 3 note.

*arcano*] a rare adverb: but cp. Plaut. Trin. 518, 556: Caes. B. C. i. 19. 2. It means 'privately,' not at a regular large assemblage such as an *acroasis* (cp. 749. 2).

*hilaris*] This adjective is of the second, as well as of the third, declension. For the sentiment cp. 772 fin.

*erumpant*] 'discharge': cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 8. 3 (*iracundiam*): Liv. xxxvi. 7. 13 (*iram*): Ter. Eun. 500 (*gaudium*). For another allusion to the parsimony of Atticus see Att. vi. 1. 13 (252), where Cicero takes him to task for serving up a cheap vegetable dinner on expensive plate, asking what would be the fare

provided if the dinner-service were of earthenware. Nepos (Att. 13) says that the amount allowed by Atticus for household expenses was, to his own certain knowledge, only 3000 sesterces per month, or about £30 of our money.

2. *De Xenone*] We read in 769. 5 that Xeno doled out the allowance of young Cicero very sparingly. To Herodes, a teacher of young Cicero, and Saufeius, an Epicurean philosopher, we have often had allusions in these letters.

3. *quamquam te nihil fefellisset*] 'although you would not have been misled,' cp. 769. 6.

*Verum tamen . . .*] cp. note to 710. 2.

*Curium*] Manius Curius, the banker of Patrae: cp. Att. vii. 2. 3 (293) and Index.

*accedet magnus cumulus*] 'there will be added the great crowning merit of your recommendation'; *commendationis tuae* is the gen. epexegeticus, 'in the shape of (consisting of) your recommendation,' like *merces gloriae*, 'reward in the shape of glory'; *vox voluptatis*, 'that word pleasure'; *numerus trecentorum*, 'the number 300' (Madv. 286). Cf. *vera laude probitatis*, 'real glory,' which consists in uprightness, Att. i. 17. 5 (23); *aliis virtutibus continentiae gravitatis iustitiae fidei*, 'the other virtues, namely, temperance,' &c. Mur. 23: *mercedem*

alienus non ab aetate solum nostra verum etiam a dignitate tempusque discessus subabsurdum. Relinquimus enim pacem ut ad bellum revertamur, quodque temporis in praediolis nostris et belle aedificatis et satis amoenis consumi potuit in peregrinatione consumimus. Consolantur haec: aut proderimus aliquid Ciceroni aut quantum profici possit iudicabimus. Deinde tu iam, ut spero et ut promittis, aderis. Quod quidem si acciderit, omnia nobis erunt meliora. 5. Maxime autem me angit ratio reliquorum meorum: quae quamquam explicata sunt, tamen quod et Dolabellae nomen in iis est et in attributione mihi nomina ignota conturbor, nec me ulla res magis angit ex omnibus. Itaque non mihi videor errasse, quod ad Balbum scripsi apertius ut, si quid tale accidisset ut non concurrerent nomina, subveniret, meque tibi etiam mandasse ut, si quid eius modi accidisset, cum eo communicares: quod facies, si tibi videbitur, eoque magis, si proficis-  
 6. Haec ego conscendens e Pompeiano tribus actuariolis decemscalmis. Brutus erat in Neside etiam nunc, Neapoli Cassius. Ecquid amas Deiotarum et non amas Hieram?

*gloriae*, 'the reward (which consists) of glory,' Tusc. i. 34.

4. *in praediolis . . . satis amoenis*] 'in my lodges, with their pretty buildings and picturesque surroundings': ep. 775. 2 *ocellos Italiae villulas meas*.

*quantum profici possit*] sc. *ab eo*, 'the amount of progress he is capable of making.'

5. *quod et Dolabellae . . . ignota*] because in my account to credit is Dolabella's debt (i.e. for Tullia's dowry), and in the assignment of debts to me (by other creditors presumably) there are names which I do not know, I am sore troubled.' *Ex* is inserted by Boot, and either *ex* or *in* is requisite to make the passage intelligible at all. *In* is more frequently omitted by copyists than *ex*. Dr. Reid would alter to *attributa*, perhaps rightly; but we have already met *attributio* (769. 6). The paying of a debt to one's creditor by making over to him a debt owed to oneself would be satisfactory in proportion to the facility of collecting the debt. If one knew nothing about the person of whom one thus became the creditor, one could not feel very sure of being able to realize the money.

*non concurrerent nomina*] 'if it should

so happen that the payments should not come up to time,' that the payments should not be made at the required time, so as to synchronize with the day for paying my own debts.

*in Epirum*] Att. was thinking of going to Greece: ep. 772. 6; 775. 2 (note).

6. *actuariolis decemscalmis*] 'ten-oared (lit. ten-thowled) row-boats.' The word *actuariola* only occurs in Epp. ad Att. x. 11. 4 (396), here, and 775. 1. The other word (*decemscalmis*) occurs only here.

*erat etiam nunc*] *Erat* is an epistolary imperfect standing for a present, and so can take with it a word like *nunc*, signifying present time. We have already had many examples of this usage: ep. Att. xvi. 4. 1 (771).

*Ecquid . . . Hieram?*] 'Can you have any love Deiotarus without also loving Hieras?' This is an ironical way of saying 'you must be glad you were not troubled by Deiotarus' affairs and agents.' Hieras and Blesamius were agents of Deiotarus (mentioned also in the speech *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, § 41), who bought Armenia for their master from Antony through the intermediation of his wife Fulvia for a large sum of money (Phil. ii. 95). This Hieras

Qui, ut Blesamius venit ad me, cum ei praescriptum esset ne quid sine Sexti nostri sententia ageret, neque ad illum neque ad quemquam nostrum rettulit. Atticam nostram cupio absentem suaviari: ita mihi dulcis salus visa est per te missa ab illa. Referes igitur et plurimam itemque Piliae dicas velim.

## 774. CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 20).

VELIA; JULY 20; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cicero Veliensium in Trebatium amorem declarat eumque hortatur ne paternas possessiones Velienses vendat.

## CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

I. Amabilior mihi Velia fuit quod te ab ea sensi amari: sed quid ego dicam te quem quis non amat? Rufio, medius fidius, tuus ita desiderabatur ut si esset unus e nobis. Sed te ego non reprehendo qui illum ad aedificationem tuam traduxeris: quamquam enim Velia non est vilior quam Lupercal, tamen istuc malo quam haec omnia. Tu, si me audies quem soles, has paternas possessiones tenebis—nescio quid enim Velienses verebantur—neque Haletem, nobilem annem, relinques nec Papirianam domum

had been ordered to do nothing without consulting Sextus Peducaeus (he is the Sextus here referred to, not Sextus Pompeius), just as Blesamius was ordered to consult Cicero; but he never held any communication with Peducaeus or any of Cicero's friends. We prefer to take *ut* = *quomodo*, rather than as meaning 'when.' Dr. Reid suggests *qui* <non>, *ut Blesamius, venit ad me. Cum ei, &c.*

1. *Rufio*] a common name for a slave: cp. Milo 60. In C.I.L. vi. 16120, we find a C. Trebatus Rufio, who was probably this man, Trebatius having manumitted him. It seems possible from this Inscription and Gruter, 727. 1, that he and Vibius Macer were architects.

*aedificationem tuam*] This refers to some house which Trebatius was building at Rome, with the intention, apparently, of giving up his sea-side residence at Velia. Velia was about twenty miles south of Paestum.

*Velia . . . vilior*] 'Velia is as valuable as the Lupercal' (Shuckburgh).

*istuc*] 'there where you are' at Rome—towards which Cicero's heart was always turning.

*Haletem*] In 783. 5 the mss give *Heletem*. (It was also the name of a river near Colophon. The supposed connexion between the name of that river and Velia is found in Strabo vi. 252, but the passage is an interpolation.) There is no need to consider *nobilem annem* 'a fine river' to be ironical. The river does not appear to have been contemptible (783. 5), and irony would be out of place here, as Cicero seems to be quite serious in advising Trebatius not to give up his property at Velia.

*Papirianam domum*] Some member of the gens Papiria appears to have once owned a mansion at Velia of which Trebatius had possession at this time. Haakh, in Pauly (vi. 2078), writing a life of Trebatius, wishes to read *pater-nam* for *Papirianam*: cp. *paternas posses-*

eseres : quamquam illa quidem habet lotum, a quo etiam adve-  
 ae teneri solent; quem tamen si excideris, multum prospexeris.  
 2. Sed in primis opportunum videtur, his praesertim temporibus,  
 habere perfugium, primum eorum urbem quibus carus sis, deinde  
 uam domum tuosque agros, eaque remoto, salubri, amoeno loco;  
 dque etiam mea interesse, mi Trebati, arbitror. Sed valebis  
 neaque negotia videbis meque dis iuvantibus ante brumam ex-  
 spectabis. 3. Ego a Sex. Fadio, Niconis discipulo, librum abstuli

iones, above; 776. 1, *urbe amantissima*  
 ui; and Topic. 5, quoted by us on that  
 passage. He also wishes to read *Testam*  
 or *Talnam* in 775. 1: but as the name  
 Thalna occurs in 604. 4, it is best to retain  
 t. This Iuventius Thalna was probably  
 a different person from the corrupt judge  
 in the trial of Clodius: Att. i. 16. 6 (22).  
 M. Préchac (*Classical Quarterly*, 1913,  
 pp. 273 ff.) strongly supports the view  
 that Cicero stayed at the house of  
 Trebatius during this visit to Velia; and he  
 would read *Testam* for *Thalnam* in 775. 1.  
 He supposes that Petrarch, not knowing  
 the name Testa, which Cicero applies to  
 Trebatius in Fam. vii. 13. 1 (171); 760,  
 761, altered it in his Veronensis to *Talna*,  
 a name beginning with T and ending  
 with A, which had already occurred in  
 the Epp. ad Att. and in Livy. We  
 cannot but feel doubts as to whether  
 Petrarch read his ms. with such care, or  
 would alter one of the many unfamiliar  
 names he must have met with in his ms.  
 If Cicero had stayed at the house of  
 Trebatius, he would, we think, in some  
 way, have expressed gratitude not only  
 to Trebatius himself, but to his servants,  
 who had treated him so hospitably, and  
 whose kindness Cicero notices when  
 writing to Atticus (*nec potui, illo absente*  
*praesertim, liberalius* 775. 1).

*illa*] This has been generally held to  
 refer to the new building of Trebatius at  
 Rome, and marks the antithesis to *has*.  
 But M. Préchac (p. 279) thinks that the  
 lotus was at Velia, and that *illa* is not in  
 antithesis to *has*, and so has no reference  
 to the building of Trebatius at Rome,  
 but simply strengthens *quidem*. This,  
 we think, is the right view; but then we  
 must suppose Cicero to mean that the  
 lotus was a nuisance on account of the  
 number of visitors, as well as natives,  
 who came to see it. Cicero disliked  
 having his privacy disturbed (*ab arbitris*  
*libera* 747), as well as having a wide

view obstructed (cp. *prospectuque* 718. 1).  
 M. Préchac (p. 279) seems to take  
*quamquam* = 'besides,' which seems  
 improbable. The passage about the lotus  
 is of a somewhat jocular nature: the  
 serious reasons follow in § 2.

*lotum*] This would appear to have  
 been a show lotus which tourists came to  
 see, though, indeed, says Cicero, if you  
 cut it down you would have a much  
 better view. The word *lotus* is usually  
 feminine, but it is masculine in Mart.  
 viii. 51. 14, though there in the sense  
 of 'a pipe.' The names of trees are  
 frequently of common gender: cp. Neue-  
 Wagener i<sup>3</sup>, 911-913. Dr. Reid suggests  
 that we should read *λωτον* in Greek, as  
 it is masculine. M. Préchac, with admir-  
 able erudition (p. 277), attributes the  
 gender to a Greek reminiscence; and notes  
 that where Pliny translates (H. N. xiii.  
 105) Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 1)  
 he makes *lotus* masculine. Lamb. reads  
*lucum*, which may be defended by *lutum*  
 of H; but *lucus* is said by Servius to be  
 a sacred grove; and, if this is so, Cicero  
 would not have lightly advised an act of  
 profanation, such as cutting down would  
 be. Mere pruning (*collucare*: cp. Cato  
 R. R. 139) would be allowable, but not  
 felling (*excidere*). On the splendour of  
 the lotus and the high value set by the  
 Romans on having it in private estates,  
 see Plin. H. N. xvii. 5.

*multum prospexeris*] The ancients  
 always paid great attention to obtaining  
 a good view from their mansions, dis-  
 regarding other considerations, even the  
 appearance of the exterior; cp. Merivale,  
 Hist. viii. 121 ff., especially p. 125.  
 Corradus sees something of a play on  
 these words, 'you will look afar,' i.e.  
 be prudent in your interests, as well as  
 obtain a wider prospect.

2. *mea interesse*] Cicero, with some  
 geniality, puts in a word for himself.

3. *Niconis*] cp. Celsus v. 18. 26.

Νίκωνος περὶ πολυφαγίας. O medicum suavem meque docilem ad hanc disciplinam! Sed Bassus noster me de hoc libro celavit; te quidem non videtur. Ventus increbrescit. Cura ut valeas. XIII Kal. Sextil. Velia.

# 775. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 6).

VIBO; JULY 25; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; ART. CIC. 62.

De itinere suo Vibonem ad Siccam et cursu suo maritimo in Graeciam futuro, quum opportune suscipiatur dubitat, de nominibus suis ab Attico expediendis exsolvendis, de prooemio libri 'De Gloria,' de Pilia et Attica.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ego adhuc—pervenī enim Vibonem ad Siccam—magis commode quam strenue navigavi: remis enim magnam partem. prodromi nulli. Illud satis opportune: duo sinus fuerunt quos tramitti oporteret, Paestanus et Vibonensis: utrumque pedibus aequis tramisimus. Veni igitur ad Siccam octavo die e Pompeiano, cum unum diem Veliae constitissem: ubi quidem fui sane libenter apud Talnam nostrum, nec potui accipi, illo absente praesertim, liberalius. IX Kal. igitur ad Siccam. Ibi tamquam domi meae scilicet. Itaque obdixi posterum diem. Sed putabam,

*meque docilem . . . disciplinam*] 'and how ready I am to follow his treatment,' 'and what a docile pupil in his school.'

*Bassus*] possibly Lucilius Bassus, who was a bad writer, Att. xii. 5. 2 (471); he may have made a speciality of cures for the ill effects of over-eating, a subject which would hardly call for great literary excellence.

*celavit*] 'kept me in the dark about.'

*Ventus increbrescit*] 'The wind is freshening.' The Etesian winds were now blowing; but like good citizens they refused to waft Cicero away from his country: cp. Fam. xii. 25. 3 (825).

1. *prodromi*] 'pre - Etesian squalls,' winds from the north, commencing about a week before the rising of the Dog Star (about July 18th), which was considered to mark the beginning of the regular Etesian winds: cp. Pliny, H. N. ii. 123.

*pedibus aequis*] 'with level sheets': the *pedes* or *ropes* at the corners of the

sails would be stretched at even lengths if the vessel was running straight before a breeze: (cp. Verg. Aen. iv. 587 *Vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis*): and also of course if there was no wind at all. The vessel in either case would not heel over. Cicero, who was a bad sailor, was glad of this, as they had to go out somewhat into the open sea in 'crossing the two bays.'

*tramisimus*] 'we crossed.' Macrobius, Sat. vi. 4. 9, quotes this passage as well as Verg. Aen. iv. 154, and Lucr. ii. 330, as examples of *transmittere* = *transire*.

*Talnam*] cp. note to 774. 1.

*meae scilicet*] 'just as if I were at home, indeed,' owing to Sicca's hospitality. The words might possibly be a gloss.

*obdixi*] 'I added on' to my sojourn at Vibo. For this use we can adduce no exact parallel. The idea of *obducere* is to bring in something of the nature of an obstacle: cp. Att. i. 1. 2 (10) *Curium*



um Regium venissem, fore ut illic δολιχὸν πλόον ὁρμαίνοντες  
 cogitarem corbitane Patras an actuariolis ad Leucopetram  
 Tarentinorum atque inde Coreyram, et, si oneraria, statimne freto  
 an Syracusis. Hac super re scribam ad te Regio. 2. Mehercule,  
 ni Attice, saepe tecum, ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς σοι τί δύναται; cur ego  
 tecum non sum? cur ocellos Italiae, villulas meas, non video?  
 Sed id *satis* superque, tecum me non esse. Quid fugientem?  
 periculumne? At id nunc quidem, nisi fallor, nullum est. Ad  
 ipsum enim revocat me auctoritas tua. Scribis enim in caelum  
 ferri profectionem meam, sed ita, si ante Kal. Ianuar. redeam:  
 quod quidem certe enitar. Malo enim vel cum timore domi esse  
 quam sine timore Athenis tuis. Sed tamen prospice quo ista  
 vergant mihiq; aut scribe aut, quod multo malim, adfer ipse.  
 Haec hactenus. 3. Illud velim in bonam partem accipias, me  
 agere tecum, quod tibi maiori curae sciam esse quam ipsi mihi.  
 Nomina mea, per deos, expedi, exsolve. Bella reliqua reliqui, sed  
 opus est diligentia: coheredibus pro Cluviano Kal. Sext. persolu-  
 tum ut sit: cum Publilio quo modo agendum sit videbis. Non

*abducere*, 'to carry Curius against them.' Here Cicero disarranged the plans of his journey by staying an extra day at Vibo, 'there, though I had not intended it, I spent the next day.' Possibly we should read *ibi duxi*, 'I spent there.'

δολιχόν] The same verse, Od. iii. 169, is quoted again by Cicero in Att. xvi. 13 a, 1 (802).

*corbita*] a slow - sailing merchant vessel (see *oneraria* in next line): cp. Plaut. Poen. 543 *operam celocem hanc mihi, ne corbitam date: 507 tardiores quam corbitae sunt in tranquillo mari*.

*actuariolis*] cp. note to 773. 6.

*Leucopetram Tarentinorum*] Possibly, owing to the immediate vicinity of Leuce, another name for the Iapygian promontory of the heel of Italy: cp. Lucan v. 376 *Antiquisque Taras secretaeque litora Leucae*.

*super*] = *de*: in Cicero found only in three passages, all from Att.: viz. x. 8. 10 (390); 729. 2; and here. Not used by Caesar.

*et si oneraria*] 'and if we are to take the merchant vessel, are we to cross at once from the straits for Greece, or to go *via* Syracuse?'

2. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς σοι] See 744. 3.

*ocellos Italiae*] cp. Catull. 31. 1 *penin-*

*sularum Sirmio insularumque ocelle*. For another echo of Catullus, cp. *oricula infima molliorem*, Q. Fr. ii. 13. 4 (141), with *mollior . . . imula oricilla* Catull. 25. 2, and see note on that passage. For Cicero's appreciation of the beauty of his villas cp. 773. 4.

*Ad ipsum enim*] sc. *periculum*. The *enim*, which must not be changed to *autem*, depends, as it often does, on a suppressed thought: there is no danger now, I say; for in my view the danger will be very real at the time when, as you advise, I should return to Rome, namely, the beginning of January.' He writes, 'for it is to the post of danger that your advice calls me back,' when he would more clearly have said, 'for it will not be really dangerous to be in Rome until the very time when you advise me to return to it': see 783. 2.

*in caelum ferri profectionem meam*] cp. 769. 3; 772. 4.

*adfer ipse*] Atticus seems to have been thinking of going across the water to Epirus and Greece: cp. 770. 4; 772. 6; 783. 4, 5.

3. *Illud velim*] On this § the best commentary is 772. 1.

*Bella reliqua reliqui*] 'I left behind me in Rome a handsome balance.'

debet urgere, quoniam iure non utimur, sed tamen ei quoque satis fieri plane volo. Terentiae vero quid ego dicam? Etiam ante diem, si potes. Quin si, ut spero, celeriter in Epirum, hoc, quod satisdato debeo, peto a te ut ante provideas planeque expedias et solutum relinquant. 4. Sed de his satis, metuoque ne tu nimium putes. Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. 'De Gloria' librum ad te misi: at in eo prooemium id est quod in 'Academico tertio.' Id evenit ob eam rem quod habeo volumen prooemiorum. Ex eo eligere soleo cum aliquod *σύγγραμμα* institui. Itaque iam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto prooemio, conieci id in eum librum quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum. Itaque statim novum prooemium exaravi et tibi misi. Tu illud desecabis, hoc agglutinabis. Piliae salutem dices et Atticae, deliciis atque amoribus meis.

## 776. CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 19).

REGIUM; JULY 28; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Cum Cicero M. Antonio post necem Caesaris in republica dominante in Graeciam se conferre constituisset, in itinere suscepto ex Aristoteleis suum Topicorum librum conscripsit eumque cum hac ipsa epistula ad C. Trebatium misit.

## CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

Vide quanti apud me sis; etsi iure id quidem, non enim te amore vinco. Verum tamen quod praesenti tibi prope subnegaram, non tribueram certe, id absenti debere non potui; itaque, ut primum Velia navigare coepi, institui Topica Aristotelea con-

*quoniam iure non utimur*] 'Since we are not standing on our rights.'

*Terentiae*] sc. *satisfieri me velle*.

*in Epirum*] sc. *profecturus es*; for his going to Epirus cp. § 4 *adfer* and 773. 5. *quod satisdato debeo*] 'whatever I owe as security': *satisdato cavere, promittere* are common in the Digest (xl. 5. 4. 8; i. 18. 16).

4. *volumen prooemiorum*] We have a collection of 56 *prooemia* under the name of Demosthenes. Scholars are divided as to their authenticity.

*σύγγραμμα*] 'any separate book': cp. 590 fin. and Dr. Reid's *Academica*, p. 31.

*abusum*] 'used up;' for *abuti*, see on Att. iii. 13. 2 (71); xii. 6. 2 (499); 692. 2.

*exaravi*] 'I dashed off': cp. Att. xii. 1. 1 (505); 658. 1.

1. *prope subnegaram*] 'almost half-denied.' Cicero affects verbs compounded with *sub-*: cp. *subaccusari* 783. 1; *subdubitare*, Fam. ii. 13. 2 (257): *subinvidere*, vii. 10. 1 (161): *subvereri*, iv. 10. 1 (536): cp. Stinner, p. 19.

*debere*] 'leave an unpaid debt': cp. Att. iv. 2. 2 (91) *oratio iuventuti nostrae debere non potest*.

*Velia*] cp. Topic. 5, *ut autem a te dis-*

scribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus amantissima tui; eum librum tibi misi Regio, scriptum quam planissime res illa scribi potuit; in tibi quaedam videbuntur obscuriora, cogitare debebis nullam partem litteris sine interprete et sine aliqua exercitatione percipi posse. Non longe abieris: num ius civile vestrum ex libris cognosci potest? Qui quamquam plurimi sunt, doctorem tamen usumque desiderant: quamquam tu si attente leges, si saepius, per te omnia consequere ut certe intellegas; ut vero etiam ipsi tibi loci proposita quaestione occurrant exercitatione consequere, in qua quidem nos te continebimus, si et salvi redierimus et salva ista offenderimus. v Kal. Sextil. Regio.

## 777. CICERO TO PLANCUS (ATT. XVI. 16b).

IN THE COURSE OF JULY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Attici sui causa auxilium Planci rogat in re Buthrotia constituenda.

## CICERO PLANCO PRAET. DESIG. SAL.

8. Iam antea petivi abs te per litteras ut, cum causa Buthrotiorum probata a consulibus esset, quibus et lege et senatus

essi in Graeciam proficiscens, cum opera mea nec res publica nec amici uterentur nec honeste inter arma versari possem, ne si uto id quidem mihi liceret, ut veni veliam, tuoque et tuos vidi, admonitus huius veris alieni nolui deesse me tacitae quidem agitationi tuae. Itaque haec, cum necum liberos non haberem, memoria repetita in ipsa navigatione conscripsi tibi ex itinere misi: cp. note to 774. 1.

quam planissime] As Cicero was dedicating his *Topica* to the lawyer Trebatius, he draws most of his examples from civil law, a source of illustration which would not be suitable for ordinary readers: cp. Quintil. v. 10. 64, et ille (sc. Cicero) quidem non iis exemplis utitur quia scribens ad Trebatium ex iure ducere ea maluit; ego apertiora posui.

litteris] 'from books.' For *litterae* in this sense, cp. De Div. ii. 5; Fam. xv. 4, 12 (238), and possibly Att. i. 14. 3 (20).

Non longe abieris] 'You will not have to go far to get an example.' The fut. perf. seems to be like *videris* = 'you will have to see to that.' Or, perhaps, 'You will not have gone far without getting an example,' i.e. an example will at once have occurred to you.

usumque] So the edd., adopting a conj. of Egnatius for *unumque* or *unumquem* of

the mss. This is better than the old alteration *nonnumquam*. For the necessity of practice in choosing the proper τόποι, cp. De Orat. ii. 174, reliqua cura et cogitatione eruntur.

loci] the 'headings' or 'places' where arguments are to be sought. On these loci, see Wilkins on De Orat. i. 56. He quotes Top. 7, locos, sic enim appellatae sunt ab Aristotele hae quasi sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur. Itaque licet definire locum esse argumenti sedem. A great number of illustrations are to be found, not only in the *Topica*, but also in the De Orat. ii. 163-173. They are either derived from the case itself; to take one example, De Orat. ii. 168 ex similitudine 'si ferae partus suos diligunt qua nos in liberos nostros indulgentia esse debemus?'; or from extraneous considerations, e.g. § 173, Hoc sequi necesse est; recito enim tabulas.

in qua . . . continebimus] 'and to this I shall keep you': i.e. I shall make you diligently practise finding the loci of arguments.

ista] 'the state of affairs with you'; sc. at Rome, 'the Roman state': cp. note to haec 552. 1.

8. lege et senatus consulto] cp. 767. 6.

consulto permissum erat UT DE CAESARIS ACTIS COGNOSCERENT STATUERENT IUDICARENT, eam rem tu adiuvares Atticumque nostrum cuius te studiosum cognovi et me qui non minus laboro molestia liberares. Omnibus enim rebus magna cura, multa opere et labore confectis in te positum est ut nostrae sollicitudinis finem quam primum facere possimus. Quamquam intellegimus ea te esse prudentia ut videas, si ea decreta consulum quae de Caesaris actis interposita sunt non servantur, magnam perturbationem rerum fore. 9. Equidem, cum multa, quod necesse erat in tanta occupatione, non probentur quae Caesar statuerit, tamen otii pacisque causa acerrime illa soleo defendere, quod tibi idem magno opere faciendum censeo, quamquam haec epistula non suasoris est, sed rogatoris. Igitur, mi Plance, rogo te et etiam oro sic me dius fidius ut maiore studio magisque ex animo agere non possim, ut totum hoc negotium ita agas, ita tractes, ita conficias ut, quod sine ulla dubitatione apud consules obtinuimus propter summam bonitatem et aequitatem causae, id tu nos obtinuisse non modo facile patiari sed etiam gaudeas. Qua quidem voluntate *te* esse erga Atticum saepe praesens et illi ostendisti et vero etiam mihi. Quod si feceris, me, quem voluntate et paterna necessitudine coniunctum semper habuisti, maximo beneficio devinctum habebis, idque ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

## 778. CICERO TO CAPITO (ATT. XVI. 16 c).

IN THE COURSE OF JULY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Capitonem studiose orat ut Planco persuadeat ut rem Buthrotiam secundum Atticum constituat.

## CICERO CAPITONI SUO SAL.

## 10. Numquam putavi fore ut supplex ad te venirem, sed

UT . . . IUDICARENT] From a comparison of § 11 we see that we cannot be quite certain as to the exact words of the law: but the general tenor is plain. The consuls and their committee appear to have had full power of decision (778. 11; 779. 14) without the obligation of obtaining the ratification by the Senate.

*interposita*] This word is technically applied to decrees of the senate in just the same sense as *facta*. Boot quotes *interpositam senatus auctoritatem*, Pis. 4.

9. *in tanta occupatione*] 'in the case of so busy a man.'

*otii pacisque causa*] cp. 778. 12; Phil. ii. 100; App. B. C. ii. 135, ἐπεὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει: cp. iii. 22.

*facile patiari . . . gaudeas*] 'not only be glad enough, but even rejoice.'

*te esse*] It is not absolutely necessary to add *te*; but it might readily have fallen out after *voluntate*, and would be more in accordance with normal usage.

*coniunctum . . . devinctum*] 'attached . . . closely bound.'

mercule facile patior datum tempus in quo amorem experirer tuum. Atticum quanti faciam seīs. Amabo te, da mihi et hoc; obliviscere mea causa illum aliquando suo familiari, adversario tuo, voluisse consultum, cum illius existimatio ageretur. Hoc primum cognoscere est humanitatis tuae: suos enim quisque debet tueri: Deinde, si me amas—omitte Atticum—Ciceroni tuo, quem quanti facias prae te soles ferre, tectum hoc da ut quod semper existimavi nunc plane intellegam, me a te multum amari. 11. Buthrotios cum Caesar decreto suo, quod ego obsignavi cum multis amplissimis viris, liberavisset ostendissetque nobis se, cum agrarii mare transissent, litteras missurum quem in agrum deducerentur, accidit ut subito ille interiret. Deinde, quem ad modum tu seīs—interfuisti enim cum consules oporteret ex senatus consulto de actis Caesaris cognoscere—res ab iis in Kal. Iun. dilata est. Accessit ad senatus consultum lex quae lata est a. d. III Non. Iun., quae lex EARUM RERUM QUAS CAESAR STATUISSET DECREVISSET EGISSET consulibus cognitionem dedit. Causa Buthrotiorum delata est ad consules. Decretum Caesaris recitatum est et multi praeterea libelli Caesaris prolati. Consules de consili sententia decreverunt secundum Buthrotios, . . . Plancum dederunt. 12. Nunc, mi Capito—scio enim quantum semper apud eos quibuscum sis posse soleas, eo plus apud hominem facillimum atque humanissimum Plancum—enitere, elabora vel potius eblandire, effice ut Plancus,

[CAPITONI] This was the Ateius Capito who cursed Crassus when he left to fight the Parthians (Plut. Crass. 16). Cicero wrote to L. Plancus on behalf of a relative of his in 46: cp. Fam. xiii. 29 (457). He is also mentioned in 636. 4.

10. suo [familiari] We do not know who this was.

11. ego obsignavi] cp. 780. 15. In 767. 5 he does not mention that he was one of the witnesses who affixed their seals.

agrarii] called *agripetae* in 768. 3; 769. 2; 771. 3.

accidit ut subito ille interiret] 'suddenly met his death.' Cicero, writing to a partisan of Caesar's, uses a neutral word to express the death of Caesar. So Matius uses *obitum*, 'demise,' 785. 2: cp. *interitum* 767. 7.

de actis Caesaris] cp. note to 723. 2 (*decrevimus*).

a. d. iiii Non. Iun.] Editors since Wiesenberg (*Em.* 118 note) usually bracket *Iun.*, supposing it to have come from

the adjacent *Iun.* But Cicero, as he wanted to indicate the date of the law definitely, must, in this case, have added the month; so that we would have to suppose that *Iun* has extruded *Maia*s. This is barely possible, but not necessary. Antony was away from Rome on May 4, and it had been decided that the whole matter be postponed till the resumption of business on June 1, after the spring vacation. The law had been promulgated in April, after the decree of the Senate on this point was made: and the law was passed at once when business was resumed.

quae lex . . . dedit] 'which law gave the consuls the duty of enquiring into all things arranged, decreed, and done by Caesar': cp. note to 777. 8.

Plancum dederunt] Some words must have fallen out, expressing the fact that the matter had been put into the hands of Plancus. Man. adds *litteras ad*.

12. eblandire] 'coax him and induce

quem spero optimum esse, sit etiam melior opera tua. Omnino res huius modi videtur esse ut sine cuiusquam gratia Plancus ipse pro ingenio et prudentia sua non sit dubitaturus quin decretum consulum, quorum et lege et senatus consulto cognitio et iudicium fuit, conservet, praesertim cum hoc genere cognitionum labefactato acta Caesaris in dubium ventura videantur, quae non modo ii quorum interest, sed etiam ii qui illa non probant oti causa confirmari velint. 13. Quod cum ita sit, tamen interest nostra Plancum hoc animo libenti prolixoque facere. Quod certe faciet, si tu nervulos tuos mihi saepe cognitos suavitatemque qua nemo tibi par est adhibueris. Quod ut facias te vehementer rogo.

### 779. CICERO TO CUPIENNIUS (ATT. XVI. 16 d).

IN THE COURSE OF JULY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Cupiennium rogat ut det operam ut Plancus rem Buthrotiam confirmet.

#### CICERO C. CUPIENNIO S.

14. Patrem tuum plurimi feci, meque ille mirifice et coluit et amavit, nec mehercule umquam mihi dubium fuit quin a te diligerer. Ego quidem id facere non destiti. Quam ob rem peto a te in maiorem modum ut civitatem Buthrotiam subleves decretumque consulum quod ii secundum Buthrotios fecerunt, cum et lege et senatus consulto statuendi potestatem haberent, des operam ut Plancus noster quam primum confirmet et comprobet. Hoc te vehementer, mi Cupienni, etiam atque etiam rogo.

him to be even kinder than he naturally is.'

*oti causa*] cp. 777. 9.

13. *nervulos*] 'influence'; see 734. 1.

CUPIENNIO] We do not hear of him

elsewhere. He can hardly be the Cupiennius mentioned by Horace Sat. i. 2. 36.

14. *lege et senatus consulto*] cp. 777. 8; 778. 11; 779. 14; 781. 18.

## 780. CICERO TO PLANCUS (ATT. XVI. 16 e).

IN THE COURSE OF JULY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero iterum flagitat ut Plancus decreta Caesaris et consulum de re Buthrotia improbet.

## CICERO PLANCO PRAET. DES. S.

15. Ignosce mihi quod, cum antea accuratissime de Buthroitiis ad te scripserim, eadem de re saepius scribam. Non mehercule, mi Plance, facio quo parum confidam aut liberalitati tuae aut nostrae amicitiae, sed cum tanta res agatur Attici nostri, nunc vero etiam existimatio, ut id quod probavit Caesar, nobis testibus et obsignatoribus qui et decretis et responsis Caesaris interfueramus, videatur obtinere potuisse, praesertim cum tota potestas ejus rei tua sit, ut ea quae consules decreverunt secundum Caesaris decreta et responsa non dicam comprobes sed studiose libenterque comprobes.

16. Id mihi sic erit gratum ut nulla res gratior esse possit. Etsi tam sperabam, cum has litteras accepisses, fore ut ea quae superioribus litteris a te petissemus impetrata essent, tamen non faciam finem rogandi quoad nobis nuntiatum erit te id fecisse quod magna cum spe exspectamus. Deinde enim confido fore ut alio genere litterarum utamur tibi que pro tuo summo beneficio gratias agamus. Quod si acciderit, velim sic existimes non tibi tam Atticum, cuius permagna res agitur, quam me, qui non minus laboro quam ille, obligatum fore.

15. *Non mehercule . . . comprobes*] The structure of this sentence is *Non . . . facio quo . . . sed (cum tanta res agatur . . . ut id . . . videatur obtinere potuisse, praesertim cum . . . sit) ut . . . comprobes. Non . . . facio . . . quo parum confidam*]

cp. for quo pro Quinct. 5 *non eo dico quo veniat in dubium tua fides* Sest. 61; Planc. 73; Att. iv. 15. 7 (143); Acad. ii. 37.  
*consules decreverunt*] 767. 6; 777. 8; 778. 11; 781. 18.

# 781. CICERO TO CAPITO (ATT. XVI. 16 f).

IN THE COURSE OF JULY; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero iterum Capitonem studiose rogat ut Plancum in re Buthrotia constituendum confirmet.

CICERO CAPITONI SAL.

17. Non dubito quin mirere atque etiam stomachere quod tecum de eadem re agam saepius. Hominis familiarissimi et mihi omnibus rebus coniunctissimi permagna res agitur, Attici. Cognovi ego tua studia in amicos, etiam in te amicorum. Multum potes nos apud Plancum iuvare. Novi humanitatem tuam. 18. Scio quam sis amicis iucundus. Nemo nos in hac causa plus iuvare potest quam tu. Et res ita est firma ut debet esse, quam consules de consili sententia decreverunt cum et lege et senatus consulto cognoscerent. Tamen omnia posita putamus in Planci tui liberalitate: quem quidem arbitramur cum officii sui et rei publicae causa decretum consulum comprobaturum, tum libenter nostra causa esse facturum. Adiuvabis igitur, mi Capito: quod ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

# 782. BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRAETORS, TO M. ANTONIUS, THE CONSUL (FAM. XI. 3).

NAPLES; AUGUST 4; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Brutus et Cassius contumeliosis et minacibus litteris M. Antonii respondent fortiter et magno animo.

BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PR. S. D. ANTONIO COS.

1. S. v. b. Litteras tuas legimus simillimas edicti tui, contumeliosas, minacis, minime dignas quae a te nobis mitterentur. Nos,

17. *Attici*] Boot brackets this word, remarking that if Cicero had thought it necessary to add the name of his friend he would have written *T. Pomponi*. However, in the previous letters (767; 777; 778; 780) on this subject Cicero speaks of his friend as *Atticus*. The name is used here with a certain emphasis by being placed at the end of the sentence.

18. *lege et senatus consulto*] 778. 18; 779. 14.

*decretum consulum*] 780. 15, note.

There can be no doubt that a copy of this dignified, severe, and carefully worded document was sent or given to Cicero by the writers, probably by Brutus at Velia. Hence its appearance in his correspondence: cp. 700, 740. He read it at Velia (783. 7), and characterizes it as 'admirable' (*praeclare*).

1. *S. v. b.*] = *Si vales, benest*, a formal address. Mr. Jeans well renders 'Sir.' *minime dignas*] 'highly improper for you to send to us.'



Antoni, te nulla lacessimus iniuria neque miraturum credidimus i praetores et ea dignitate homines aliquid edicto postulassemus a consule: quod si indignaris ausos esse id facere, concede nobis ut doleamus ne hoc quidem abs te Bruto et Cassio tribui. 2. Nam de dilectibus habitis et pecuniis imperatis, exercitibus sollicitatis et munitis trans mare missis quod te questum esse negas, nos quidem ibi credimus optimo animo te fecisse, sed tamen neque agnoscimus quicquam eorum et te miramur, cum haec reticueris, non potuisse continere iracundiam tuam quin nobis de morte Caesaris obiceres. 3. Illud vero quem ad modum ferendum sit, tute cogita, non licere praetoribus concordiae ac libertatis causa per edictum de suo iure

*miraturum*] sc. *te*. Madv. 401, obs. 2, points out that pronouns are sometimes omitted before the inf., even though they do not refer to the subject of the leading proposition, when they can be easily supplied from the context. He compares *de Orat.* iii. 74, init.

*edicto postulassemus*] The grant which Brutus and Cassius asked for in their published manifesto was certainly not permission to remain away from Rome. This privilege Brutus (who, as praetor urbanus, alone required it) had obtained only by a special law of Antony's (*Phil.* i. 31) and also by another proposal of Antony's that he and Cassius should be appointed commissioners to supply the city with corn. Andresen supposes that they were asking to be relieved of that commissionership; and that, as they proposed to remain absent from Rome for a considerable time, their request virtually amounted to a resignation of the praetorship. This view is probable; for the commissionership had been granted as a favour by Antony, and so must have been galling to both Brutus and Cassius. Cicero, writing to Atticus (745. 1), speaks of it as *beneficium Antoni contumeliosum*: and so it was. Accordingly, Brutus and Cassius must have desired to escape from being under any compliment to a man who was plainly their enemy. They, however, in a somewhat petty spirit, hoping to render Antony unpopular, made their request in a published document (*cp.* 783. 1) instead of writing in the first instance to the consuls. A few days later, on August 1st, Piso brought forward his motion about Cisalpine Gaul, that it should be amalgamated with Italy (*cp.* *Phil.* i. 10, and Ferrero iii. 86 and 5). As Antony was striving to get

Cisalpine Gaul for himself, he was naturally indignant at this move of the anti-Caesareans; and as the senate exhibited no inclination to support the proposal of Piso (783. 7; *Phil.* i. 10, 14), and gave insignificant provinces (*cp.* 783. 1 note) to Brutus and Cassius, he felt himself strong enough to show that he would not tolerate any further opposition on their part; and he at once issued a manifesto against them as praetors, and at the same time wrote to them what they call an insulting and improper letter, to which this is a reply.

*concede nobis ut doleamus*] 'permit us at least to regret' (*Jeans*).

2. *exercitibus*] The legions in Macedonia and Syria.

*sed tamen*] 'However, be that as it may, we refuse to acknowledge that we have done any of these things.' For *agnoscere*, 'to acknowledge as one's own,' *cp.* *Rabir.* 18; *Mil.* 38; *Phil.* xiv. 8. For *sed tamen*, *cp.* note to *Fam.* ix. 16, 2 (472).

*de morte Caesaris obiceres*] Watson points out that the simple acc. *mortem* would be more usual than *de*: the latter construction occurs only once in Cicero's speeches, *Planc.* 75 [*Cael.* 6 is virtually another example], and not at all in his philosophical works.

3. *non licere*] expegetical of *illud*. *cp.* Madv. 395, obs. 1 on expegetical inf. after a pronoun. He quotes *Tusc.* ii. 67: *cp.* also *Fam.* v. 2. 3 (14); *De Sen.* 63.

*de suo iure decedere*] 'to waive some of their rights.' Graevius has suggested *decidere*, 'to take a decisive step concerning their rights': *cp.* *Rosc. Com.* 35; *Att.* i. 8, 1 (5). But the text is almost certainly right: *cp.* *Rosc. Am.* 73; *Att.* xvi. 2, 1 (772); *Off.* ii. 64. The reference

decedere quin consul arma minetur. Quorum fiducia nihil est quod nos terreas; neque enim decet aut convenit nobis periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum, neque est Antonio postulandum ut iis imperet quorum opera liber est. Nos si alia hortarentur ut bellum civile suscitare vellemus, litterae tuae nihil proficerent; nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos est: sed pulchre intellegimus non posse nos quoquam impelli, et fortassis ea re minaciter agi ut iudicium nostrum metus videatur. 4. Nos in hac sententia sumus ut te cupiamus in libera re publica magnum atque honestum esse, vocemus te ad nullas inimicitias, sed tamen pluris nostram libertatem quam tuam amicitiam aestimemus. Tu etiam atque etiam vide quid suscipias, quid sustinere possis, neque quam diu vixerit Caesar sed quam non diu regnarit fac cogites. Deo quaesumus consilia tua rei publicae salutaria sint ac tibi; si minus ut salva atque honesta re publica tibi quam minimum noceant optamus. Pridie Nonas Sext.

in *iure* seems to be to the *ius praetorium*, according to which their presence in the city was required; but, as their presence in the city would cause discord, they declare that they are willing to waive the rights of their office, and are ready, in the interests of peace, to leave the country: cp. note to 783. 1 (*adferebant*).

*Quorum . . . terreas*] 'and by an appeal to force you cannot at all terrify us': *quod* cogn. acc. lit. 'there is no terror you can cause us.' The more usual meaning would be, as Watson points out, 'there is no reason for your trying to frighten us.'

*periculo ulli . . . liber est*] 'to surrender our resolution before any danger; and Antony must not claim to give commands to those who have secured his being a free man.'

*nulla . . . liberos est*] 'For free men pay no regard to one who threatens.'

*pulchre*] 'excellently well': cp. Cic. De Div. ii. 36; Sulp. ap. Fam. iv. 5, 6 (565); Plancus ap. Fam. x. 23, 1 (895).

*quoquam impelli*] The latter word is to be emphasized, 'to be driven by force in any direction.' For *quoquam*, cp. Brut. et Cass. 740. 3, *impelli ab aliis quolibet*.

*fortassis*] This form is found very rarely in Cicero (Clu. 201); even there recent editors alter to *fortasse*. But it may be tolerated in Brutus.

*iudicium*] 'in order that our deliberately formed plan (sc. to remain away from

Rome) might look like fear.' Andresen notes that *iudicium* in this sense is opposed sometimes to *necessitas* (Phil. v. 38) sometimes to *casus*, Fam. ii. 7, 2 (227).

4. *magnum atque honestum esse*] 'to hold a high and honourable position. For *honestus* in this sense, cp. Fam. xi. 2, 2 (740), *qui nos salvos et honestos velit* Brut. 281, *honestus et honoratus*. For the sense of the clause, cp. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, iii. 1, 172:—

*Brutus.* For your part,  
To you our swords have leaden points, Mark Antony:

Our arms, in strength of malice, and our heart  
Of brothers' temper, do receive you in  
With all kind love, good thoughts, and  
reverence.

*Cassius.* Your voice shall be as strong as  
any man's  
In the disposing of new dignities.

*vocemus . . . inimicitias*] 'we do not invite you to any hostility towards us.'

*Tu . . . cogites*] 'Consider again and again the course you are taking, the extent of your powers, and not the length of Caesar's life but the shortness of his tyranny.' HD read *diu*, not *non diu*. This also makes good sense: cp. our note on Att. i. 5. 3 (1).

*Deos quaesumus*] Cicero generally uses *quaeso* a; yet cp. Rosc. Am. 11: but the simple acc. is common in the dramatists cp. Plaut. Bacch. 179: Ter. Adelph. 275.

*salva atque honesta re publica*] 'without imperilling the welfare and honour of the State.'

## 783. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 7).

ON SHIPBOARD ON THE WAY TO POMPEII; AUGUST 19; A. U. C. 710;  
B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Attico significat se a Leucopetra profectum, austro vero eodem reiectum accepisse edictum Bruti et Cassii et iam commotum etiam Attici litteris, de quibus pluribus expostulat cum amico, consilium cepisse ad urbem revertendi, de Antonii edicto et de edicto Bruti et Cassii, de valetudine Piliae.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VIII Idus Sextil. cum a Leucopetra profectus—inde enim tramittebam—stadia circiter ccc processissem, reiectus sum austro vehementi ad eandem Leucopetram. Ibi cum ventum expectarem—erat enim villa Valeri nostri, ut familiariter essem et libenter—Regini quidam, illustres homines, eo venerunt Roma sane recentes, in iis Bruti nostri hospes, qui Brutum Neapoli reliquisset. Haec adferebant: edictum Bruti et Cassi, et fore

1. *stadia ccc.*] Distances by sea were computed by *stadia*; 300 *stadia* would be about 33 miles. Leucopetra was the extreme S.W. promontory of Italy. Cicero was sailing from Syracuse en route for Athens. He was obliged twice to put back to Leucopetra by contrary winds, and on the second occasion he heard a rumour of a composition between Antony and Brutus and Cassius. He at once resolved to go to Rome, and with this view he sailed for Pompeii. The rumour proved unfounded, but Cicero was very glad that he had abandoned his purpose of leaving Italy.

*erat*] 'for I had the villa of Valerius.' Müller conjectures *suberat* 'there was hard by.' Perhaps *erat enim villa illac*.

*ut familiariter essem*] 'so that I was quite at home and enjoying myself'; for the adverb with *esse*, cp. *tibi melius esse*, 650. 1; *fuit periucunde*, 679. 1. It is common with *bene*, *belle*, *recte*.

*Roma sane recentes*] 'quite new arrivals from Rome': cp. 769. 5 *Orius est recens*. For the events here recorded cp. Phil. i. 7, 8 (delivered on September 2nd) *municipes Regini complures ad me venerunt, ex eis quidam Roma recentes*. They probably left Rome a few days before the end of July.

*reliquisset*] The mood shows that he told Cicero he had left Brutus at Neapolis; see on Att. ii. 1, 12 (27).

*adferebant*] 'they brought an edict of Brutus and Cassius, and the news that.' The particular edict (which Cicero, Phil. i. 8, says was *plenum aequitatis*) is not extant; but it is possibly that referred to in Velleius ii. 62. 3, *testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio* [Brutus had been meditating exile as early as the beginning of May, 725. 1] *victuros dum rei publicae constaret concordia, nec ullam belli civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui*. It was probably issued during the last few days of July. They appear to have asked to be relieved of their commissionership to supply the city with corn, and perhaps that they should be assigned provinces for next year: on these conditions they were willing to resign their position as praetors (*de suo iure decedere* 782. 3), at least as far as performance of praetorian functions at Rome was concerned; and in their somewhat ultra-patriotic style may have said that, if it would benefit the state, they would go into permanent exile. Their object was probably to show that they had no intention of disturbing the peace, and

frequentem senatum Kalendis, a Bruto et Cassio litteras missas

so there was no reason that Antony should be given the province of Gaul. On August 1st Piso spoke against Antony vigorously, but without much effect. At once Antony, emboldened by this failure of his opponents, appears to have issued the edict to which 782 is an answer. These two edicts Cicero refers to in § 7 below. Also it was probably on August 1st that Brutus and Cassius got provinces assigned them, but these provinces were most insignificant ones, Crete and Cyrene (Illyria according to Nic. Dam. 28). Balbus had expected that the praetorian provinces would have been assigned on June 5th (742. 1), but he was mistaken, at least as far as Brutus and Cassius were concerned; cp. Phil. ii. 31, where we may conjecture from the order of events narrated that the grant of provinces was subsequent to the Ludi Apollinares. Schwartz (*Hermes*, 1898, p. 240 f) thinks that this instigation of Cicero to return was a sinister act of Brutus. He only wanted that Cicero's eloquence should thunder forth in Rome that consuls, Senate, and people were all in the wrong until they openly recognized Brutus and his associates as the liberators of the State. He wanted that Cicero, and not he or Cassius, should face the danger of opposing Antony.

*Kalendis*] Are these the Kalends of August or September? At first sight they would seem to be September; but in Phil. i. 8, *addebant praeterea . . . rem conventuram: Kalendis Sextilibus senatum frequentem fore*, the date is specifically stated to be August. Notwithstanding that all the mss., even the Vaticanus, give *Sextilibus*, editors generally omit the word, following the lead of Madvig (*Opusc. Acad.* i. 163 = p. 132, ed. 2), and supposing it to have been added owing to the occurrence of the word in §§ 7 and 10. Drumann and his editor Groebe (i. p. 431) maintain that the date referred to is that explicitly stated, viz., August 1st. On the whole, we think that they are right, and that the future *fore*, both in this letter and in the Philippic, points to the meeting of the Senate which was to be held shortly after his informants left Rome, i.e. the meeting of August 1st. Brutus and Cassius would hardly have at the end of July sent out letters asking senators to attend a meeting so far off as September 1st: nor indeed is it likely that it would have been arranged in July that matters should be postponed

to such a distant date. The succeeding words in Phil. i. 9 do not necessarily prove that the meeting was that intended for September 1st. (*Tum vero tantum cupiditate incensus ad reditum ut mihi nulli neque remi neque venti satisfacerent, non quo me ad tempus occurrurum non putarem, sed ne tardius quam cuperem rei publicae gratularer.*) Cicero says 'not that I did not think I should arrive time enough' (if all was to go favourably as seemed likely, or as if his absence would make much difference), 'but that I might congratulate the State as soon as I could possibly wish.' Cicero in both passages is dwelling on the reasons which, on August 7th (or shortly after), impelled him to set his face towards Rome, at a time when he had no knowledge of the ill-success of the meeting on the 1st. It is to be noted that several mss. in the Philippic omit *non* before *putarem*: that would mean 'not that I thought I could be up to time' in taking part in effecting the agreement.

*litteras*] The friend of Brutus, who had been with him at Naples, was, perhaps, the person who informed Cicero that Brutus and Cassius had written these letters. The hopeful view Cicero's informants entertained that Antony would give way on the question of the Gallic provinces could not have been possible after the receipt of that edict. Cicero (Phil. i. 8) refers to a conciliatory speech of Antony's, probably delivered towards the end of July; to the conciliatory (*plenum aequitatis*) edict of Brutus and Cassius; and to the belief that an arrangement would be come to (*rem conventuram*, the same phrase as is used in this letter) and that Antony would give up his idea of obtaining the Gallic provinces. But then came the fiasco of August 1st, the edict and letter of Antony, and the reply of Brutus and Cassius (782), which seemed to dispel any idea of conciliation. Cicero, who had received these two edicts from Brutus (whom he saw at Velia) when he wrote this letter (§ 7, but he had not received them when he left Leucopetra for Rome), said that he did not see the force or object of them. We fancy he saw clearly enough in what they would result; and so he was not at all sanguine about a settlement, or that he would be able to take any active part in politics; but still he thought it right to return, and that death, which could

ad consularis et praetorios ut adessent rogare. Summam spem nuntiabant fore ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari. Quae cum audissem, sine ulla dubitatione abieci consilium profectionis, quo mehercule ne antea quidem delectabar. 2. Lectis vero tuis litteris admiratus equidem sum te tam vehementer sententiam commutasse, sed non sine causa arbitrabar: etsi, quamvis non fueris suator et impulsor profectionis meae, approbator certe fuisti, dum modo Kal. Ian. Romae essem; ita fiebat ut, dum minus periculi videretur, abessem, in flammam ipsam venirem. Sed haec, etiam si non prudenter, tamen ἀνεμέσητα sunt, primum quod de mea sententia acta sunt, deinde etiamsi te auctore, quid debet qui consilium dat praestare praeter fidem? 3. Illud admirari satis non potui quod scripsisti his verbis: 'Bene igitur tu, qui εὐθανασίαν, bene! relinque patriam!' An ego relinquebam aut tibi tum relinquere videbar? Tu id non modo non prohibebas verum etiam approbabas. Graviora quae restant: 'Velim σχόλιον aliquod elimes ad me oportuisse te istuc facere.' Itane, mi Attice? Defensione eget meum factum, praesertim apud te qui id mirabiliter approbasti? Ego vero istum ἀπολογισμὸν συντάξομαι, sed

not be far from a man of his age, should not overtake him in a foreign land.

rogare] Dr. Reid thinks that this word is the addition of a glossator who did not know that *mittere litteras* could be followed by an explanatory clause with *ut*, or by the infinitive, e.g. Fam. xvi. 9. 3 (292) *Curio misi ut medico honos haberetur*.

desiderari, subaccusari] 'that my absence is felt, is provoking some comment.' For the *asyndeton bimembre* cp. note to 744. 4 and Index. For verbs compounded with *sub-* cp. 776.

2. ita fiebat] 'the upshot of this was that I should be away from Rome when there was less danger, and should come back when everything was ablaze.' cp. 773. 4; 775. 2. For *flammam*, cp. Fam. xvi. 11. 2 (301) *incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius belli*.

ἀνεμέσητα sunt] 'I have no right to resent.'

praestare] 'what is an adviser bound to guarantee except his sincerity?'

3. Bene igitur] We have given the reading of M, punctuating as Müller punctuates, 'Well done yourself, you who

talk of a *nobile letum*, well done! Abandon your country.' The irony is somewhat harsh, but the letter of Atticus seems to have been a rather cruel one, answered with wonderful command of temper by Cicero. In εὐθανασίαν (sc. *dicis*) the reference is probably to *spem mortis melioris* 752. 2. Others think it is Tusc. i. 109 *sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo oppetitur cum suis se laudibus vita occidens consolari potest*. If these words had been Cicero's, there would have been much to say for the clever conjecture of Prof. Housman, *Tene igitur qui . . . tene relinquere patriam?* cp. Att. ix. 7, 5 (362), *tene igitur socio*.

inhibebas] So Lamb. marg.: *iubebas* M<sup>1</sup>: *prohibebas* M<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Reid suggests *iactabas* 'flout': cp. Att. xi. 16. 3 (431) *sin iactor*, and note to Att. iv. 9. 1 (122).

σχόλιον elimes] 'I wish you would elaborate a memorandum addressed to me, proving that you were bound to take that course of yours.'

Ego vero] 'yes, I will compose the *Apologia* you ask for, but shall address it to one of those against whose wish and advice I left the country.' For *Ego vero*

ad eorum aliquem quibus invitis et dissuadentibus profectus sum. Etsi quid iam opus est *σχολίῳ*? Si perseverassem, opus fuisset, 'At hoc ipsum non constanter.' Nemo doctus umquam—multa autem de hoc genere scripta sunt—mutationem consili inconstantiam dixit esse. 4. Deinceps igitur haec, 'Nam si a Phaedro nostro esses, expedita excusatio esset. Nunc quid respondemus?' Ergo id erat meum factum quod Catoni probare non possim? flagiti scilicet plenum et dedecoris. Utinam a primo ita tibi esset visum! Tu mihi, sicut esse soles, fuisses Cato. 5. Extremum illud vel molestissimum, 'Nam Brutus noster silet,' hoc est, non audet hominem id aetatis monere. Aliud nihil habeo quod ex iis a te verbis significari putem, et hercule ita est. Nam xvi Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit. Erat enim cum suis navibus apud Haletem fluvium, citra Veliam milia passus iii. Pedibus ad me statim. Dei immortales, quam valde ille reditu vel potius reversione mea laetatus effudit illa omnia quae tacuerat! ut recordarer illud tuum 'nam Brutus noster silet.' Maxime autem dolebat me Kal. Sext. in senatu non fuisse.

cp. § 5; Att. iii. 15. 2 (73) note; and Index s. v. *vero*. Atticus had repeatedly told Cicero that his journey was generally approved of: cp. 768. 1; 769. 3; 772, 4; 775. 2.

*non constanter*] sc. *a te factum est*; 'that in itself is an instance of vacillation.' *Hoc ipsum* means your leaving Rome and then returning.

4. *si a Phaedro nostro esses*] For Phaedrus, cp. note to Fam. xiii. 1. 2 (189). M has *esse*. Editors usually read *esset*. Cicero is quoting the very words of Atticus' letter. Atticus may have used in the previous sentence the verb which is here to be supplied, possibly *exprobratum*, which Lehmann would actually introduce into the text. He might have written *finge animo hoc iter a Catone exprobratum*. Nam *si a Phaedro nostro esset* (sc. *exprobratum*). The meaning would then be 'I understand how you might defend your action if criticized by an Epicurean like Phaedrus, but on the present hypothesis (supposing Cato were to take you to task), what answer could you give?' Dr. Reid thinks the passage might mean 'if this conduct proceeded from Phaedrus, it would be easy for him to make an excuse,' and compares Nat. D. i. 107 *a Democrito omnino haec licentia*. But he prefers *esses*, which means 'if you belonged to the school of

our friend Phaedrus': cp. Tusc. ii. 7, *qui sunt ab ea disciplina*; De Orat. ii. 160; Fin. iv. 7. 'But as you are a Stoic, what answer will you make?' We think this latter explanation the more probable; and as Z (teste Turnebo) has *esses*, we have adopted that reading in the text. It was also conjectured by Boot.

*Ergo . . . possim?*] 'So then my act was of the kind that I could not justify it to Cato' (Cato, as though still alive, being supposed to ask him the question). Many edd. alter to *possem* ('could not have justified it'), perhaps rightly, as the change is slight, and the idea more normal. For Cato as the moral referee cp. Att. vi. 1. 7 (252), and ideal constitutionalist (769. 6).

*flagiti . . . dedecoris*] 'that is, it was one mass of infamy and disgrace.' Possibly these words are a gloss.

5. *non audet*] 'does not venture to admonish a man of my years.'

*milia passus*] So M: cp. Att. ii. 16. 1 (43), and Plancus ap. Fam. x. 17. 1 (872) and note.

*Haletem*] cp. 774. 1.

*statim*] sc. *venit*.

*reditu vel potius reversione mea*] 'my return or rather my turning back,' for he had only just begun his intended journey to Greece.

Pisonem ferebat in caelum, se autem laetari, quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes : unam, quam itinere faciendo me intellegebam suscipere, desperationis ac relictionis rei publicae (flentes mecum vulgo querebantur quibus de meo celeri reditu non probabam) : alteram, de qua Brutus et qui una erant—multi autem erant—laetabantur, quod eam vituperationem effugissem, me existimari ad Olympia. Hoc vero nihil turpius quovis rei publicae tempore, sed hoc ἀναπολόγητον. Ego vero austro gratias miras qui me a tanta infamia averterit. 6. Reversionis has speciosas causas habes, iustas illas quidem et magnas, sed nulla iustior quam quod tu idem aliis litteris, 'Provide, si cui quid debetur, ut sit unde par pari respondeatur. Mirifica enim δυσχρη-

*Pisonem*] Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Caesar. He was the Piso attacked by Cicero in his *Pisonem*. For the proposal he made on August 1st see notes to 782. 1, and § 1 above.

*vituperationes*] Cicero himself seems to have had a suspicion that his journey to Greece would be criticized. He was certainly in great doubt about it (cp. 756; 759; 772. 4; 773. 4; 775. 2).

*desperationis*] Cp. 752. 1 *nunc dubitare quemquam prudentem quin meus discensus desperationis sit, non legationis*.

*relictionis*] The mss. give *religionis*. The word *relictio* is not found in any MS., but it is introduced by conjecture into 2 Verr. i. 35 *relictionem* (mss. *reiectionem*), *prodicionemque consulis*. But *reiectionem*, 'throwing over of,' makes good sense there. Dr. Reid suggests in our passage *relegationis a republica*, comparing Phil. x. 6, *relegatum a rep.*

*ad Olympia*] sc. *visenda profectum esse*, 'that I had gone to see the Olympian games.' Cicero seems to have had some thoughts of going to Olympia, but he had a feeling that his journey to Greece might lead to censure (759 *si nihil offensionis sit*).

*Hoc vero nihil turpius*] 'certainly nothing could have been more contemptible than this, let the circumstances of the Republic be what you will; in their present state it would indeed have been a thing *sans excuse*' (Jeans). We rather think that this is *oratio obliqua*, the judgment of Cicero's critics, not that of Cicero himself, who would hardly speak so uncompromisingly of a project which he had at least for a moment considered (cp. 759). *Dicebant* could be understood from *laetabantur*.

*quovis reip. tempore*] This is different from simply *quovis tempore*. It was not reprehensible in normal times to attend the Olympic games. The words mean 'at any crisis in the State,' cp. Milo 19; Phil. iii. 1 and often.

*austro*] cp. Fam. xii. 25. 3 (825) *cum me etesiae quasi boni cives relinquentem remp. prosequi noluerunt, austerque adversus maximo flatu me ad tribulis tuos Regium rettulit*.

*gratias miras*] sc. *ago*, a somewhat unusual ellipse: but cp. Att. x. 15. 4 (401) *Vettieno velim gratias* (sc. *agas*). We should prefer to add the word between *austro* and *gratias*, whence it might have dropped out. We have *mirificas gratias* in 718. 5; *mira querela*, Att. vii. 11. 4 (304): cp. also *mirifica δυσχρηστία*, § 6 below.

6. *speciosas*] Lehmann (p. 135) would read *praecipuas*, comparing *praecipua causa* in Att. viii. 2, 4 (332). But we may take it as 'striking' (cp. Sest. 134; Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 116). 'Here are some striking reasons for my return,' reasons that plainly did not occur to you, or you would not have censured me so much. It might possibly mean 'plausible,' but *iustas* could hardly be an explanation of *speciosas* in that sense. To avoid this difficulty, Dr. Reid proposes to add *immo* before *iustas*, so as to make the clause a contrast, 'plausible, or rather just.'

*par pari respondeatur*] This phrase ought to mean 'to give tit for tat,' cp. *par pro pari referto* in Ter. Eun. 445, quoted in Fam. i. 9. 19 (153); but Atticus seems to have used it in the sense of 'to pay in full' (twenty shillings in the pound, as we should say). In Att. vi. 1. 22

στία est propter metum armorum.' In freto medio hanc epistulam legi, ut quid possem providere in mentem mihi non veniret nisi quod praesens me ipse defenderem. Sed haec hactenus. Reliqua coram. 7. Antoni edictum legi †ab utro et† horum contra scriptum praeclare. Sed quid ista edicta valeant aut quo spectent plane non video, nec ego nunc, ut Brutus censebat, istuc ad rem publicam capessendam venio. Quid enim fieri potest? Num quis Pisoni est adsensus? Num rediit ipse postridie? Sed abesse hanc aetatem longe a sepulcro negant oportere. 8. Sed obsecro te, quid est quod audiui de Bruto? Piliam πειράζεσθαι παραλύσει te scripsisse aiebat. Valde sum commotus: etsi idem te scribere sperare melius. Ita plane velim, et *ei* dicas plurimam salutem et suavissimae Atticae. Haec scripsi navigans, cum *ad* Pompeianum accederem, XIII Kal.

252), Cicero uses the expression about an exchange of letters, 'I have sent you not gold for brass, as you asked me, but a fair return for what I got from you.' The use of *defenderem* in the next sentence suggests, indeed, that Atticus may have used the phrase in its usual sense of giving tit for tat, and the fact that he used the word *debetur* of persons to whom Cicero might 'owe a grudge' may have suggested to him to use the term *δυσχρηστία* in a jocular sense, 'it is very hard to settle old scores, now that everyone is expecting an outbreak of civil war.' But the former view is much to be preferred.

*δυσχρηστία*] 'money is wonderfully tight,' lit. 'there is difficulty in borrowing.' This was due to the panic which broke out after Antony had succeeded in passing the law depriving Decimus of Cisalpine Gaul, the law called *de permutatione provinciarum* by Livy, Epit. 117.

*freto medio*] 'in the middle of the straits' (of Messina): cp. 775. 1. Or could it mean 'in mid-voyage,' like *in medio mari*, Att. v. 12. 3 (202)? But we cannot quote a Ciceronian parallel for *fretum* = *mare*: and Cicero is here mentioning this letter of Atticus as one of the reasons which decided him to turn his face homewards.

*ut quid . . . defenderem*] 'so that I did not know what "provision I could make," except to be on the spot (i.e. in Rome) for my own defence.' Atticus had used the word *provide*, 'make provision.' Dr. Reid wishes to alter to *defendere vellem*, retaining *nisi quod* of M, and com-

paring for the collocation Att. ii. 1. 11 (27); xi. 6. 6 (418). See Adn. Crit.

7. †*ab utro et† horum*] This is usually altered to a *Bruto\*\* et horum*? We may suppose that <*acceptum et a Cassio*> or something of the kind has dropped out. Dr. Reid ingeniously suggests *et ab utroque horum*. The usual reading marks no lacuna, and supposes *sumptum* to be understood: cp. *sive a Moneta . . . sive ab Oppiis*, Att. viii. 7. 3 (338); *sed haec et vetera et a Graecis*, Tusc. i. 74. The edict of Brutus and Cassius is Ep. 782. Cicero, no doubt, received it from Brutus at Velia.

*Pisoni*] 'did anyone agree with Piso' when he spoke in the senate on August 1st? cp. Phil. i. 10, 14.

*Num rediit*] 'did he come to the senate again the next day?'

*sed abesse . . . oportere*] 'But it is a saying that a man of my age (i.e. an old man) should not be far from where he means to lay his bones.'

8. *audiui de Bruto*] 'I heard from Brutus': cp. Att. i. 11. 2 (7); Fam. xi. 12. 2 (863). In this sense *ex* and *ab* are more usual. We have both *ex* and *a* in Fam. x. 28. 3 (819), *illa cognoscas ex aliis, a me pauca et summatim*.

*πειράζεσθαι παραλύσει*] 'has had an attack of paralysis,' Greek terms being employed, as usual, in reference to medical matters. See vol. i<sup>3</sup>. 86, note.

*etsi idem*] sc. *aiebat*.

*dicas*] governed by *velim*. Baiter adds *ei*.

*ad Pompeianum accederem*] We must



## 784. CICERO TO MATIUS (FAM. XI. 27).

TUSCULUM; AUGUST (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Questus erat Matius accusari se a Cicerone cum quod legi de permutatione provinciarum, ut videtur, suffragatus esset, tum etiam quod ludos Caesari mortuo ab Octaviano datos curasset.

[M.] CICERO MATIO SAL.

1. Nondum satis constitui molestiae plus an voluptatis attulerit mihi Trebatius noster, homo cum plenus officii, tum utriusque nostrum amantissimus: nam cum in Tusculanum vesperi venissem, postridie ille ad me, nondum satis firmo corpore cum esset, mane venit; quem cum obiurgarem quod parum valetudini parceret, tum ille, nihil sibi longius fuisse quam ut me videret.

add a preposition, as the writer is Cicero. We cannot suppose that its function is discharged by the preposition with which the verb is compounded, a construction that was used by Varro, Nepos, and Sallust, but not by Cicero or Caesar. Dr. Reid says that names of villas like *Pompeianum* always have a preposition attached to them in Cicero; and he would insert <in>. But *ad* would be better: he did not sail into the grounds of his villa, but only to them. Müller adds <prope>. In Att. i. 14. 5 (20) *rostra Cato advolat* Wesenberg adds *in*, and the Thesaurus *ad*.

Not much more is known of Matius than is to be gathered from this and the following letter. He was born about 84, and died about 4 B.C.: cp. Plin. H. N. xii. 13, *Primus C. Matius ex equestri ordine, divi Augusti amicus, invenit nemora tonsilia* ('clipped shrubberies') *intra hos LXXX annos*. Writing to Trebatius in 53 Cicero says, Fam. vii. 15. 2 (174), *cum vero in C. Matii, suavissimi doctissimique hominis, familiaritatem venisti, non dici potest quam valde gaudeam: qui fac ut te quam maxime diligat: mihi crede, nihil ex ista provincia potes quod iucundius sit deportare*. He and Trebatius wrote a letter to Cicero in March 49, viz. Att. ix. 15. 6 (373), describing Caesar's movements: cp. below, § 3. Cicero (707. 1; 712. 3) calls him *Calvena*, and (704. 2) *Madarus* = *μαδαρός*, 'bald.' He appears to have

been a highly cultivated man. Apollodorus of Pergamum dedicated his Manual of Rhetoric to him (Quintil. iii. 1. 18). In his later years he wrote a work on gastronomy, cp. Columella xii. 4. 2, *tum demum nostri generis postquam a bellis otium fuit quasi quoddam tributum victui humano conferre non dedignati sunt M. Ambivius et Menas Licinius, tum etiam C. Matius, quibus studium fuit pistoris et coci nec minus cellarii diligentiam suis praeceptis instituere*: cp. xii. 44. 1, *illi* (sc. C. Matio) *propositum fuit urbanas mensas et lauta convivia instruere. Libros tres edidit, quos inscripsit nominibus Coci et Cellarii et Salgamarii*. Tenffel-Schwabe, § 208. 6, notices that *minutal Matianum* (hachis à la Matius) was named after him (Apic. iv. 174); also the *mala Matiana* (Colum. v. 10. 19; xii. 45. 5; Plin. H. N. xv. 49).

Professor Palmer argued with considerable force that the Catius of Hor. Sat. ii. 4 is none other than this very C. Matius.

1. *Trebatius*] He became a friend of Matius when both were in Gaul serving under Caesar: cp. introductory note.

*plenus officii*] 'serviceable.'

*nihil sibi longius fuisse*] 'that there was nothing he was more impatiently waiting for than to see me.' Cicero uses this expression in two other passages with *videri*, Rabir. Post. 35; Verr. iv. 39. A very similar use is found in Phil. v. init., *nihil unquam longius* ('more impatiently waited for') *his Kalendis Ianuariis mihi visum est*.

'Numquidnam' inquam 'novi?' Detulit ad me querelam tuam, de qua prius quam respondeo pauca proponam. 2. Quantum memoria repetere praeterita possum, nemo est mihi te amicus antiquior; sed vestustas habet aliquid commune cum multis, amor non habet: dilexi te quo die cognovi, meque a te diligere iudicavi. Tuus deinde discessus isque diuturnus, ambitio nostra et vitae dissimilitudo non est passa voluntates nostras consuetudine conglutinari; tuum tamen erga me animum adgnovi multis annis ante bellum civile, cum Caesar esset in Gallia: quod enim vehementer mihi utile esse putabas nec inutile ipsi Caesari, perfecisti ut ille me diligeret, coleret, haberet in suis. Multa praetereo quae temporibus illis inter nos familiarissime dicta, scripta, communicata sunt: graviora enim consecuta sunt. 3. Et initio belli civilis cum Brundisium versus ires ad Caesarem, venisti ad me in Formianum. Primum hoc ipsum quanti, praesertim temporibus illis! deinde oblitum me putas consili, sermonis, humanitatis tuae? quibus rebus interesse memini Trebatium. Nec vero sum oblitus litterarum tuarum quas ad me misisti cum Caesari obviam venisses

*Numquidnam . . . novi?*] cp. Plane. 65, cum ex me quidam quaesisset quo die Roma exissem et numquidnam esset novi.

*proponam*] 'I shall set a few points before you.'

2. *repetere praeterita*] cp. the reading of some mss. mentioned by Junius in 744. 2 *praeterita repeti*.

*vetustas*] 'the length of our friendship we have in common with many, not so the warmth of its affection. *Vetustas* is very common in this sense in the letters: cp. note to 684. 2.

*discessus*] This must have been long before 53, when Matus was in Gaul. Cicero's career of office (*ambitio*) may be said to have concluded with his consulship. Probably Cicero is referring to a journey which Matus, when a young man, made into Greece and Asia for purposes of study. For *tuus deinde discessus*, cp. Pis. 21, *discessu tuo meo*; Ter. Andr. 175, *eri semper lenitas*: Off. ii. 20 *beneficentiae saepe civium expulsionem*.

*consuetudine conglutinari*] 'to be cemented by continued intercourse.' Dr. Reid, on Lael. 32, notices that Cicero is extremely fond of this metaphor. He quotes, in addition to this passage, De Orat. i. 188; De Senect. 72; Phil. iii. 28; Att. i. 17. 10 (23); vii. 8. 1 (299).

*perfecisti ut ille . . . in suis*] 'suc-

ceeded in making him regard me, respect me, and reckon me among his acquaintances.'

*Multa . . . sunt*] 'I pass over all our friendly conversation, correspondence, and intercourse at that time; for more important matters followed.' M and D have *communicata sint*, H has *communicata sunt*. The words *temporibus illis* made the relative sentence refer to special, actual instances of intercourse: accordingly we require the indicative.

3. *Et*] We have retained the mss reading with Wesenberg, though Orelli's alteration to *Etenim* is tempting. Wesenberg supposes that there is an anacoluthon, *et* meaning 'both,' and the correlative clause being *secutum illud tempus*.

*Brundisium versus*] With the names of towns *versus* can be used without another prep., Roby, 2176.

*in Formianum*] cp. Att. ix. 11. 2 (367), *Venit etiam ad me Matus Quinquatribus, homo mehercule, ut mihi visus est, temperatus et prudens; existimatus quidem est semper auctor otii. . . . Matus quidem et illum (sc. Caesarem) in ea sententia esse confidebat et se auctorem fore pollicebatur.*

*quanti*] 'in the first place, how valuable this was to me, especially at those times!'

*litterarum tuarum*] Watson thinks

in agro, ut arbitror, Trebulano. 4. Secutum illud tempus est cum me ad Pompeium proficisci sive pudor meus coegit sive officium sive fortuna: quod officium tuum, quod studium vel in absentem me vel in praesentis meos defuit? quem porro omnes mei et mihi et sibi te amiciorem iudicaverunt? Veni Brundisium: oblitumne me putas qua celeritate, ut primum audieris, ad me Tarento advolaris? quae tua fuerit adsessio, oratio, confirmatio animi mei fracti communium miseriarum metu? Tandem aliquando Romae esse coepimus: quid defuit nostrae familiaritati? 5. In maximis rebus quonam modo gererem me adversus Caesarem usus tuo consilio sum, in reliquis officio: cui tu tribuisti, excepto Caesare, praeter me ut domum ventitares horasque multas saepe suavissimo sermone consumeres? tum cum etiam, si meministi, ut haec φιλοσοφούμενα scriberem tu me impulisti. Post Caesaris reditum, quid tibi maiori curae fuit quam ut essem ego illi quam familiarissimus? quod effeceras. 6. Quorsum igitur haec oratio longior quam putaram? quia sum admiratus te, qui haec nosse deberes, quicquam a me commissum quod esset alienum nostra amicitia

that this letter is that of Matius and Trebatius which is annexed to Att. ix. 15 (373). If so, probably the facts with which they acquainted Cicero were so helpful to him that he always remembered with gratitude their writing to him. Caesar was returning from Brundisium to Rome at that time.

Trebulano] a little north of Capua, between it and Allifae (Leg. Agr. ii. 66). The Trebulanum where Pontius lived, cp. Att. v. 2. 1 (185), is considered by Mommsen on C. I. L. x. p. 442, to be a different place, lying between Pompeii and Beneventum. But this is not quite certain: see note to 185. 1.

4. sive pudor . . . fortuna] 'whether it was my feeling of shame compelled me, or my sense of duty, or mere chance': cp. Fam. vi. 6. 6 (488); vii. 3. 1 (464).

praesentis] 'who remained with you': in antithesis to *absens*, also in Fam. i. 5a, 3 (99), *me tibi absentis tuisque praesentibus cumulate satisfactorum*.

oblitumne] 'Do you think that I am forgetful of the rapidity, &c.?' For the perf. subj. after the perf. *oblitus* = 'have forgotten and are still forgetful of,' Andr. compares Caelius, Fam. viii. 6. 2 (242), *Quid ego tibi scripserim te non arbitror*

*oblitum*. He also compares a similar construction with *intellexi*, 634. 1.

quae tua fuerit adsessio] 'how you sat beside me, talked to me, and roused my courage, crushed as it was by the dread of the miseries which impended over us all.' Cicero affects such verbal nouns in -io, e.g. Fam. iv. 3. 2 (494), *amissio*, *desperatio*; iv. 4. 5 (495), *mansio*, *decessio*: cp. Stinner, p. 7.

5. In maximis . . . officio] 'In the most important matters, in regulating my conduct towards Caesar I had the advantage of your advice, in the rest of my actions, of your kind attentions' (which you showed by using your influence with Caesar on behalf of me and my friends).

cui tribuisti . . . ut] 'To whom did you ever pay the compliment of?' (Jeans).

φιλοσοφούμενα] i.e. the *Academica*, *De Finibus*, and, perhaps, the *Tusc. Disp.*

Post Caesaris reditum] sc. from Spain in 45.

effeceras] 'you at once effected'--instantaneous pluperf.: cp. Liv. vi. 38. 9 and Roby 1492. Or it may be 'had effected,' 'had been successful in,' before Caesar met his death.

6. Quorsum . . . quia] For this collocation, cp. De Senect. 13; 44; Lael. 42.

credidisse: nam praeter haec quae commemoravi, quae testata sunt et inlustria, habeo multa occultiora quae vix verbis exsequi possum. Omnia me tua delectant, sed maxime maxima cum fides in amicitia, consilium, gravitas, constantia, tum lepos, humanitas, litterae. Quapropter redeo nunc ad querelam. 7. Ego te suffragium tulisse in illa lege primum non credidi; deinde, si

*quae testata sunt et inlustria*] 'which are well attested and famous.'

*occultiora*] 'less obvious cases which it is difficult to express clearly in words,' lit. 'to follow out in words': for *exsequi* cp. Liv. xxix. 17, 17.

*sed maxime maxima*] 'but most signally your very signal loyalty in friendship, your judgment, dignity, consistency; further your charm, culture, and learning.'

7. *lege*] What is this law? It is difficult to believe that it is Caesar's law *de pecuniis mutuis* passed in 49: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 1; or the cognate *lex de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam*, passed in 47: cp. note to 785. 2. In the exciting times during which this letter was written, such a reference would, indeed, have been to ancient history; and there could not have been any doubt after so many years as to the way in which Matius gave his vote on those occasions. It has been argued that the law referred to here must be the same as the law referred to by Matius in 785. 2, *atque etiam res familiaris mea lege Caesaris deminuta est*, but there is no necessity that it should be so. The first five sections of the letter of Matius are a general defence of his position as in the main a partisan of Caesar, though he did not approve of all Caesar's actions. He incidentally points out that his partisanship was not interested, inasmuch as he thereby suffered in property. He makes no direct reference to the charge urged by Cicero, viz. that he was stated to have voted for a law which was violently opposed to the interests of the aristocrats; but he tacitly allows that he did so (§ 5). He adds, that he has taken the side of the opponents of the murderers, for he could have no connexion with men who are criminals (*mihique, si sentis expedire recte fieri, credas nullam communionem cum improbis esse posse*). This very frank statement is a decided expression of hostility to the party of Brutus and Cassius, who were so violently opposed to Antony. The law then probably was one in which Antony was interested.

The date of this letter is the latter end of August: cp. note to 785. 5. The law about the provinces, called by Livy (Epit. 117) *lex de permutatione provinciarum*—whereby Antony succeeded in obtaining, along with the command of the Macedonian legions, the province of Gallia Cisalpina, and, perhaps, part of Gallia Transalpina, in place of Macedonia, which was to be transferred to Decimus Brutus without any army—though projected by Antony and regarded with apprehension by the aristocrats as early as May (cp. 734. 1; 737. 3), was probably not passed until after the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris (Appian B. C. iii. 28 and 30), held at the end of July, but was certainly passed before September 2nd (Phil. i. 8); cp. Ferrero iii. 90. It seems to have been promulgated in July, and passed in August. Groebe (*De legibus et senatus consultis anni 710*, pp. 8 ff.: cp. his ed. of Drumann, i. 435), indeed, places it as early as the latter half of June, but on insufficient grounds. By this law Antony obtained a very strong military position as well as the command of the Macedonian legions (cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Die letzten Kämpfe*, p. 718), that is of the legions which Caesar had sent forward to Macedonia in his preparations for the Parthian war; and it was doubtless this feature of the law which aroused the most violent excitement. The determined hostility of the aristocrats to this law (cp. App. B. C. iii. 30, *ὁρρωδούσης παντ τῆς βουλῆς*: the whole chapter is well worth reading) would necessarily render any connexion between them and a supporter of the law impossible. Matius voted for it in the interests of order; and he had good reason to do so, as there was grave danger that unless the law were passed, and Antony entrusted with the command of these legions, they would break out into acts of violence (Dio xlv. 24, 25, and Schmidt, l. c.). Matius frankly confesses that he wants to have no further connexion with men who are criminals, that his own conscience is satisfied, and that posterity

credidisset, numquam id sine aliqua iusta causa existimarem te fecisse. Dignitas tua facit ut animadvertatur quicquid facias; malevolentia autem hominum ut non nulla durius quam a te facta sint proferantur; ea tu si non audis, quid dicam nescio; equidem, si quando audio, tam defendo quam me scio a te contra iniquos meos solere defendi. Defensio autem est duplex: alia sunt quae liquido negare soleam, ut de isto ipso suffragio; alia, quae defendam a te pie fieri et humane, ut de curatione ludorum.

3. Sed te, hominem doctissimum, non fugit, si Caesar rex fuerit—quod mihi quidem videtur—in utramque partem de tuo officio disputari posse, vel in eam qua ego soleo uti, laudandam esse fidem et humanitatem tuam qui amicum etiam mortuum diligas, vel in eam qua non nulli utuntur, libertatem patriae vitae amici anteponendam. Ex his sermonibus utinam essent delatae ad te disputationes meae! Illa vero duo, quae maxima sunt laudum tuarum, quis aut libentius quam ego commemorat aut saepius? te et non suscipiendi belli civilis gravissimum auctorem fuisse et moderandae victoriae, in quo qui mihi non adsentiretur inveni neminem. Qua re habeo gratiam Trebatio, familiari nostro, qui mihi dedit causam harum litterarum, quibus nisi credideris, me

will judge which of the two parties is in the right.

That the law referred to is the so-called *de permutatione provinciarum* is held by Andresen, Ruete (p. 30), and O. E. Schmidt. Bardt thinks that, as we cannot rely on Appian in matters of chronology, the question is insoluble.

[*Dignitas*] For this idea, Andr. quotes Fam. iii. 11. 1 (265), *sed nihil de insignibus ad laudem viris obscure nuntiari solet*.

[*malevolentia . . . proferantur*] 'and an uncharitable world sometimes gives a harsher interpretation than your conduct as warranted.' This is the rendering of Fr. Jeyes in his generally excellent translation of the Fifth Part of Mr. Watson's edition.

[*liquido negare*] 'to give a flat denial &c.' For *liquido*, cp. Fam. xv. 6. 1 (278).

[*alia . . . ludorum*] 'other things which maintain have been done by you from motives of affection and kindness, as, for example, the superintendence of the games.' These were the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* or *Genetrix* vowed by Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia (C. I. L. i. 397, and

Dict. Antiq. s. v.). This action of Matus had not commended itself to Cicero: cp. 732. 3, *Ludorumque eius (Octavi) apparatus et Matus ac Postumus mihi procuratores non placent*. For *defendere* with accusative and infinitive, cp. Att. iv. 3. 2 (92); Ligar. 6; Clu. 43.

8. *in utramque partem*] 'your conduct can be criticized from two points of view.' For the phrase cp. 756; 762. 1, and often.

[*Illa*] On *illa* referring to what follows, cp. Dr. Reid on Acad. i. 3. 22; ii. 116.

[*quae maxima . . . tuarum*] For the neut. superlative with a genitive of different gender, Andr. compares Att. iii. 7. 3 (63), *id est maximum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum*.

[*te . . . civilis*] cp. Att. ix. 11. 2 (367), quoted in § 3.

[*quibus . . . iudicaris*] M has *exper*; HD *expers*. The editors rightly read *expertem*. It is one of the failings of copyists of mss. that they sometimes write only the first few letters of a word: e.g. *ex* possibly for *exquisitae* in Fam. ix. 20. 2 (475), and in Fam. x. 29 (911) M has *ben* for *benevolentia*. For the future perfect

omnis officii et humanitatis expertem iudicaris; quo nec mihi gravius quicquam potest esse nec te alienius.

# 785. MATIUS TO CICERO (ATT. XI. 28).

## AN ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.

ROME; AUGUST (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Matius respondet superiori Ciceronis epistulae et purgare se studet propter iniquorum iudicium.

### MATIUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Magnam voluptatem ex tuis litteris cepi, quod quam speraram atque optaram habere te de me opinionem cognovi; de qua etsi non dubitabam, tamen, quia maximi aestimabam, ut incorrupta maneret laborabam. Consciens autem mihi eram nihil a me commissum esse quod boni cuiusquam offenderet animum: eo minus credebam plurimis atque optimis artibus ornato tibi temere quicquam persuaderi potuisse, praesertim in quem mea propensa et perpetua fuisset atque esset benevolentia; quod quoniam, ut volui, scio esse, respondebo criminibus quibus tu pro me, ut par erat tua singulari bonitate et amicitia nostra, saepe restitisti

in both clauses of a conditional sentence, cp. Fam. x. 19. 2 (879), *Qui enim Antonium oppresserit is hoc bellum confecerit*; Phil. xii. 13, *An ille non vicerit si quacunque condicione in hanc urbem cum suis venerit?*

*nec te alienius*] D inserts *a* before *te*, which is certainly a more usual construction. But the simple ablative has been already used in this letter: cp. § 6. Dr. Reid on Acad. ii. 25, says: "*alienus* has four constructions in Cicero, viz. dative, as here; genitive, as in Acad. i. 42: ablative, with *ab*; ablative, without *ab*. The last is much the rarest, and is given by our mss in some passages where it is probably not genuine."

For Matius, see introductory note to the preceding letter.

1. *incorrupta*] 'unimpaired.'  
*eo . . . benevolentia*] 'On that account I was less able to believe that you, endowed as you are with such varied and

high accomplishments, could be hastily persuaded of anything, especially when you are one towards whom I have felt and still feel, a spontaneous and lasting attachment.'

*ut par erat tua singulari bonitate*] For this rare construction, like that of *dignum* cp. De Div. ii. 114, *ita ut constantibus hominibus par erat*; Sall. Hist. iv. 14 *scalas pares moenium altitudine*. Ovid Fast. vi. 804, *in qua par facies nobilitatis sua est*. It need not cause offence, as the writer is Matius, not Cicero. If, however, anyone is dissatisfied with it, he may (1) take *tua singulari bonitate* as an ablative of manner, 'considering your great goodness,' and compare note to Fam. v. 8. (131); or (2) as an ablative of cause, 'by reason of your remarkable kindness' cp. Kritz on Sall. Cat. 2. 9, for example of words which generally take the dative but have sometimes the causal ablative e.g. *assuetus*; or (3) he may, with Dr. Reid, understand or supply *te*, so that this sense shall be *ut par erat te tua . . .*

2. Nota enim mihi sunt quae in me post Caesaris mortem contulerint: vitio mihi dant quod mortem hominis necessari graviter fero atque eum quem dilexi perisse indignor; aiunt enim patriam amicitiae praeponendam esse, proinde ac si iam vicerint obitum eius rei publicae fuisse utilem. Sed non agam astute: fateor me ad istum gradum sapientiae non pervenisse; neque enim Caesarem in dissensione civili sum secutus sed amicum, quamquam re offendebar, tamen non deserui, neque bellum umquam civile aut etiam causam dissensionis probavi, quam etiam nascentem exstingui summe studui. Itaque in victoria hominis necessari neque honoris neque pecuniae dulcedine sum captus, quibus praemiis reliqui, minus apud eum quam ego cum possent, immoderate sunt abusi. Atque etiam res familiaris mea lege Caesaris diminuta est, cuius beneficio plerique qui Caesaris morte laetantur remanserunt in civitate. Civibus victis ut parceretur aequae ac pro mea salute laboravi. 3. Possum igitur, qui omnis voluerim incolumis, eum, a quo id imperatum est, perisse non indignari? cum praesertim iidem homines illi et invidiae et exitio fuerint. 'Plecteris ergo,' inquit, 'quoniam

*existere*, and take the ablatives as qualitative. The Palatine ms. D has *pro tua*, which Lamb. had conjectured.

2. *Nota enim*] cp. 784. 7. For this transitional *enim*, which is something like our 'well,' Andr. compares Att. i. 16, 1 22). The verb should regularly be *contulerunt*, but the construction is a combination of *nota sunt quae contulerunt* and *notum est quae contulerint*: cp. Phil. i. 1, *audita vobis esse arbitror quae sint nota*: Lael. 56, *constituendi sunt qui sint in amicitia fines*, where see Dr. Reid's note, and cp. Madvig on Fin. v. 58.

*vicerint*] 'have proved': cp. § 4 and Plaut. 124; Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 225; Plaut. Amph. 432.

*Sed non agam astute*] 'but I will not enter any subtle plea' (Jeans). Note the light sarcasm in *istum*, which we should make too much of if we translated 'that of yours.' Translate 'to that high level of philosophy.'

*re offendebar*] 'disapproved of what he did': *exstingui*, 'stifled.'

*Itaque . . . abusi*] 'So in the victory of my friend I was not caught by the charms of office or money, prizes grasped at extravagantly by the rest, though they had less influence with him than I had': *abuti* means 'to turn from its natural use

to one's own use'; also 'to use to the full': cp. 692. 2 and N. D. ii. 151 with Mayor's note.

*lege*] This was the *Lex Iulia de modo credendi et possidendi intra Italiam* passed by Caesar in 707 (47), after the socialistic outbreak of Dolabella. It was a re-enactment and, perhaps, extension of the provisions of the *Lex Iulia de pecuniis mutuis* of 705 (49), to which reference is so often made in the letters to Paetus, e.g. Fam. ix. 16. 7 (472): 18. 4 (473). One of the provisions of that law was that no one should possess more than 60,000 sesterces in cash (Dio. xli. 38); the rest was probably to be invested in Italian land: cp. Tac. Ann. vi. 17. Lange (R. A. iii. 435) adds that the law enacted that estates could not be mortgaged beyond a certain sum.

3. *illi et invidiae et exitio fuerint*] 'caused both his unpopularity and his death.' Matius is thinking probably of Cassius, of Brutus, and many other Pompeians (perhaps Cicero among them), to whom Caesar showed indulgence, and thereby gained unpopularity for himself with these partisans who had followed him from the beginning. For Caesar's indulgence to the Pompeians cp. Fam. vi. 6. 10 (488).

factum nostrum improbare audes.' O superbiam inauditam, alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunitè licere ! at haec etiam servis semper libera fuerunt, *ut timerent, gauderent, dolerent* suo potius quam alterius arbitrio ; quae nunc, ut quidem isti dictitant libertatis auctores, metu nobis extorquere conantur. 4. Sed nihil agunt. Nullius umquam periculi terroribus ab officio aut ab humanitate desciscam ; numquam enim honestam mortem fugiendam, saepe etiam oppetendam putavi. Sed quid mihi suscensent si id opto ut paeniteat eos sui facti ? cupio enim Caesaris mortem omnibus esse acerbam. 'At debeo pro civili parte rem publicam velle salvam.' Id quidem me cupere, nisi et ante acta vita et reliqua me spes tacente me probat, dicendo vincere non postulo. 5. Qua re maiorem in modum te rogo ut rem potiore oratione ducas mihi, si sentis expedire recte fieri, credas nullam communionem cum improbis esse posse. An quod adulescens praestiti, cum etiam errare cum excusatione possem, id nunc aetate praecipitata commutem ac me ipse retexam ? non faciam, neque quod displiceat committam, praeterquam quod hominis mihi con-

*timerent . . . arbitrio*] 'that their fears, their joys, and their sorrows should be their own, and not dependent on the will of another.' Lehmann (p. 60) thinks that we should add *cuperent* or *sperarent* : cp. Tusc. i. 22, *cupere timere* : Hor. Epp. i. 6. 12, *gaudeat an doleat cupiat metuatve* : cp. Leg. i. 32 : Off. i. 69.

*auctores*] 'founders.'

*metu*] 'intimidation.'

4. *pro civili parte*] 'as a citizen should.'

*velle salvam*] This construction with *velle, cupere, malle, nolle*, is rare with an adjective (Phil. ii. 19), but frequent with a participle, as Div. in Caec. 21, *consultum esse volt* ; Rosc. Am. 25, *conservatas velit*. Madv. 396, obs. 2.

*dicendo vincere non postulo*] 'I do not expect to establish by anything that I can say.'

5. *Qua re . . . existimarer*] 'Wherefore, I earnestly beg of you to consider conduct as more weighty than words, and if you are of opinion that it is expedient for the world that the rule of right should be maintained, to believe that I can have no connexion with men who are criminals. Or is it that I am now in my declining years to change that course which I adopted in my youth (when

I might have gone astray and been excused for it), and myself effect my own undoing ? I will not do this. Yet I will not act in any such way as to cause offence, except that I must grieve for the tragic death of one who was my dear friend and a great man. But, if I had any other views, I would never deny what I was doing, as I have no wish to be considered a criminal for what I did, and a coward and a hypocrite for trying to hide it.' This is certainly noble language.

*etiam*] i.e. even if the course which I adopted had not been the right one, though I am thoroughly convinced it was.

*aetate praecipitata*] *praecipitare* is commonly used of the passing away of portions of time : cp. Ovid. Trist. i. 3. 47, *iamque morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat* ; Caes. B. C. iii. 25. 1, *hiems iam praecipitaverat* : cp. *praeceps* in Liv. iv. 9, 13, *praecipiti tam die* : xxv. 34, 14, quoted by Andr.

*retexam*] metaphor from undoing what has been woven : cp. Fam. xi. 14. 3 (836), *novi terrores retexunt superiora* ; Verr. ii. 63 ; Phil. ii. 32. For the frequent occurrence in Latin of metaphors from weaving, cp. Nägelsbach, p. 461 (ed. 7).



innotissimi ac viri amplissimi doleo gravem casum. Quod si aliter essem animatus, numquam quod facerem negarem, ne et in peccando improbus et in dissimulando timidus ac vanus existimarer.

6. 'At ludos quos Caesaris Victoriae Caesar adulescens fecit curavi.' At id ad privatum officium, non ad statum rei publicae pertinet; quod tamen munus et hominis amicissimi memoriae atque honoribus praestare etiam mortui debui, et optimae spei adulescenti ac dignissimo Caesare petenti negare non potui.

7. Veni etiam consulis Antoni domum saepe salutandi causa; ad quem qui me parum patriae amantem esse existimant rogandi quidem aliquid aut auferendi causa frequentis ventitare reperies.

Sed quae haec est adrogantia—quod Caesar numquam interpellavit quin, quibus vellem atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat, tamen iis uterer—eos qui mihi amicum eripuerunt carpendo me efficere conari ne quos velim diligam? 8. Sed non vereor ne aut meae vitae modestia parum valitura sit in posterum contra falsos

*aliter essem animatus*] i.e. if I wished to foment disorder in the state: *vanus*, one who professes what is not the truth; *liar* or a hypocrite.

6. *At ludos . . . curavi*] This is the passage which fixes the dates of this and the preceding letter. The *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* or *Veneris Genetricis* were celebrated from July 20 to 30 in later years, though, perhaps, at this early stage in their history they did not extend over more than four or five days at the most; but at any rate they were held during the latter half of July. So that these letters must be subsequent to that month. They have been assigned to the end of May and beginning of June. Cicero wrote to Matius the day after his arrival at Tusculum: p. 784. 1: and we know that he arrived at Tusculum on May 27: cp. 734. 2. But the perfects in the passage before us, *fecit, curavi*, dispose of that date. Cicero left Velia about August 17 or 18, arrived at Pompeii on the 19th (783, 5, 8), and reached Rome on the 31st. There is no reason to prevent our supposing that he remained a few days at Tusculum between the two latter dates.

*At . . . potui*] 'But that is a matter belonging to private obligation, not to the interests of the state. It was, however, a tribute which I was bound to render, even after his death, to the memory and distinguished position of a dear

friend: and I could not refuse the request of a young man of the highest hopes and in every sense worthy of Caesar.' Notice both the objection and the reply introduced by *At*: cp. note to Fam. ix. 22. 2 (633), and De Sen. 35 and 68.

*tamen*] i.e. though it was a mere private obligation, yet it was one that I was bound to pay, even though displeasing to a certain section of the community.

7. *auferendi*] 'carrying off' some favour: cp. Fam. vi. 12. 3 (490), *ablaturum diploma*; Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15a), 3 (141), *auferret tribunatum*; 767. 5 *decretum abstulimus*. Cp. also 774. 3.

*Sed quae est . . . uter*] 'But what an insolent proceeding this is, that—whereas Caesar never interfered to prevent my having what associates I pleased, even men for whom he had no regard—those who have robbed me of my friend should captiously endeavour to keep me from forming what intimacies I please.' Strictly *quod* is a cognate accusative after *interpellavit* (cp. § 8) lit. 'an intervention which Caesar never made with a view to preventing,' and is in apposition with *haec adrogantia*, which is explained by the clause *eos . . . conari*.

8. *modestia*] 'moderation.'

*valitura sit*] The future subjunctive is rare after *vereor*; but the future sense is strongly marked by *in posterum* which follows.

rumores, aut ne etiam ii qui me non amant propter meam in Caesarem constantiam non malint mei quam sui similis amico habere. Mihi quidem si optata contingent, quod reliquum est vitae in otio Rhodi degam; sin casus aliquis interpellarit, ita ero Romae ut recte fieri semper cupiam. Trebatio nostro magno ago gratias quod tuum erga me animum simplicem atque amicum aperuit et quod eum, quem semper libenter dilexi, quo magis iurare colere atque observare deberem fecit. Bene vale et me dilige.

## 786. CICERO JUNIOR TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 21).

ATHENS; AUGUST OR BEGINNING SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 710;

B. C. 44; AET. CIC. JUN. 21.

Cicero filius suum virtutis studium Tironi significat: de praedio empto gratulatur.

CICERO F. TIRONI SUO DULCISSIMO SAL.

1. Cum vehementer tabellarios expectarem cotidie, aliquando venerunt post diem quadragesimum et sextum quam a vobis dis-

*aut ne etiam ii . . . dilige*] 'or that those who do not love me on account of my steady devotion to Caesar will not prefer that their friends should be of my stamp rather than of theirs. For my own part, if my wishes are gratified, I shall pass the remainder of my life in retirement at Rhodes; but if any untoward circumstance should intervene, I shall live such a life at Rome as will show that I always desire the maintenance of the rule of right. I am very grateful to our friend Trebatius for having disclosed your sincere and friendly feelings towards me, and for having brought it to pass that I am now under a greater obligation to regard and honour a man whom I have always been glad to consider as a friend. A kind farewell, and give me your regard.'

*aut ne*] This follows as if *aut ne*, not *ne aut*, had preceded; such little irregularities are common, e.g. Att. iii. 4 (58), *ne et* for *et ne*; Att. iii. 6 (61), *et ut* for *ut et*; Fin. ii. 15, *si aut* for *aut si*; Orat. 149, *ut aut* for *aut ut*; cp. Dr. Reid on Acad. ii. 12 (*et cum*) and 69.

*Rhodi*] cp. note to Fam. vii. 3, 5 (464). *ita ero Romae ut . . . cupium*] Matius means that he will offer vigorous resistance to the so-called patriots if they violate ordinary constitutional morality either by murdering their political opponents or in any other way.

*quo magis . . . fecit*] For this use of *quo* with a comparative cp. Fam. x. 33. 1 (890), *quo tardius certior fierem . . . Lepidus effecit*: Ter. Eun. 150 *id amabo adiuta me quo id fiat facilius*.

*Bene vale*] This formula is never used by Cicero, but we find it in a letter from Curius, Fam. vii. 29, 2 (677). It occurs in Plaut. Asin. 606; Mil. 1340, and often in the Silver Age: cp. Babl, *De Epp. lat. formulis*, p. 29.

For an account of young Cicero, see Introduction. Ruete (p. 30) fixes on the above date, because the news that young Cicero's conduct was becoming more steady reached Rome about the middle of June, Att. xv. 16a (746); 17. 2 (749). Ep. 749, even if written immediately on receipt of that news, could not have reached Athens sooner than August, as it appears to have been 46 days on the road. The major limit may be fixed by the fact that there is no mention of M. Brutus. He left Velia probably during the latter half of August (Phil. x. 8), and arrived at Athens probably not later than the middle of September. However, this is not quite certain. Nic. Dam. 31 seems to think his departure was due to the actions of Octavian in Campania during October.

1. *quadragesimum et sextum*] This was about twice as long a time as it was

cesserant; quorum mihi fuit adventus exoptatissimus: nam, cum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistula, tum vero iucundissimae tuae litterae cumulum mihi gaudi attulerunt. Itaque me iam non paenitebat intercapedinem scribendi fecisse, sed potius laetabar; fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam ex silentio mearum litterarum. Vehementer igitur gaudeo te meam sine dubitatione accepisse excusationem. 2. Gratos tibi optatosque esse qui de me rumores adferuntur non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro, praestaboque et enitar ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio: qua re quod polliceris te bucinatorem fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet; tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae ut non solum animus a factis sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant, cuius te

necessary to take: cp. Fam. xiv. 5. 2 (283), *De nave exeuntibus nobis Acastus cum litteris praesto fuit uno et vicesimo die sane strenue*. The elder Cicero would probably have omitted the *et*, but its use is quite allowable, cp. Neue-Wagener ii<sup>3</sup>. 316.

*exoptatissimus*] So we read with H DF (*adoptatissimus* M: *optatissimus* edd.): cp. Att. v. 15. 1 (207), *nihil exoptatius adventu meo*.

*intercapedinem scribendi*] 'break in our correspondence,' cp. Plin. Epp. iv. 9, 11, *dicentis calor et audientis intentio continuatione servatur, intercapedine et quasi remissione languescit*.

*fructum . . . mearum*] 'for from my omission to write I have obtained a large return in the kindness you have shown me' (in writing to me in so kindly a manner when I had not written to you for so long).

2. *Gratos . . . non dubito*] When *non dubito* means 'not to be in doubt' (whether certain statements are true or not), we very seldom find the construction of the acc. and inf. in the older writers. Cicero does not use the construction at all; but it is common in Nepos, and not infrequent in Tacitus; cp. Munro on Lucr. v. 249. Among Cicero's correspondents we find it in Asinius Pollio, Fam. x. 31. 5 (824), *nemo vocabit in dubium provinciam me nulli . . . traditurum*, on which passage cp. note; and Trebonius, Fam. xii. 16. 2 (736), *cui nos et caritate et amore tuum officium praestatueros non debes dubitare*. We must not accordingly censure young Cicero's diction. We hear that his father

was a severe critic of his style: cp. Quintil. i. 7. 34, *Cicero in filio, ut epistulis apparet, recte loquendi asper quoque exactor*; cp. Att. xv. 16 a (746), where he derives some comfort from the fact that his son's letters were written *πεπινωμένως*. We are told by Servius (on Aen. viii. 168) that young Cicero once wrote *direxi litteras duas*—a sentence which must have grieved his father; of course *duas* should have been *binas*; as to *dirigere litteras*, it can only be paralleled in late Latin. Wölfflin in 'Archiv' iv. 100, is of opinion that this sentence, said to have been written by young Cicero, is probably a forgery.

*bucinatorem*] For this metaphorical use, cp. Juv. xiv. 152, *Sed qui sermones, quam foedae bucina famae*.

*firmo . . . animo*] 'with an assured and confident spirit.'

*abhorreant*] 'hate the very mention of.'

*cuius . . . volui*] 'and that you sympathize with me in that anxiety and sorrow I know well from experience, and no wonder: for while you wish me every success for my own sake you wish it also for your own, for it was always my desire that you should share in my prosperity.' It is unusual to have the subjunctive after *cum* in a sentence like this with *tum* following, but perhaps it may be explained as concessive, 'although you are interested in me for my own sake, you are interested in me also for your own.' Another irregularity in the sentence is the past part. *successa* of the

sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse notum exploratumque est mihi, nec id mirum. Nam cum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua; socium enim te meorum commodorum semper esse volui. 3. Quoniam igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc ut duplicetur tuum ex me gaudium praestabo. Cratippo me scito non ut discipulum sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum; nam cum audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam eius suavitatem vehementer amplector: sum totos dies cum eo noctisque saepenumero partem; exoro enim ut mecum quam saepissime cenet. Hac introducta consuetudine saepe inscientibus nobis et cenantibus obrepit sublataque severitate philosophiae humanissime nobiscum iocatur. Qua re da operam ut hunc talem, tam iucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. 4. Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior discedere, cuius cum frugi severaque est vita, tum etiam iucundissima convictio; non est enim seiunctus iocus a φιλολογίᾳ et cotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxī et, ut possum, ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem. 5. Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui; Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo.

neuter verb *succedo*, used personally; but cp. Priscian ix. 49 (= i. 483, 24 ed. Keil), *et multa praeterea a vetustissimis similiter sunt prolata participia praeteriti a neutralibus verbis ut a . . . 'discedo discessus' ὁ ἀναχωρήσας, 'intereo interitus' ὁ ἀναιρέθεις . . . Caelius [Antipater] in IIII 'custodibus discessus multi interficiuntur.' Claudius [Quadrigarius] 'pugna acriter commissa, multis utrinque interitis': cp. Gell. xvii. 2.10, *Sole occaso non insuavi vetustate est si quis aurem habeat non sordidam nec proculcatam*. The readings *processus* in Bell. Afr. 75. 1, *processa* in Cicero Leg. ii. 62, are too doubtful to be adduced as parallels: *progressus*, -a, are read in those passages. Schwabe (*N. Jahrb.* 1870, p. 392) reads *mihi successe* (= *successisse*), a most ingenious conjecture, which may possibly be right: cp. *decesse*, Fam. vii. 1. 2 (127) (in M; but *decessisse* is probably right); cp. Ter. Heaut. Prol. 32, on which line Shuckburgh gives many examples; *processse* (Turpilus, 137, Ribbeck): cp. Neue-Wagener iii<sup>3</sup> 502.*

3. *ex me doluisti*] cp. Caes. B. G. i. 14. 5, *quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant*. The ordinary constructions are either acc. or abl.: *de* with abl. is also found Att. xii. 1. 2 (505).

*Cratippo*] cp. note to 736. 2.

*nam . . . amplector*] 'for not only do I attend his lectures with pleasure, but I am warmly attached to his own genial self.' For *audire* in this sense, cp. Off. i. 1 and Holden's note.

*obrepit*] 'drops in'; cp. Tibull. i. 8. 59, *et possum media quamvis obrepere nocte, severitate*] 'austerity.'

4. *Bruttio*] Nothing more is known about this man than what can be gathered from the present passage. The name often appears in inscriptions.

*quid . . . dicam?*] For this expression in enumerations Böckel compares Q. Fr. i. 1. 10 (30), *Quid ego de Gratidio dicam?*

*frugi severaque*] 'simple and strict': *convictio*, 'society.'

*non est enim*] 'for wit and humour are not with us divorced from our daily communion in literary and philosophical discussions.' This sense of συζητεῖν (= *disceptare* 'dispute') is frequent in the New Test.: cp. Acts vi. 9; ix. 29; 1 Cor. i. 20.

*in proximo*] 'next door': cp. Ter. Hec. 341, *cum in proximo hic sit aegra*.

*sustento tenuitatem*] 'I alleviate his poverty.' For *tenuitas* cp. De Orat. ii. 265.

5. *declamitare Graece . . . institui*],

Utor familiaribus et cotidianis convictoribus quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum etiam mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides et horum ceteri similes. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε. 6. De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in cotidiana declamatione utilis; sed omnia postposui dum modo praeceptis patris parerem; διαρρήδην enim scripserat ut eum dimitterem statim: tergiversari nolui ne mea nimia σπουδὴ suspicionem ei aliquam importaret; deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat, grave esse me de iudicio patris iudicare; tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi. 7. Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis accipio; scio enim quam soleas esse occupatus. Emissem te praedium vehementer gaudeo feliciterque tibi rem istam evenire cupio. Hoc loco me tibi gratulari noli mirari; eodem enim fere loco tu quoque emissem te fecisti me certiore. Habes; deponen-

'I have started rhetorical exercises in Greek.'

Utor . . . convictoribus] 'I have as my intimates and everyday companions.'

princeps Atheniensium] This looks very like a title, for it could hardly mean 'a principal man at Athens'; it must mean 'the principal man.' It is just possible that this may be the title young Cicero gives to the chief of the Ephebi, the ἄρχων ἐφήβων mentioned by Grasseberger (*Erziehung und Unterricht* iii. 180-1).

Leonides] He wrote to Cicero somewhat unsatisfactory accounts of young Cicero's behaviour: cp. 721. 3; 746.

τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε] 'De nobis ipsis haec hactenus.' We may fairly use a tag of Latin for our undergraduate's tag of Greek.

6. Gorgia] Cicero appears to have been quite right in objecting to this tutor for his son. He seems to have been a veritable Doctor Pangloss. He was, no doubt, a distinguished rhetorician (Senec. Contr. 1. 4, p. 101), and wrote the treatise περὶ σχημάτων διανοίας καὶ λέξεως, of which we still possess the translation by Rutilius Lupus: cp. Geuffel-Schwabe, § 270, and Quintil. ix. 2. 102: but he was a man of loose life, and led young Cicero into bad ways: cp. Plut. Cic. 24, Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα ὑπομεινόμενος εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους προάγειν ὡς μισθόκιον ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνοουσίας αὐτοῦ . . . τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προσηκόντως

ἐπισκώπτοντος εἴπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος ἥπερ ἐδόκει ('as he was reputed to be'). Perhaps it was this same versatile Gorgias who wrote περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐταιρίδων, Athen. xiii. 567a.

διαρρήδην] 'totidem verbis.'

tergiversari] 'to temporize.'

succurrebat] Occasionally used for the more common *occurrebat*: cp. 703. 2 *ut enim quidque succurrit libet scribere*: cp. note to 700. 4.

7. Excusationem . . . temporis] 'the excuse that your leisure time is so curtailed.'

Hoc loco] i.e. at the end of this letter.

Habes] 'you have become a landed proprietor.' For this absolute use of *habere* cp. 559. 3; Rosc. Am. 132, *qui in Sallentinis et Bruttis habent*; Verr. v. 45, *ex iis locis in quibus te habere nihil licet*, and perhaps Curius ap. Fam. vii. 29. 1 (677), *quod simus, quod habeamus . . . id omne abs te habere*. Dr. Reid suggests *Rem habes* (*rem* lost after *certiore*). The ordinary interpretation is that *habes* means 'there's for you,' i.e. there's a retort for you if you blame me for deferring my congratulations to such a late part of my letter. *Habet* is used of a wounded gladiator: Ter. Andr. 83, Plaut. Rud. 1143, on which passage Sonnenschein compares *Romeo and Juliet* iii. 1. 112, where Mercutio says, 'I have it, and soundly too.' Others again connect *habes* with the succeeding sentence by means of

dae tibi sunt urbanitates ; rusticus Romanus factus es, quo modo ego mihi nunc ante oculos tuum iucundissimum conspectum propono ; videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum vilico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse aequae ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si modo fortuna me, praesertim cum sciam communem nobis emptum esse istum fundum. 8. De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit est mihi gratum ; sed peto a te ut quam celerrime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus ; multum mihi enim eripietur operae in exscribendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures ut valeas, ut una *συμφιλολογεῖν* possimus. Anterum tibi commendo.

*ubi*, either *habes ubi deponendae tibi sint* (Crat.) or *habes deponendae ubi sint* (Graev.).

*urbanitates*] 'city ways,' lit. citynesses; occasionally used by Cicero for 'city life,' 'city culture,' Fam. vii. 6. 1 (136), *desideria urbis et urbanitatis*.

*rusticus . . . propono*] 'you are turned into a Roman country gentleman, as is the very delightful picture of you I now have before my eyes.' Ribbeck suggests *germanus* for *Romanus*, 'a thorough-going country gentleman': cp. Att. i. 18. 8 (24), *sub lustrum autem censei germani negotiatoris est*; iv. 5. 3 (108), *me asinum germanum fuisse*. Some editors put a stop at *factus es*, and take the next sentence as an exclamation. 'What a delightful picture of you I now have before me!' This seems quite possible. We cannot see, as Wes. and Müller do, that *enim* renders this punctuation intolerable, or even undesirable.

*rusticas res*] 'requisites for the farm': hardly 'country produce.'

*in lacinia servantem*] 'keeping (thriftily) the seeds from dessert in the end

of your cloak,' apparently with a view of sowing them afterwards. This would indeed be thriftiness even for the economical Roman farmer who *amore senescit habendi*, as Hor. Epp. i. 7. 85 says.—[Does *habendi*, in that passage of Horace, bear the same sense as that of *habes* commented on above?] *Lacinia* was that part of the garment which was not fastened tightly to the body. For the *μικρολογία* of farmers Ribbeck refers to Theophrastus Char. xxiv.

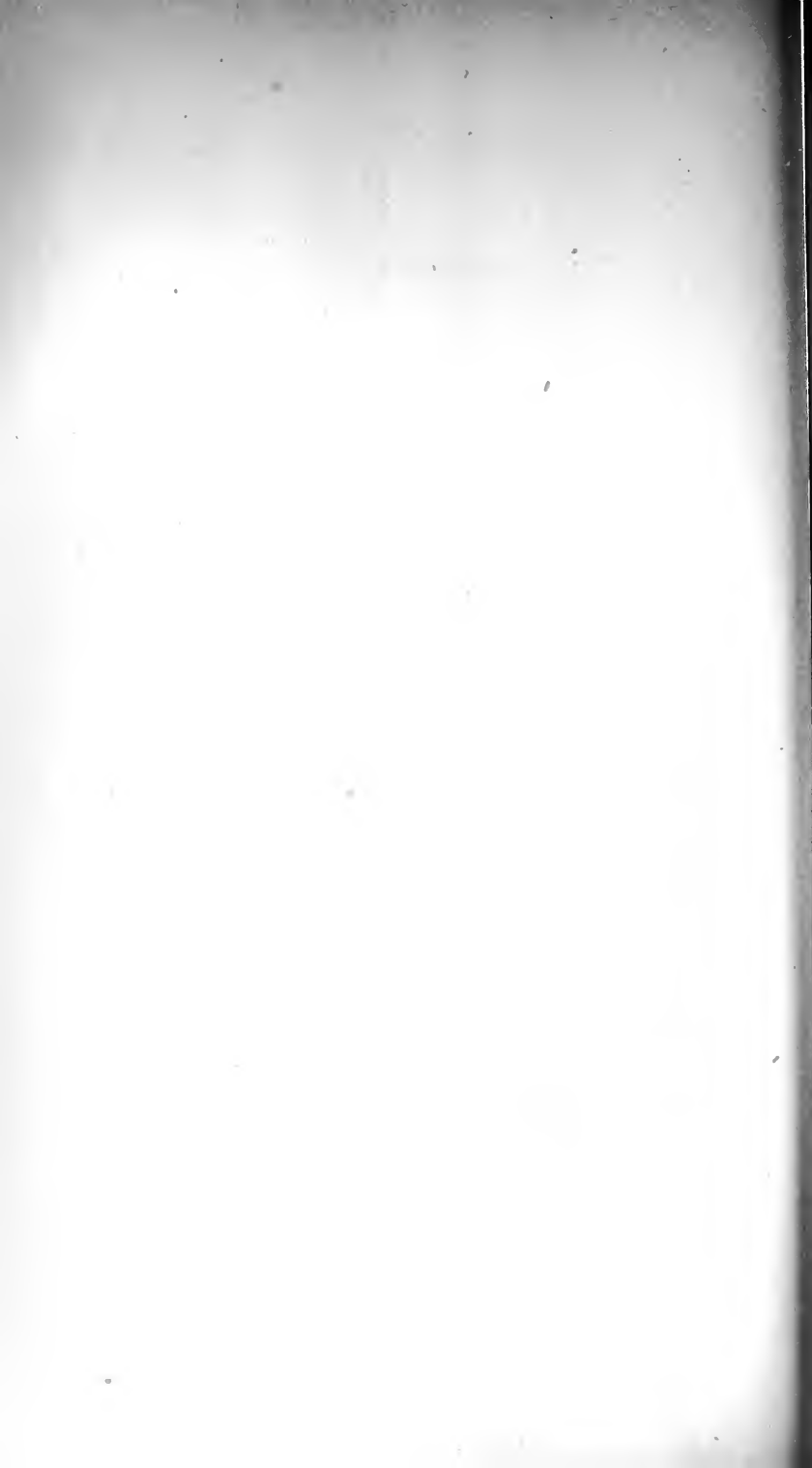
*sublevaturus sim*] 'help' (sc. with money): understand *sublevarit* after me.

8. *operae*] 'he will save me much trouble.'

*hypomnematis*] 'lecture-notes': the word is generally written in Greek. See Lidd. and Scott for examples of this use. Cicero uses it sometimes in the sense of a 'memoir,' Att. ii. 1. 2 (27); xvi. 14. 4 (805); sometimes of a 'memorandum,' 756. For the dative and ablative in *-atis* of such Greek neuter nouns with stems in *-at*, cp. Roby, § 492.

*Anterum*] The slave who brought this letter.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.





## ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

EP. 545 (ATT. XII. 13).

1. sed litteris] *sed etsi* (et F; si I) *litteris . . . essem, ardor* Wes.
- idem]  $\Sigma$  L (marg.) Crat.; om.  $\Delta$ .
- repugnante tamen] nos; *tamen repugnante* codd. *tamen non repugnante* Ascensius; *etiam repugnante* Reid.

EP. 546 (ATT. XII. 14).

3. defuisse tu testis] *defuisset ut testis* M<sup>1</sup>.
- omniaque nitor] Zl v. c. et L (marg.) EOR; *ad omniaque nitor* (sed *ad* linea subducta est) M; *omniaque vi enitor* Wes.; *omniaque <facio atque> nitor* Lehmann; *a dolore atque enitor* coni. Boot.
- vultum] *vulnus* Rom.
- habebat] *habebam* coni. Müller.
- id] add L (marg.).
4. adiuvarent] *quod me adiuvaret* Ascensius; *quo me adiuvarent* Lamb.
- vellem] C (= Crat. marg.); *velle* M.
- adiuvaret] *adiure* M.
- veta: satis est me maerere] Zl, L (marg.): *vetabat is est merere*  $\Sigma\Delta$ .

EP. 547 (ATT. XII. 15).

- me] om. M<sup>1</sup>.
- adhuc] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

EP. 548 (ATT. XII. 16).

- discessissem] Bosius et codd. aliquot; *lecessissem* ORM.
- nisi] ORP; si M.
- a te erit] M; *aderit* C.
- probabatur] Crat. L (marg.) Zb; *pro-*  
*atur*  $\Sigma\Delta$ .
- nihil adhuc]  $\Sigma$  Crat.; *adhuc nihil*  $\Delta$ .
- aptius] codd. praeter M<sup>1</sup> qui habet  
*reius: prius* Vict., sed vide Comm.:  
*potius* Otto; *optatius* Kahnt.

EP. 549 (ATT. XII. 18).

1. ad te admonendum] Madvig; *a te amonendo* M.
- cuicuiusmodi] v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *cui-*  
*modi* C; *cuiusmodi* M.
- potuerit] M; *poterit* vulg.
- monimentorum . . . sumptorum]  
*monumentorum, ornabo omnium ingenis*  
*scriptorum* Palmer.
- sumptorum]  $\Sigma$  Rom.; *scriptorum*  $\Delta$ .
- quam, quod] *nam quod* M<sup>1</sup>.
3. pollicetur] *polliceretur* M.
- quod] *quo* M.

EP. 550 (ATT. XII. 17).

- a Laterense] Or. vide Neue-Wagener<sup>3</sup>
- ii. 59, 60; *alterensi* M.
- enim ante] *ante enim* M.
- feri] *eteri* M: *videri* alii.
- quid ad me?] *quid id ad me?* Wes.,  
sed vide Comm.
- profectionem] *-one* M.

EP. 551 (ATT. XII. 18a).

1. tamen] om. M<sup>1</sup>.
  - praedes] *pedes* M.
  2. quaesituros] *haesituros* coni. Orelli.
  - quid esset]  $\Sigma\Delta$ ; *quis esset* C. v. c.
  - advocavi] Fort. *advocatos advocavi*.
- Vide Comm.
- quia] *qua* M.
- Publilium] Crat.; *Publium* M.

EP. 552 (ATT. XII. 19).

1. Circeis] Rom.; *certis* M.
- quae] Orelli; *que* M<sup>1</sup>; *qui* M<sup>2</sup>.
- parare] *pavere* M<sup>1</sup>.
2. De sponsu] Bosius; *responsum* M;  
*De sponsione* Schmidt.

et tamen] *etiam* Schmidt.  
 Balbus quoque] Crat.; *quoque Balbus*  
 M.  
 3. incipito] Man.; *incipio* M.

EP. 553 (ATT. XII. 20).

1. pridie] Fort. *pridie* <Idus>, itemque  
 infra.  
 quam quod] *quam quom* Gronovius,  
 fort. recte.  
 2. ad eas quas] *ad eas ad quas* M.  
 Rutilia] *aut illi* a M<sup>1</sup>.  
 an] a M<sup>1</sup>.

EP. 554 (ATT. XIII. 6, §§ 1-3).

1. e] om. codd.  
 2. coheredibus] <de> ante *coheredibus*  
 add. Wes.; *cum heredibus* Zl.  
 Herennianis] *Brinnianis* con. Orelli.  
 de puero] *debet puero* Boot; *puero* Or.  
 convenisti] *convenisti, fecisti* vett.,  
 haud bene.  
 3. poscis] *possis* M.  
 oportere] *delere vult* Lamb.

EP. 555 (FAM. IV. 5).

SERVIVS] M; *servilius* RG (ex *ser-*  
*violus*).

1. sane quam] M; *sane* GR.  
 miserum] Vict.; *mirum* codd.  
 3. An] codd.; *At* Man.  
 cedo] Tyrrell; *credo* MR; om. G;  
*Cicero* M.

gereret] codd. vide Comm.; *ageret*  
 Crat.; *degeret* Kayser.

liberos] *liberos filios* G.  
 uti] codd.; *usuri* Guilelmus, fort.  
 recte; *usi* Martyni-Laguna; *uterentur*  
 Ern. Vide Comm.

est] Wes.; *sit* codd.

4. Attulit] *attulerit* Wes. Vide Comm.  
 Megaram] M; *megarem* GR (omissis—  
*an versus navigar*—); *Megara* Madv.

5. fuisse] *floruisse* con. antiqua.  
 perfunctam] *perfructam* Wölflin.  
 imitare] *imitari* vett. Müller. Vide  
 Comm.

6. amor] M; *sensus* G; *amor sensus* R.  
 apisci] M; *adipisci* GR.  
 tranquillioem] *tranquilliore* alii.

EP. 556 (ATT. XII. 12).

1. sed vereor ne minorem *τιμὴν*]  $\Sigma$  v. c.  
 Crat. Ant. F.; om.  $\Delta$  Schmidt.

*ἐκτόπισμός*] Lamb.; EKTONIMOC M;  
*ἐκτόπισμος* Z.

tamen] *iam* con. Wes.

2. Epicuro] *Epicureo* con. Orelli.

ea] *eas* Wes.

scribam]  $\Sigma$  Crat.; *perscribam* M.

quid sive nil habes] C.; om. M.

EP. 557 (ATT. XII. 21).

1. etiam Silani] Boot; *etiam* ante  
 M'. *Glabrionis* dant codd.

quod] add. Vict.

Quis . . . inimicus] *Quid enim ieiunius*  
*dixerit inimicus*? Cobet.

a librario] Koch Wes.; *rario* codd.;  
*Salvio* Hofmann coll. 646. 3; 772. 6.  
 Vide Att. ix. 7. 1 (362).

2. aliquid] Crat. L (marg.) Zb; om.  
 $\Sigma\Delta$ .

recedit] codd. praeter s; *accedit* s  
 Klotz; *redit* vel *redierit* Boot. Vide  
 Comm.: cf. 579. 1.

4. Eros] Vict.; *fors* codd.

5. foro] codd. praeter EM<sup>2</sup>S qui dant  
*cum foro*; sed vide 730. 1.

aequo animo]  $\Delta$ ; *animo aequo*  $\Sigma$  Crat.  
 ordo prior plerumque apud Cic.

homines a me]  $\Delta$ ; *a me homines*  $\Sigma$ .  
 ut Romae . . . concedere] I. Crat.

Lamb.; om. codd.

aut quadamtenus] Lamb.; *aut quate-*  
*nus* codd.; *aliquatenus* Andresen.

EP. 558 (ATT. XII. 22).

3. te] Zb Crat.; om. codd. ut saepis-  
 sime. Vide Müllerum ad p. 8. 19 editio-  
 nis suae.

suis et is] Wes.; *et iis* codd.; *et meis*  
 Schmidt; *et [iis]* Btr.

et cur velim] add. Crat. L (marg.)  
 v. c. Zb; om.  $\Sigma\Delta$ .

EP. 559 (ATT. XII. 23).

1. ut de foro] *et de foro* Lamb. Reid  
 fort. recte.

solitudinem]  $\Sigma\Delta$ ; *solitudines* v. c. Crat.  
 codd. Bosii. Vide Comm.

praeter te] Man.; *praeter me* M.

ne] *ut ne* con. Wes.

illa] *alia* Boot.

2. non maxima] del. non Corradus.

iaceam] Vict.; *taceam* M v. c.

Athenisque] *Athenis, qui* Rom. vulg.  
 te] v. c. L (marg.) Zb; om. codd.

invenire] *inveniri* Man. propter *te*  
 omisum.

3. Gamala] C v. c. Zb; *magala* Δ; *magalia* RP.

conficietur] Pius; *conficeretur* codd.  
quam satis] ORPZbC; *satis* (om.  
*quam*) Δ.

Nec mihi . . . opus est] Vide Comm.  
Scribet] Rom; *scribit* M.  
et tu] I; *et cui* M.

## EP. 560 (ATT. XII. 24).

1. Athenis] *Athenas* coni. Reid, fort.  
recte: cf. 748. 4.

Publilius] Bosius; *Publius* M.  
2. postea] ≠ Crat.; *post* M.  
et ei] Man.; *id ei* M.

## EP. 561 (ATT. XII. 25).

1. vel usuram] om. *vel* Kayser; *velim*  
*usuram* Schmidt.

cum] M; *ab* Pius vulg. Res dubia.  
alicunde] *aliunde* I.  
2. hos] L (marg.); om. codd.  
comparati] Man.; *comparata* M.

## EP. 562 (ATT. XII. 26).

1. voluntate] *voluptate* M.  
2. De Nicia . . . grata est] Hunc  
locum omisiss *Quod . . . desidero et Velim*  
. . . non habet Suet. De Gramm. c. 14.  
molestus esse] I et Suet.; om. *esse* M.  
possit] *possem* vel *possum* vel *possim*  
Suetonii codices.

## EP. 563 (ATT. XII. 27).

1. Cottae] CZb; *cocte* ORP: *certe* Δ.  
te nosse] Zb v. c. et L (marg.); *te*  
*non se* M.  
nisi] Wes.; *nihil* codd.  
Cottae] Müller; *cotta* vel *cocta* codd.  
2. quod . . . scribes] *quod scribas, si*  
*quid inveneris, scribes* Wes. fort. recte.

## EP. 564 (ATT. XII. 28).

1. eius] Lamb.; *tuis* M.  
nescio] *scio* M.  
magni] om. M.  
2. me ad meam] v. c. L (marg.);  
codices Bosii; *in eam* M<sup>1</sup>; *meam* M<sup>2</sup>.  
lugere] C v. c. Zl; *legere* M<sup>1</sup>; *regere*  
M<sup>2</sup>.

mitius] Bosius; *intus* M<sup>1</sup>Zb v. c.;  
*inter* M<sup>2</sup>; *inventus* alii.

3. ita solvi] nos; *ei solvi* codd.; *eis*  
*solvi* v. c.; *sibi solvi* L (marg.) Ascensius;  
*pro eis solvi* coni. Lamb. Qu. *dissolvi*.

Publilius] Bosius; *Publius* M, cf.  
560. 1.

Aledium dicere] vulg.; *a te diu in-*  
*ducere* M.

## EP. 565 (ATT. XII. 29).

tu vel] Klotz; *eum vel* M; *vel* vulg.

2. re quid] fort. *re <requirō> quid* vel  
simile.

communices] Vide Comm.  
sintne] Crat. Zb v. c. et L (marg.);  
*sin* M; *sint* O. Vide Comm.; *si sunt*  
coni. Lamb. Fort. *sin sint*.

quoad possunt adducito] *quoad possint*  
*adduci* Ern. ut *ab communices* verba pen-  
deant.

## EP. 566 (ATT. XII. 33).

1. ut heri] *veteri* M.

## EP. 567 (ATT. XII. 30).

1. quod] Wes.; *quid* codd.

de eo] del. Ern. Btr.

2. vide] v. c. Zb; *quidem* M.

## EP. 568 (ATT. XII. 31, § 3, ET 32).

1. suam cum Publilio loqueretur]  
codd.; *suam, ut cum Publilio loquerer*  
Schmidt; *suam, cum Publilio videretur*  
Klotz; *suam, quae cum Publilio loqueretur*  
Reid; (*quasi cum Publilio loqueretur*)  
Boot. Vide Comm.

mi etiam gravius esse] Orelli; *me*  
*etiam gravius esse* M; *me etiam gravius*  
*esse adfectum* I vulg.

esse ipsius] v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *ipsius*  
*esse* O; *illius esse* M.

una] *ieiuna* Schmidt, ingeniose.  
avolem] add. Madvig (vel alio, sc.  
*sim*). Vide Comm.

2. quibus . . . futurus erat] Trans-  
ponere haec verba ut sequantur *Aven-*  
*tini* vult Madvig.

sint . . . solvant] Lamb.: *sit . . .*  
*solvat* codd.

opus est] vulg.; *opus sit* M; *opus*  
*erit* Wes.

via] Pius; *illa* M<sup>1</sup>; *villa* M<sup>2</sup>.

opus erit] Wes.: *opus erat* M.

animadvertis] *animadvertes* Wes.

## EP. 569 (ATT. XII. 31).

1. aliud] *illud* vel *aliquid* con. Wes.  
De toto loco nondum explicato vide  
Comm.

2. et] add. Man.  
silvam] *Silianam* Wes.  
utrivis] v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *utrius* M.  
explicare vel repraesentatione] secl.  
Schmidt; vel ordinem verborum ita mutat  
ut *vel explicarem repraesentatione* legat.  
Locum ita refingit Albrecht *Si enim*  
*Faberianum intenderem explicare vel repre-*  
*sentatione.*

at tu] aut M v. c.  
ita servio] C; om. *ita* M<sup>2</sup>; *serviat* M<sup>1</sup>.  
Fort. *servio ita.*

## EP. 570 (ATT. XII. 34 ET 35, § 1).

1. intellegam] *intellegebam* Or. vel  
*intellego* Wes. fort. recte; sed coniunc-  
tivus per attractionem verbi *scribas* ex-  
plicari potest.

certum diem] *certitudinem* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. in] add. vett.

et] add. Reid.

35. 1. vel illo] *vello* M<sup>1</sup>.  
de tota re] *deiotare* M.

## EP. 571 (FAM. XIII. 15).

1. Em] M; om. HD.  
de illis] om. HD; *de tuis* Wes.  
solitus est] *soliti sunt* vett.  
*ὤς . . . νεφελη*] HD; *ὤς φελη* M.  
2. consolantur] Corradus; *-atur* codd.  
etiam nunc] *etiam num* M; *etiam unum*  
H, sed forma *etiamnum* vix Ciceronis est;  
*et inanum* (al. *inanissimum*) marg. m. 2 D.  
Vide Comm. et cf. 607. 1.  
me minus] HD; *mimimus* M; *minus*  
Ern.

## EP. 572 (FAM. V. 13).

1. sapientiae autumo] GR Streicher;  
*sapientia est atuo* M; *sapientiae statuo*  
vulg.

3. videre] *videris* Wes. Vide Comm.  
585. 1.

reip] M; *de rep.* GR.

4. omnium] Graevius; *omnibus* codd.;  
*omni* Streicher. Vide Comm.

postulatum] *postulandum* Ern.; cf.

561. 2.

5. ipso] *ipsi* Wes.  
de me ipso aliquid] MR; *aliquid de*  
*me ipso* G.

levare] *levari* Martyni-Lag.  
abducam] vulg.; *adducam* codd.

## EP. 573 (FAM. VI. 21).

TORANIO] *taranio* M; *tiranio* R;  
*tyranio* G.

1. quo] GR; *eo* M.

amissa] edd.; *missa* codd.

voluisse] *noluisse* Crat. marg.

2. recordare] *recondere* Lamb.: cp.  
572. 3.

sollicitudines] M; *sollicitudinas* G;  
*solitudines* R.

esse] *est* codd.

## EP. 574 (FAM. IV. 6).

1. lectis] *lectis tuis* ed. Neap.

fuerunt] Crat.; *fuerint* codd.

Paullus] M; *paulus* GR.

Gallus] GR; *galus* M. Vide Comm.

luctum] GR; *lum* M.

2. cogeremque] GR: *cogerem* M.

confugerem] R; *confugirem* M; *fuge-*  
*rem* G.

de re] GR; *ad* (corr. in *ax*) *re* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*a* (ex *ax*) *re* M (man. rec.); *e re* Lamb.;  
del. Wes.

3. Maius . . . ratio] GR; *maior mihi*  
*vatio mihi adferre* M; *maior mihi levatio*  
*adferri* Vict.

a] GR<sup>2</sup>; *ad* R<sup>1</sup>; om. M.

## EP. 575 (FAM. VI. 2).

1. solebam] *soleam* G.

proficiscantur] Crat.; *proficiscatur*  
MR; *proficiscar* G.

2. recipis] Egnatius; *recepis* codd;  
*recipieris* Kayser.

adiuvisti] GR; *adiuisti* M; *adivisti*  
alii.

viro] GR; *viri* M.

accidat] MR; *-it* G.

3. te esse] om. *esse* G.

hactenus] *actenus* codd.

aut quo] om. *quo* G.

## EP. 576 (FAM. IX. 11).

1. nam] *nam me* Kayser; sed vide  
Lebreton, p. 161 fin.

possim] *possum* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. Quod ut] *ut* om. H.  
sum] om. M.

## EP. 577 (ATT. XII. 35. 2).

2. a te] v. c. L (marg.) Zb; om. ΣΔ.  
moveret] *me moveret* Wes.; sed cf.  
Att. ix. 5. 2 (359), ubi errore nos olim *me*  
addidimus cum Wesenbergio.  
collegi] *collegio* M<sup>1</sup>; *colligi* M<sup>2</sup>.

## EP. 578 (ATT. XII. 36).

1. erui] M<sup>2</sup>; *eri* M<sup>1</sup>; *eripi* Ruhnken;  
*exui* vel *dissuaderi* Lamb.; *suaderi* v. c.  
maxime] Fort. <quam> maxime.  
Nam] non vett.  
te] *tecum* Corradus; sed *te ex habeo*  
pendere potest.  
2. dixit] L (marg.); *dixi* M.

## EP. 579 (ATT. XII. 37, §§ 1-3).

accepi] CZ; *recepi* M; cp. 557. 2.  
liberto] Lamb.; l. MZ.  
quae . . . die] in codd. post *habere*  
supra; transposuit Schmidt; secl. Btr.  
quae] *tue hae* (vel *tue*) M<sup>1</sup>; *hae* Zl  
Schiche qui ordinem librorum conservat.  
decimo] *de Cumano* Schiche.  
2. qui] add. vett.; si Rom.  
urbis] Fr. Schmidt, vide Comm.; ubi  
sis codd., Reid; *utilis* con. Boot.  
in villa] Man., cf. 590. 2; *in villam*  
M; *ad villam* con. Müller.  
ut mi stomachere] nos; *uti stomachere*  
v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *ut in istomachere* M  
(cp. 748. 2).  
erit, non mea] M; *non erit, mea*  
Graevius. Vide Comm.  
3. tam] add. nos; *tua* add. L (marg.).  
Vide Comm.  
tua quam] *tuaque* Lamb.; *tua tuaque*  
codices Bosii teste Orellio.

## EP. 580 (ATT. XII. 37, § 4).

4. XIII] XVII con. Schmidt.  
dubia] *dubia re* Man.  
Scribas] codd.; *scribes* Or. Vide  
Comm.  
levaris] C; om. M.  
etiam] *etiam atque etiam* Koch, Wes.

## EP. 581 (ATT. XII. 38, §§ 1-2).

2. aegrimoniae locus] *agrimoniae co-*  
*cus* M.

## EP. 582 (ATT. XII. 38, §§ 3-5).

3. sint] *sunt* Wes.  
quae maxime liberalis sit] cum Ursino  
Klotz; *quae maxime liberalissima* cum M  
Boot; *maxime, quae est liberalissima* Lamb.,  
Schmidt; *maxima et liberalissima* Reid.  
4. possim] *possum* Wes.  
adlevandum] Orelli; *adiuvandum* M.  
volo] add. I; om. M; *velim* Müller.  
Publicianus] CZb; *publicanus* M.  
5. Κύρος δ' ε'] Bosius; *κυρσας* M v. c.  
Vide Comm.

## EP. 583 (ATT. XII. 39).

1. ad quam] Lamb.; *adque* M; *ad*  
*quae* I Wes.  
epistula] <haec> *epistula* I Wes.  
nimium] *nimirum* Lamb.  
otium tuum spectro] Klotz, Boot;  
*otium exspecto* M; *otio tuum spectro* Man.  
tamen] post *diebus* transposuit Man.  
2. tabellarii] secl. Boot.  
quod] Crat.; *quid* M.  
Id] add. Crat.

## EP. 584 (ATT. XII. 40).

1. quod quoc] *quod quoque* v. c.  
2. libros πρὸς] Muecke; ΤΙΒΡΟΣ M;  
ΤΙ πρὸς Wes.; πρὸς Vict. vulg.  
offenderet] *offenderetur* Rom., male.  
hortis] M; *horto* C v. c. Zb.  
3. sim in iis meis] Btr.; *sumus in*  
*eis* M<sup>1</sup>; *sim in his meis* M<sup>2</sup>.  
condiebam] corr. ex *condiebamur* M;  
*condiebamur* Klotz.  
4. Scapulanis] *scapulis* M.  
est in eo] *extimesco* Madvig; *aestimo*  
Reid; *est solvendo* Shuckburgh. Fort.  
*ego timeo*.  
Faberiana modo res] *faberia num*  
*odores* M.  
5. atque] nos sicut Reid Acad. ii.  
34; *ac* M; *aliqui* Müller. Vide Comm.

## EP. 585 (FAM. v. 14).

1. viderem] *vidi* GR.  
discesseram] GR; *discesserat* M; *de-*  
*cesserat* (sc. Tullia) Orelli; *discesseras*  
vett.; *discesseramus* Streicher. Vide  
Comm.  
item] *idem* Wes.  
ipsum] *te ipsum* vett.  
2. indicas] GR; *hinc dicas seras* M;  
*hinc discesseras* ed. Neap; *inclinatus eras*  
Streicher.

3. possimus] MR; possumus G.  
id est] add. Reid, in spatio quinque  
litterarum; atque add. Wes.  
Cum] Nunc Martyni-Lag. Vide Comm.  
conturbant] perturbant GR.

EP. 586 (ATT. XII. 42, §§ 1-3).

ut] add. Müller; si add. Madvig;  
nihil aliud scire me, <nisi> novi Gronovius.  
Scripsisti] Man.; scripsi M.; scripti  
coni. Btr.  
3. Id.] add. L (marg.).

EP. 587 (FAM. V. 15).

2. Tecum vivere possem equidem  
et] codd.; Tecum vivere posse equidem  
Lamb.; Tecum vivere <si> possem, equi-  
dem Madvig.  
maxime] permaxime GR.  
quaeso, deest] Rost; quas id est M;  
quasi est GR.  
coniunctionis] coniunctioni Crat.  
4. tu me] GR; tuae M; tu me ab ea  
Wes.; tu ea me alii. Vide Comm.  
delectare] vett.; delectari codd.

EP. 588 (ATT. XII. 41).

1. me] add. vett.: cp. § 4 et adnota-  
tionem.  
ego] Vict.; lego M.  
3. tertium] Zl; terentium M.  
certo] vett.; certe M.  
adsentiar] adsentior Wes.  
4. facies me] C; facies (om. me) M;  
cf. § 1. Sed M saepissime me omisit:  
cf. Müllerum ad Epp. ad Att., p. 11.  
11 editionis suae.

EP. 589 (ATT. XII. 42, § 3 ET 43).

[43]. 1. utrum] Boot; utrumque M.  
scribis] Man.; scies M.  
recte] veri Man.; vere (om. scies ut  
ex superioribus repetitum) Madvig; certe  
Lamb.  
mihi] Zl; om. M.  
tamen id est] Wes.; cumidesse M;  
tum id est Lamb.; quam id sit Madvig;  
quid id esse Lattmann.  
perinde ut] perinde ut est Madvig.  
2. Sed si]  $\Sigma$  Crat. v. c.; si (om. Sed)  
 $\Delta$ .

EP. 590 (ATT. XII. 44 ET 45, § 1).

2. Quid enim?] Fort. <Quid dicam  
Tusculanum?> Quid enim? Vide Comm.  
Tusculano] -anum M.  
3. ratione] recte Wes.  
Lanuvi] Corradus; Iami (= Lanui) M;  
Lanuuium Rom.  
4. nec Carteia] Man.; nec cartiui  
M; nec cartani Zl; negat artius coni.  
Boot.  
Patavinum missarum] vett.; putavi  
num inmissarum M; Patavonium (His-  
paniae oppidum) missarum Or.  
Fulviniaster] v. c. vett.; fulvi master  
M; Fulviaster Rom.; φιλοτίμων μαστήρ  
coni. Reid, fort. recte; fulminaster  
Schmidt. Vide Comm.

EP. 591 (ATT. XIII. 26).

1. probo] probe Or.  
proximum] C; maximum M.  
2. Asturae] adsture M.  
Lanuvio] Ianio M (cf. 590. 3) et abla-  
tivum dant ceteri codd. ut videtur;  
Lanuuium Malaspina Lamb.  
quin] M; qui Wes.; die, quin vett.

EP. 592 (ATT. XII. 46 ET 47. 1).

1. occultius] Fr. Schmidt; octius M;  
cp. infra exto pro exculito; ocus Rom.;  
eocius coni. Tyrrell; modestius v. c.;  
mediocrius alii.  
exculito] Vict.; exto M<sup>1</sup>; ex toto coni.  
Palmer.  
in] add. Wes.  
[47]. 1. poterunt] Man.; potuerunt  
M.

EP. 593 (ATT. XII. 47, §§ 1, 2).

1. audere, re] Crat.; audirer M<sup>1</sup>;  
audires M<sup>2</sup>.  
2. concedam] concedo; in Wes.

EP. 594 (ATT. XII. 47, § 3, ET 48 INIT.).

arbitrabar] arbitrabor M.  
exspectamus] exspectabamus Otto coll.  
Ep. 600. Utrumque bonum.

EP. 595 (ATT. XII. 45, §§ 2, 3).

2. ceteroqui] M; cetera quidem Rom. I.  
Nec] Nunc Corradus.

haec . . . angunt] Lucilio attribuit Ellis.

3. Quirini . . . Salutis] Quirino . . .  
Saluti Zb v. c.

Hirtium] Hirtii librum Wes.

EP. 596 (ATT. XII. 50).

gratus] Vict.; *gratius* M<sup>1</sup>; *gravius* M<sup>2</sup>.

Consilium] M; *consultum* Müller;  
consili Corradus; *certum* (vel *constitutum*)  
*consilium* alii.

EP. 597 (ATT. XII. 48 FIN. ET 49).

[48. totus . . . quod] *otiosus* . . .  
*quom* coni. Müller. Pro *quo* coni. L  
(marg.) *quotus*.

[49. puto] *subito* Klotz.

2. Ciceronem] M Crat.; *Caesarem* I  
Wes. valde probabiliter.

EP. 598 (ATT. XII. 51).

1. si] *si tu* Ern.

unus] *unus una* Goligher.

Verum] *utrum* M.

ut hoc idem] Bosius: *hodie* MI v. c.

ut tempora] *ut sunt tempora* Moser,  
Wes.

scis ita] Zb I L (marg.); *si* M; *scito*  
*ita* M<sup>2</sup> Rom.

μῆλῶσῃ] C; ΜΗΟCH M; γνῶσῃ alii;  
μῆν' ὅσῃ Bosius.

EP. 599 (ATT. XII. 52).

1. xxv] Bosius, coll. Att. xvi. 15. 5  
(807), vide Comm; xx. codd.

3. De . . . conscribis] Vide Comm.

es] *est* M (sed superscriptum 'vel *es*');  
*esto* coni. Boot.

talia conscribis] *alia que scribis* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*talia ren cum scribis* (sed *cum* deletum)  
M<sup>2</sup>.

tantum] C; *tamen* M.

EP. 600 (ATT. XII. 53).

fortasse alterae] *fortasse-alterae* no-  
*tasse-altere* M.

posmeridianae] codd.; *postmeridianae*  
vulg Vide Comm.

EP. 601 (ATT. XIII. 1).

1. quam] del. Man. Lamb.

2. quod si] C v. c. L (marg.) codices  
Bosii; om. ΣΔ.

efficis] *et sicunde* Schmidt (om. *quod*  
*si*).

aptius] *acrius* Vict.

3. totum in hunc ipsum] Ita codd., sed  
*vix recte; totum in hunc* (sc. *transtuli*)  
<et> *ipsum* Lamb.; *tanti hunc* (sc. *facio*)  
*et ipsum* Reid; *tanti me hic nunc* (sc.  
*facit*), *et ipsum* coni. Boot; Fort. *tantum*  
*hunc ipsum*. Vide Comm.

EP. 602 (ATT. XIII. 2, § 1).

exuimus] *exsuimus* M.

EP. 603 (ATT. XIII. 27).

1. De epistula] O Crat. v. c. L (marg.)  
Zb; *epistulam* RPΔ.

inofficiosi] *officiosi* M.

retinuerunt] I; *reticuerunt* M.

Valde] *Non valde* Schiche.

nec mihi] Malaspina ex Ant. F; *ne*  
*cum* M.

in cognatum] [*in* *cognatum* Wes.

2. in] add. L (marg.) codices Bosii.

Eum] *Erotem* Schütz.

EP. 604 (ATT. XIII. 28 ET 29, § 1).

3. Quid? tu] *Quid tum?* coni. L  
(marg.).

Aristoteli] M<sup>1</sup> (Neue-Wag. i<sup>3</sup> 510),  
L (marg.) v. c.; *Aristotelis* M<sup>2</sup>.

quom] Wes.; *quod* M.

quem] Rom. I; *quam* M.

[29. I]. Thalnam] vulg. *Talnam* CM  
cf. Att. i. 16. 6 (22).

probatum] Malaspina; *probatam* M.

EP. 605 (ATT. XIII. 29, §§ 2, 3, ET 30 § 1).

2. ex] add. Orelli.

pauca mutata: balnearia] Crat.; *paucam*  
*ut ad balnearia* M.

addenda est] Ascensius; *addenda*  
*sunt* M.

emptor] *empturus* vel *emptor timendus*  
coni. L (marg.).

3. sperare] Vict.; *si rare* M; *spirare*  
C.

tam] Boot: *nam* M.

confidam] Lamb.; *comidam* M; *con-*  
*cidam* Rom.; *concludam* I.

futuram] <puto> *futuram* Wes. Btr.

30. 1. Q.] add. Lehmann.

moveris] *movearis* coni. Wes. Vide  
Comm.

nisi semissem] nos; *missem* M;  
ante *missem* supplet <nisi tuae simillima  
esset> vel simile Müller.

puto] *puta* Gronovius.

EP. 606 (ATT. XIII. 2, §§ 1, 2).

et tamen] *examina* Schmidt. Vide  
Comm.

EP. 607 (ATT. XIII. 31).

1. te] add. Rom.

non] add. vett.

etiam nunc] Wes.; *etiam dum* M;  
*etiamnum* (vel *et iam nunc*) coni. Or.:  
cf. ad 571. 2.

3. Atque] *atqui* Wes.; sed vide  
Comm.

suadebam] *sua debebam* M<sup>1</sup>; *semper*  
*suadebam* I.

utrum] *sin, utrum* Bosius, Wes.

facere posse] Man.; *facere posset* M;  
*utrum liberet faceret*; *posse* Lamb.

gulam] *gulam* Q. (sc. Quinti filii)  
Schütz.

EP. 608 (ATT. XIII. 30, §§ 2, 3).

2. biduum] *biduo* Wes.

A] add. vett.

Te] add. vett.

perendie. Mi] Zb; *perendiem* M.

3. erue] Btr. Wes.; *erues* Zb; *eruer*  
M.

aut ubi visum] M, vide Comm.; *aut*  
*ubivis habitum* Schmidt; *aut ubi erit*  
*mihi visum* Wes.; (*Olympicum*) *aut Lesbi-*  
*cum* coni. Koch.; *aut alicubi institutum*  
coni. Müller.

EP. 609 (ATT. XIII. 2, § 3, ET 3, § 1).

ergo]  $\Sigma$  Crat.; om.  $\Delta$ .

cum] *tum* M.

abesse] *abesse se* Ern. Post *iure* add.  
*se* L (marg.).

EP. 610 (ATT. XIII. 32).

3. Iussi]  $\Sigma\Delta$ ; *mihi* Zb v. c. fort.  
recte.

litteras] M, vide Comm.; *διφθέρας*  
Rinkes.

aliae. Quod] nos; *alia*. Et M.

de] add. vett.

intellexisti] vulg.; *intellexi* M; *in-*  
*tellexti* Pius.

Rupilio coss. Annis] Rom.; *Rupilian*  
M.

potuisset] *non potuisset* Ursinus.

quaestor] *praetor* Pighius, fort. recte.  
Vide Comm.

esset] Ursinus; *est* M.

magistratus] *mage* M.

nesciebam] Muretus; *sciebam* M.

cos. cum L.] Wes.; *cum* M.

EP. 611 (ATT. XIII. 3, §§ 1, 2).

1. ad me] *quod ad me* Crat.; sed vide  
Comm.

qui, si ipse] Z v. c. L (marg.) RP;  
*Quid? ipse*  $\Delta$ .

nihil gererem] Z v. c. L (marg.)  $\Sigma$ ;  
om.  $\Delta$ .

quod] *quo* v. c. Btr.

est. Praes] Crat.; *espraes* M.

aliquando] *quidem aliquando* Z, ut  
videtur.

esses et] Bosius; *es et* Crat. Zl.

duorum] *eorum* Reid; *duorum horum*  
Or. Vide Comm.

EP. 612 (ATT. XII. 5, § 2).

2. autem]  $\Sigma$ ; om.  $\Delta$ .

quod] Man.; *quid* M.

Avium] Bosius, coll. Att. xiii. 4. 2  
(614); *Aulum* M.

nosset] Lamb.; *noscem* M.

demonstraret] Lamb., Malasp.; *de-*  
*monstrarem* M.

videor] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

EP. 613 (FAM. IV. 12).

SAL. PLURIBUS VERBIS] M vulg.; om.  
GR; SAL. PLUR. Baiter.

1. nobis] R; *bonis* MG.

dominatur] *dominantur* Lamb.

faciendum . . . facere] codd.; *facien-*  
*dum, quoquo modo res se haberet, ut vos*  
*certiores facerem* Martyni - Laguna;  
*faciendum* del. Lamb.

M.] add. Orelli.

eumque diem ibi] MR (sed *cumque*  
R); *ibique eum diem* G.

cum ab eo digressus essem] vulg.; *ab*  
*eo digressus cum essem* GR; *ab eo digressus*



essem (om. cum) M; ab eo digressus sum Streicher.

Maleas] Man.; Maleam Lamb.; maias M; kal. Maias GR; sub Kalendas Streicher.

2. a P. Magio Cilone] apud maigio Cilone M; apud macium urbem cilonem G (sed urbem expunctum); apud magnum cilonem R.

familia] M; -arem GR; -ari Crat. sperare] sperari Btr.

ei mitterem. Itaque medicos] GR; om. M.

3. orbi] M; orbis GR.

EP. 614 (ATT. XIII. 4).

et quidem de Tuditano idem] Lehmann; et quidem M; equidem idem Moser; atque idem Orelli; De Tuditano idem (om. et quidem) Schmidt.  
quaestor] que M.

EP. 615 (ATT. XIII. 5).

1. sed] del. Reid.  
videlicet] Vide Comm.; videlicet <erravi> Wes.  
etenim εὐλογον] eum legatum Graevius.  
et urge] sed urge L (marg.) v. c., Wes.  
Mustela] Vict.; multis M.

EP. 616 (ATT. XIII. 32, §§ 1-3).

Neglegentiam] Oneglegentiam Müller. qui] Wes.; quin M.

scribes] Lamb.; scribis M.  
confectum] confestim Bosius vulg.

2. H. in Capitolio] hodie in Capitolio Bosius, Schmidt. Vide Comm.

expostulet] Lamb.; postulet codd.  
tum] Tyrrell; cum codd.; quoque Or., Wes.

destinat, tum] Zl; destinatum M; destinatum <habet> Mal.

habet res] Zl Ant.; haberes M.

poterit] poteris Schmidt.

librum] librum περὶ ψυχῆς coni. Lamb.

exspecto] De Sp. (= Spurio) si cui Schmidt.

3. Mummio] add. Man.

tum] transponendum post quoniam coni. Lamb.

quoniam] cum Wes.

aut quaestorem aut tribunum militum] Man.; ad quaestorem TR nilque M<sup>1</sup> (nil M<sup>2</sup>).

fuisse, idque potius credo. Tu de] Ern.; idque potius fuisse sed credo te de M; idque potius fuisse credo. Tu de vulg.

Antiocho] Antaeo coni. Reid, coll. 646 fin.

videlicet] Schmidt; vide etiam M; quae verba Boot retinet, sed ita transponit ut ante in praefectis stent; vide etiam atque etiam Or.

erue] Albrecht; ea de M; eadem Asc.; cadet ZO<sup>1</sup> L (marg.) v. c.; quadret Bosius; vide ne Madvig; saltem Gurliitt, Müller; quaere coni. Schmidt.

in praefectis an in contubernalibus] Bosius; in pref. (sic) aut in contuber (sic) M.

contubernalibus] contubernio Rom.; contuberone I.

EP. 617 (ATT. XIII. 6, § 4).

mortuus] add. Man. Vide Comm.  
facetis] vett.; facies vel facias vel factas codd.; fartas coni. Bos.

eos] Σ Ant. F; om. Δ.  
coniunctissimos] add. Crat. v. c. Bosius (ex codicibus); om. ΣΔ.

O] add. Lehmann; Operam tuam multum amo, qui Müller.

non multo] Σ Crat.; multo Δ.

EP. 618 (ATT. XIII. 8).

Plane nihil] plane facturum nichil M. paulo] paulo post heri (sed post heri deletis) M.

Staberi] vel Staleri M; Faberi vulg.

Nolanove] Ursinus; nolano M.

EP. 619 (ATT. XIII. 7. 1).

1. aliquid] Lamb.; nequid M v. c.; quid Btr. Schmidt.

quid] quod Ern. Wes.

nisi] vett.; si M.

si] I; om. M.

EP. 620 (ATT. XIII. 7. 2).

Iussi] CZl Σ; nisi M; misi s Crat.

EP. 621 (ATT. XII. 5, § 3).

3. proximis] Σ Zb; om. Δ.

L.] add. Beier.

Censorinone] Σ Zb Ant.; Censorino Δ.

Conturbabat] Wes.; *conturbat* C;  
*conturbo* M; *conturbor* v. c.  
 enim] *etiam* Orelli, fort. recte.  
 epitome Bruti Fanniana] secluserunt  
 edd., itemque *scripsi*. Sed vide Comm.  
 Schiche et Schmidt secluserunt in *Bruti*  
*epitoma Fannianorum scripsi*.  
 scripsi] *scriptum* Gronovius.

## EP. 622 (FAM. VI. 11).

mihi opus esse] M; *mihi operam eius*  
*opus esse* vel *mihi opera eius ut mihi opus*  
*esset* coni. Lehmann. Vide Comm.

esse] M; *esset* G; *eius* R.  
 2. tum esset] MG; *tam esset* R; *tamen*  
*esset* Lamb.

Sironem] MGR; *Syronem* dett. Wes.

## EP. 623 (ATT. XIII. 9).

1. Curtius] *culcius* M.  
 tamen] *tandem* Man.  
 Quintum] Vict.: *que* M.  
 dictare] *dicare* M.  
 scribere . . .] Post hoc verbum lacunam  
 posuit Lehmann; vide Comm.

Sed hactenus] *sed haec hactenus* edd.  
 plerique; sed cf. ad Att. v. 13. 1 (203).  
 humanissimeque . . . diligentissime;  
 quae]  $\Sigma$ I Crat.; *humanissime quae*  
 (ceteris omissis)  $\Delta$ .

2. constitui a] Man.; *constituta* M.  
 tu] *tu, cum* Lamb.; sed vide Comm.  
 ad quos dies] *quo die* coni. Reid.

## EP. 624 (ATT. XIII. 10).

1. me] *unum me* Wes.  
 esse] om. Moser.  
 domin] M<sup>1</sup>; *domine* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 3. egerit]  $\Sigma$ Z v. c. I Ant. F; om.  $\Delta$ .  
 aliquid] Crat. v. c. L (marg.) Zb;  
 om.  $\Sigma\Delta$ .

enim] *etiam* Or.; cf. 621. 3.  
 sponsor sum factus. Et] Crat. v. c.  
 L (marg.) Zb; *sponsorum factus et*  
 MEO<sup>1</sup>R; *sponsor factus et* O<sup>2</sup>s; *Sponsor*  
*Sunii factus est* coni. Bosius.

eum] CM; *enim* alii.  
 ut erat] *aut erat* M<sup>1</sup>; cf. Fam. xii. 20  
 (930) *Quod si, ut es, cessabis*.

constantius] *constans, affirmatius* vel  
 simile, Müller.

respondisse] Rom. I vulg.; *ppndisse*  
 (ut videtur) M; *perpendisse* Btr.; *re-*  
*prendisse* coni. Müller.

## EP. 625 (ATT. XIII. 11).

1. colere] M<sup>2</sup>; *colore* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 privabatur] *privabamur* Orelli.

## EP. 626 (ATT. XIII. 12).

1. tamen] *sane tamen* M.  
 2. vendidisti] *venditasti* Orelli.  
 3. processerit] *processerat* Müller,  
 propter *parabat*.

tu] v. c. L (marg.) codd. Bosii; om.  
 $\Sigma\Delta$ .

Antiochia] *'Αντιόχεια* Lamb.; cf.  
 631. 5.

Catulo et Lucullo] *Catulum et Lucullum*  
 Gronovius.

ita] M; *sic* C.

4. tuo S. Vettio coheredi] Bos. Zb;  
*tuos necliotom heredi* M.

Tu cum Pisone; Erotem] Wes., coll.  
 629 fin.; *Cum Pisone Erotem habes* vulg.

## EP. 627 (ATT. XIII. 13 ET 14, §§ 1, 2).

1. transtulique] Crat., Lamb. (fort.  
 ex Z); *transtuli* M.

de Academicis] *translata* in textum  
 esse ex margine suspicatur Reid.

2. si aliquid] Man.; *si aliud* qui CM  
 v. c.

14. [1.] noster . . . coheredes] Crat.,  
 I; om. codd.

placeret] *placet* I.  
 se et] Ursinus; *sed* I Crat.; *ait* (corr.  
 ex et] M. Locum ita dant Hofmann,  
 Btr., Boot, Schmidt *libertus coheredes ait*  
*et Sabinum*.

obire] M; *novare* C.

vel triduum] om. v. c.

2. egerit] Orelli; *erit* codd.

si quid erit]  $\Sigma$  Zb v. c.; om.  $\Delta$ .

## EP. 628 (ATT. XIII. 14, § 3 ET 15).

[15.] quod scriberem] Ern.; *quid*  
*scriberem* M et ita mox.

## EP. 629 (ATT. XIII. 16).

1. solitudinem]  $\Sigma\Delta$ ; *solitudines* Crat.  
 v. c. L (marg.) codices Bosii; cf. 559. 1.

Primo] C v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *modo*  
 $\Sigma\Delta$ .

2. hocne] *hocine* Wes.

## EP. 630 (ATT. XIII. 17 ET 18).

[17]. v. Kalend.] C, Zl, Zb; vi. (om. Kal) ORM.

non quo imperassem tuis: igitur nunc] con. Lamb. sed quo ex Crat. v. c. Zb; non imperassem (impetrassem O<sup>1</sup>RP<sup>s1</sup>) igitur aliquid tuis nunc M; novi; imperassem vellem igitur aliquid tuis. Nunc Schmidt et nos olim; novi. Imperassem igitur aliquid tuis. Nunc Müller. Vide Comm. et Corrigena.

ecquid] Lamb.; et quid M.

[18]. habeat] Lamb.; habet M.

conficiamus] vulg.; confiamus M.

nisi forte Brutum quem si non (ηλωτομει?) Bosius, qui sic hunc locum, ut ait 'ex Decurtato nostro' id est ex ingenio suo, integrum reposuit; om. M.

Plane] plene M.

## EP. 631 (ATT. XIII. 19).

2. et] v. c. Vict.; om. M.

3. constitueram] Pius; constituebam M.

scribis] add. vett.

posset] possit Kayser, Wes.

ut] add. vett.

4. in] add. Schütz.

Sic] M<sup>2</sup>; sit M<sup>1</sup>; sunt M<sup>3</sup>.

Antonius] <Scaevola> Antonius Wes.

Vide Comm.

ita sermo]  $\Sigma$  Crat.; sermo ita  $\Delta$ .

5. ut illi de iis somniasse] Crat. (sed is his pro iis); in utili demus omnia et M. easque partis] measque partis Bosius; eaeque sunt partes Reid. Locus incertus, de quo vide Comm.

Antiochia] cf. 626. 3; 'Αντιόχεια Kayser.

etiam] add. vett.

## EP. 632 (ATT. XIII. 21, §§ 4-7).

4. ante quam] add. Vict.

5. Quomodo] codd.; quoniam Lamb.; cum Bosius. Fort. Quodammodo. Müller con. <Sed nescio> quomodo antea.

describit a tuis] secl. Müller.

possum] possem v. c.

homo—a meis] Zl (sed is mis pro meis) v. c. Malaspina; humanus M.

ego] v. c. L (marg.) Crat.; es M.

est] sit M<sup>1</sup>.

7. hominem] nomen Schütz, Wes. de Scrofa . . . Accedit, si] de Scrofa, etiam quod proxime accidit. Si Wes.

## EP. 633 (FAM. IX. 22).

1. vel] tu Rutilius; alii Man.; Fort. <tu inverecundiam> vel.

loquendi] loquendi <odi> Lehmann.

atqui] M; atque HD.

Usurpat] HD; usurpato M.

ferei] M; feret HD; Phere Ribb; Pheraei Ern.

2. cur non suo potius] HD; cur suo potius M; del. Btr.

3. vocitatus] M; vocatus H; appellatus D.

Belle] Or.; bella codd.

4. At honesti] D Btr.; ad honesti MH; et honesti Wes. fort. recte.

colei Lanuvini] vett.; colii lanuini codd.

Quid?] Quin Müller.

suppedet] Btr.; suppendet MD; suspendet H: suppediit alii.

5. honorem] M; honor est HD.

## EP. 634 (ATT. XIII. 20).

1. scire sane]  $\Sigma$  v. c. L (marg.) Crat.; sane scire  $\Delta$ .

2. ad Ligarianam]  $\Sigma$  Zb v. c. L (marg.) Crat.; om.  $\Delta$ .

offendere] Ern.; defendere M.

4. Atque] Atqui Bosius.

eo] add. Wes.

in toto] in Torquato Müller: in Bruto Schmidt; in vita L (marg.); in totum con. Wes.

ei] mihi Wieland.

iudicia] <hominum> iudicia L (marg.).

perfectum] per se rectum con. Boot; rectum L (marg.).

et tamen] et famam Albrecht.

## EP. 635 (ATT. XIII. 22).

1. ἀσμεναίτατα] M<sup>1</sup>; ἀσμενέστατα M<sup>2</sup> (in marg.).

intexui] vulg.; intex\* M; intexo v. c.

2. O] v. c. L (marg.) Crat. codices Bosii; om,  $\Sigma\Delta$ .

3. videbitur] vett.; vibetur M; iubetur Rom.; videtur Wes.

quae nisi a te habere] I; om. codd.; quae a meis habere O. E. Schmidt (Rh. Mus. 1898, p. 216), coll. 632. 5.

sat] CM v. c.; satis vett.: cp. 665. 2.

4. probe] probō Wölfflin, Müller, fort. recte. Vide Comm.

Oviae] Schütz; avie M.

vita] vita ita Wes.

humane] humanae Crat. v. c.

inimico] *iniquo* Stangl.  
 se] add. nos. Vide Comm.  
 utraque] *in utraque* conl. Or.  
 Lucum] Bosius; *locum* M.  
 hominibus] *Othonis* Fr. Schmidt; *om-*  
*nino* Reid. Vide Comm. Transponendum  
 ante *desertior* conl. Lamb.  
 εὐλογίαν] Fort. εὐαγίαν i.e. 'sanctita-  
 tem.'

malitia] I, vide Comm.; *militia* codd.;  
*male tuti est* Boot; *stultitia* Klotz; *mi-*  
*Tite, aestuo* Pius; *molestum* Koch.

5. de] om. M.

EP. 636 (ATT. XIII. 33, §§ 4, 5).

4. memini enim tuum. Etenim (et  
 codd.) multi erant nosque imparati] Ita  
 Reid. Vide Comm.

ceciditque] O Crat. codices Bosii;  
*cecidit* MI; *ceciditque* P; *cecidit* Rom.

Sed] *scilicet* Wes. Transponendum  
 ante *cecidit* conl. Lamb.

duci] C; *pauci* ΣΔ; *perduci* Bosius.  
 coaedificari] Lamb.; *cum* (tum v. c.)

*edificari* MZb v. c.

si recte] *scire te* M.

in via] CM; *in tua re* I.

5. Bruto] C; *hyuto* M; *Hirtio* O<sup>2</sup>  
 Rom I Crat.

Idibus] Man. *Idibus maii* M; *Idibus*  
*Romae* Schmidt.

EP. 637 (ATT. XIII. 23).

1. et] *nam et* vett.  
 in quo] v. c. L (marg.) Crat. Σ: om.  
 in M.

2. morabantur] *morabuntur* Turnebus.  
 deffecti] M<sup>1</sup>; *effecti* I vulg.; *detexti*  
 Lamb.; *defaecati* Mooney; *refecti*, Reid,  
 cf. 773. 1; *descripti* Klotz ex Lambino,  
 ut videtur.

3. dominum] Reid; *domum* codd.

Quare] Lamb.; *Qua* M.

εὐαγῶως] Bos.; ΕΥΑΓΩC MZb;  
 εὐλαβῶς Zl v. c.

habere] <gaudeo> *habere* Gronovius;  
 <non> *habere* Schmidt.

qui utar] *quo* <non> *utar* Reid; *qui*  
*utar* <laetor> Lamb. De loco vide Comm.

perseca] *persece* conl. Orelli; *perfice*  
 Reid; *persta* Ribbeck.

et ita cum Polla] v. c. Σ; *excita com-*  
*pella* M; *et ita cum Balbo* Reid; *et ita*  
*cum Caelio* conl. Schmidt.

nec] Corradus; *ne* M.

EP. 638 (FAM. XIII. 77).

SYLPICIO] codd.; VATINIO Rutilius.  
 Sed vide Comm.

3. bibliothecen] MD; *bibliothecam* H  
 βιβλιοθήκην Wes.

meus] om. codd.

futurum sit] MD; *futurum fuerit* H.

arbitrabor] MD; *arbitror* H.

EP. 639 (FAM. v. 9).

1. S. V. B. E. E. V.] om. G.

prosternat] *prosternast* M.

mem] M; *me* GR. Vide Comm.

oneris] M; *honoris* GR.

sustinendum] GR; *subtinendum* M.

2. anagnostes] M; *ante annos III*  
 GR.

nisi si] MR; *nisi* G.

Delmatiam] M: cf. 676. 1; *Dalma-*  
*tiam* G; *almatiam* R. Vide Comm.

Narona] *narbona* G: ep. 678 fin.

EP. 640 (ATT. XIII. 24 ET 25, § 1).

1. Coreyrae] *Corey(i)re* RPI et for-  
 tasse O; *currere* Δ.

διφθεραί] Rom I; *διφθερίαι* MZl v. c.

[25. 1] sine] *si* M.

retractatione] M; *retrectatione* Crat.  
 L (marg.) v. c.

EP. 641 (FAM. IX. 8).

1. ostenderit] *ostenderet* codd.

tui] HD; *sui* M.

illius] HD; *eius* M: *huius* Lamb.

esset] HD; *essem* M.

Antiochinas] M; *antiocenas* H; *antio-*  
*chenas* D.

Philonis] H; *philionis* MD.

2. Posthac] *posthaec* codd.

vel] *tum vel* M; om. HD.

et curas] M; om. *et* HD.

EP. 642 (ATT. XIII. 25, §§ 2, 3).

2. Bruto ita volui] Σ Ant.; *ita volui*  
*Bruto* Δ.

3. partis in iis] EOR s I; *parcissi-*  
*mis* M.

non esse intelleges] Σ; *intelleges non*  
*esse* Δ.

Ergo ne] Schütz; *ergo at ego ne* codd.  
 (ubi *at ego* esse glossema = *al. ego*, videtur,  
 ut Boot docet); *εργον*. *At ego ne* Bosius;

εργον ἐπ' εργῳ Bury, coll. Theocrit. xv.  
 20.

EP. 643 (ATT. XIII. 35 ET 36).

2. sed] Man.; si codd.; etsi Klotz;  
visti Müller; scilicet Schmidt.  
[36] tu eo] tuo M.

EP. 644 (ATT. XIII. 43).

post] M; posco ORP, quod est post O;  
et interiectio O ad sequentem epistolam  
(Ep. 646) addenda est; cp. Lehmann,  
'Att.' 138.

EP. 645 (FAM. VI. 20).

1. quoad scire] quo adscire M; quod  
asciri G; quod ad scire R.  
quantivis] Vict.; quamvis codd.  
adeuntibus] GR; adventibus M, fort.  
recte. Vide Comm.

2. conferas] R; confecerat MG.  
ille . . . aderis] ille se, ad tempus aderis  
edd. ante Schmidt; cp. 'Briefwechsel',  
p. 361, n.

aliqua] R; aliquae MG, forma valde  
rara: cp. Neue-Wagener ii<sup>3</sup> 476.

3. et diligunt] om. G.  
tu cura ut valeas] GR; tu ut cur aut  
valeas M.  
istim] M<sup>1</sup>; istinc M<sup>2</sup>GR.

EP. 646 (ATT. XIII. 44).

1. O] Vide adn. ad finem, Ep. 644.  
Cotta] C; cocta RP; tota M.  
Adnueram] adveneram M.  
deterret] C; me deterret coni. Orelli;  
videret M; pompam vides coni. Reid.

2. probo] probe coni. Otto.  
religionis opinione] Man.; religione  
opinionis M v. c.

EP. 647 (ATT. XIII. 34).

Kal.] K. Iul M.  
vesperi] add. Schütz sed ante VIII.  
Lanuvi] lanui M<sup>1</sup>; lanuii M<sup>2</sup>.  
cum] ut cum L (marg.) v. c. Zb.  
me absente] Schütz; mea pene absente  
M; Me apsente Müller, Reid; me prae-  
sente absente Peerlkamp. Vide Comm.  
mehercule] mercedem M.  
comple] compellere M<sup>1</sup>.

EP. 648 (FAM. VI. 19).

1. devorsorio] MR; diversorio G;  
deversorium coni. Wes.  
commorationis] comonicionis G.

2. regionum] MR; regionum G Man.  
id] add. Ern. Vide Comm.  
Asturae] asturae M; adture GR.

EP. 649 (ATT. XII. 9).

Cetera] Ceterum Schütz.  
villa] Corradus Lamb.; ulla M.  
maris tum, his] codd.; maris, tumulis  
Lehmann; sed vide Comm.; maritumo,  
his Reid, fort. recte.

EP. 650 (FAM. XVI. 22).

1. inservias] MD; servias H; servas F.  
voluntatem] voluntatem M.  
quadrimo] M; quadrevio D; qua  
primo HF.

facis] MD; facies HF.  
Publius] Publius Schmidt. Vide  
Comm.

2. Billienus] MD; biblicus FH.  
Etsi: verumtamen] MD; et soterum  
tamen F (spatium decem litterarum  
ante et); (spatium 12 litterarum) tamen H.  
sermonem habueris] MD; habueris  
sermonem HF.  
facere nihil] M; nihil facere HDF.

EP. 651 (ATT. XII. 10).

Tisameno] Zb, sed dubium est, vide  
Comm.; testamento M; Thallumeto coni.  
Man.

EP. 652 (ATT. XIII. 21, §§ 1-3).

1. alia malo] s v. c.; alias malo Δ.  
2. simul ac, continuo scietis] simul  
atque obtinero scies coni. Boot; simul ac  
venerit continuo scietis coni. Reid; simul  
atque accepero continuo scietis coni. Müller.

Quinto] Quinto quoque Lehmann.  
3. cum inihibere] Corradus Lamb.;  
cum inihiberi M.

Lucilius] Lamb. Malaspina; Lucul-  
lus M.

hoc] Δ: haec s Crat. fort. recte.  
esset certe ne] est, sed certe de Wes.;  
fort. est et certene. Vide Comm.

EP. 653 (FAM. XVI. 17).

1. κανὼν] ka. non M; regula  
kanon F; non omen D.  
Theophrasto] D; theoprasto MHF.

2. quo] *a quo* Wes. fort. recte.  
satis scite] HDF; *satis scis e M.*  
mane] M; *manere* HF.

Ep. 654 (ATT. XIII. 47a).

1. malui] M; *malim* alii.  
moleste ferrem] *moleste ferre* M; *et*  
*moleste ferre* Wes.

Ep. 655 (FAM. XVI. 19).

suo] om. D et Index MH.  
potest] M; *potes* H (sed una littera  
erasa); *potes* DF.  
nihil] om. HF.

Ep. 656 (ATT. XIII. 48).

1. cum] *quasi* Reid.  
Mortuus] *mortuus est* Orelli.  
Babullius] *est Vibullius* con. Schiche.  
neutiquam] Stürenberg; *ante quam*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *non ante quam* Graevius; *non veniam*  
*ante quam* Wes.  
2. eo] L (marg.) v. c.: *aveo* M<sup>1</sup>; *ac*  
*eo* M<sup>2</sup>; *adeo* Boot; *Idco* Reid.  
Domitio] *Domitii* Ern.  
me] Crat. v. c. L (marg.) Ant FΣ;  
om. Δ.

Ep. 657 (ATT. XIII. 37).

1. erat] *eras* M.  
2. furere] Lamb. *Malaspina*; *facere*  
codd.  
commulcare] nos; *cum multa de* M.  
Vide Comm.  
ab eo] *habeo* M.  
tam] add. vett.  
φοβερόν ἄν] φοβερὰν M.  
suo] *tuo* alii.  
3. Porciae] *portitae* M.  
4. scribis] *ut scribis* Reid.  
posse] Zl v. c. L (marg.); *possem* Σ;  
*posse in* Δ.  
diem] Zl ROP v. c. L (marg.); *diem*  
*diem* ΔO<sup>2</sup>; *in diem ex die* Müller.

Ep. 658 (ATT. XIII. 38).

1. enim] *minime* con. Or.  
pote] *potest esse* I.  
iudicabisque. Bruti] *iudicabisque Bruti*  
Wes., qui punctum omisit post *iudica-*  
*bisque*, sed breviter interpunxit post *ad*  
*me*.

scripsisse] Lamb.; *scripsisti* M.  
2. iuva] *via* M<sup>1</sup> idemque infra.  
putato] C; *puto* M.  
Asturam] Wes.; *ad sturæ* M.  
si] Zb; om. M.

Ep. 659 (ATT. XIII. 39).

1. ad matrem] add. Orelli.  
sibi] v. c. Vict.; *tibi* M.  
θεῶν] Vict.; OCQN M.  
ΠΑΛΙΔΟΣ] περὶ Παλλάδος Orelli coll.  
Nat. Deor. i. 41; Ἀπολλοδώρου Hirzel;  
παντὸς Gurlitt; vide Comm.

Ep. 660 (ATT. XIII. 40).

1. autem? Tu 'futilum est'] nos  
(qui *futilum* Schmidtio acceptum referi-  
mus); *autem ut fultum est* M; *autem, ut*  
*stultum est!* Tunstall; *autem ut iussum*  
*est* (sc. *facit*) Gurlitt; *autem ut fuit*  
*<etiā>unc est* Schwartz; *Hic autem,*  
*ut fuit tum, est* Lamb. Locus vix adhuc  
emendatus.  
ad me, 'At] Z; *ad mea est* M; *ad*  
*me. Ast* IM<sup>2</sup>; *ad meas. At* Rom.  
degustasses] Gronovius; *degustasse* M.  
2. mihi auctor es] *mei auctores* M<sup>1</sup>.  
summa acrimonia] Schmidt; *acrimonia*  
M; Fort. <acri> *acrimonia* cf. Naev.  
38 (Ribbeck); *Acrunoma* C; *Acronoma*  
Zl L (marg.) v. c.; *lacrimans* Gurlitt.  
κεκέφωμαι] Bosius; ΚΕΦΦΩΜΑ M;  
κεφωμα C.  
posthac] *post fac* M.

Ep. 661 (ATT. XIII. 41).

1. esse] add. Wes.  
2. fore. . .] *fore iratum* Lamb. vel  
simile addendum est.  
Canae] Bosius; *Canai* M.  
res] *res est* Wes.  
commeatus] M; *commeat* Orelli; *com-*  
*meat vesp.* (= *vesperi*) Schmidt; *commutatur*  
Gurlitt. Vide Comm.

Ep. 662 (ATT. XIII. 45).

1. itemque] *idemque* Vict.  
Baebio] ORP Ant F; *babio* Δ.  
3. pondus. . . primo] *pondus*  
*argenti praeter praedia: auctionem primo*  
*Malaspina.*  
praedia] ORPC; *prandia* Δ.

officiosiorem nec mehercule nostri  
studiosiorem] Crat. v. c. L (marg.)  
Zb (sed hi praeter Crat. omittunt me-  
hercule): *officiosiorem* (ceteris omissis) ΣΔ.  
neglegentiores] *neglegiores* M<sup>1</sup>; *neg-  
lectiores* M<sup>2</sup>.

## EP. 663 (ATT. XIII. 46).

1. ad Idus Sextilis] del. Schütz.  
Lanuvi] *Lanui* M<sup>1</sup>; cf. 704. 3.
2. vi in] Ita M; *munerum* (ex mun.)  
Schmidt, coll. 648. 2; *vini* v. c. I vulg.;  
*ligurritione* Gronovius, coll. Fam. xi.  
21. 5 (893).  
Lanuvinu] *lanuino* M<sup>1</sup>.  
quo] v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *que* M;  
*quem* Ascensius.
3. Tum] add. Graevius.  
Cluvi... cretionem] Crat. Zb; om.  
ΣΔ.  
nil liberalius] Lamb.; *illiberalius*  
ORPC; *liberalius* M.  
a T.] *a Tito* C; *attico* M.
4. De Cosinio doleo] C; *deos in iodoleo*  
M.

## EP. 664 (ATT. XIII. 47a).

1. Auris nuntius, extemplo instituta]  
C, Zl v. c. L (marg.) codices Bosii; om.  
ΣΔ. Vide Comm.
2. ut ille] *utile* M.

## EP. 665 (FAM. VII. 24).

FADIO] FABIO codd.

1. Cipius] Festus; *citius* M; *cicius* G;  
*titius* R.  
tum] *dudum* Lamb.; *totum* Otto; *nunc*  
Starker.
2. Sestio] *sentio* MR; *sextio* G.  
quem vellet] vett. cf. 666. 1; *quem*  
(cum GR) *vellem* codd.  
unctorem] *cantorem* Man.  
Sardos] M; *sacerdos* GR.

## EP. 666 (ATT. XIII. 49).

1. ruri] *rure* M v. c.  
Fadius] *Fabius* M.  
iniquissimam, me Phameae] *iniquissi-  
mam ephamee* M.  
sed] Rom.; *sed et* M. Vide Comm.
2. illum] *ille* Schmidt. Vide Comm.  
me] *dicere me* Lamb.; *me dicere* vel  
*me dixisse* Wes.  
Phamean] M; *Phameam* vulg.

de] *de se* vulg.; *de se dicere* Müller;  
Fort. *odisse se*.

libenter] *libere* Schmidt.

dormire... omnibus] add. Lamb. ex  
665. 1; om. codd. quos secutus Schmidt  
legit quodammodo pro quemadmodum.

## EP. 667 (ATT. XIII. 50).

1. mittere] *mitterem* M (s. *mittere*  
superscripto, et rursus deleto).  
Lanuvinu] *lanuino* M.  
iis] M<sup>2</sup>; om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
si ipsi] *sumpsi* M<sup>1</sup>.
5. culcitas] *caldas* Reid.

## EP. 668 (FAM. VII. 25).

FADIO] FABIO codd.

1. ne si] GR; *nisi* M (tum *placatum*  
vel simile addendum).  
infensum] vel simile addendum;  
*inimicum* coni. Wes.; fort. *Sardum*.  
Vide Comm.  
habuerimus] *caverimus* Viet.  
σαρδόνιον] Ern.; *σαρδάνιον* codd. Vide  
Comm.  
putaramus] M; *putabamus* R; *puta-  
mus* G.  
catomum] *catonium* Wes.; *Charonium*  
alii. Vide Comm.  
Catonianos] Boot; *catoninos* codd.
2. audi] vett.; *audii* M; *audi* id GR.  
quicquid est] om. *est* GR.  
nec] *ne* GR.

## EP. 669 (ATT. XIII. 51).

micillus] *hnmilis* (vel *μικύλλος*) coni.  
Boot; *hemicillus* Bosius; *inimiculus* Gur-  
litt; *imbecillus* Wes.; *Micyllus* Baiter;  
*Μικύλλος* Schmidt, coll. Lucian Gall. 1,  
id. Catapl. 14; *micidus* Schmidt olim;  
Fort. *amicillus* vel *sim κόλαξ*. Vide  
Comm.

2. Narro] codd. praeter Δ: *narabo* M.

## EP. 670 (FAM. XII. 18).

1. respondebo] *respondeo* H.  
esset] *est* coni. Wes. Sed vide Comm.  
scisses] *scires* H.  
mihi litterae] *litterae mihi* HD.  
facias] *feceras* HD.
2. ludis] *ludos* HD.  
Publili] Silliget Wöflin; *Publii* codd.

## EP. 671 (FAM. XII. 19).

1. eam] Lamb.; eandem HD; eadem M; eam quidem Ern.
2. Quid enim] HD; om. M; quantum Frag. Heilbronnense.  
Parthi] pharti M.
3. haec tu melius] Wes.: om. tu codd. usque] usque eo Cobet.  
erit] M; eris HD.

## EP. 672 (FAM. XIII. 4).

1. Volaterraneis] Volaterranis alii, fort. recte: cf. infra.  
nec in] add. Vict.; om. M (spatio quattuor litterarum relicto in fine versus); meis HD. Fort. nec in meis.
2. Cum enim] Vict.; om. enim codd.; Qui cum Wes.  
primo] om. HD.  
Volaterranum] M; volaterranum HD. tuo] om. HD.
3. ut te] ut et Btr.; fort. ut te et. sedes, rem] M; si desererem HD. quae et a diis] HD; et idis (om. quae) M.  
civibus] om. HD.
4. daret] HD; dare M.  
apud omnis] apud bonos omnis Orelli.

## EP. 673 (FAM. XIII. 5).

1. impedio] impedi M; impediri HD.
2. in patriam] om. HD.  
Caesar] Caesari M.  
moveri] amoveri D.
3. mihi] om. HD.  
quod] HD; quid M; quicquid coni. Btr.

## EP. 674 (FAM. XIII. 7).

1. necessitudine tuaque] HD; necessitudineque tua M; necessitudine proque tua Or.  
mihique coniunctissimi] om. HD.  
sumum meum] meum sumum HD.  
existimavi] existimari M; existimarim HD.  
et te] te et Koch.
2. commune] commune ei Lamb.
4. adfirmanti] arbitranti adfirmanti codd.  
honorum nec] om. HD.
5. impetramus] M; impetramus HD. quod] nos, dubitanter; quoniam codd. Vide Comm.  
dignissimos] HD: dignissimo M.

## EP. 675 (FAM. XIII. 8).

1. mei] M; erga me HD.  
cognosset] M; cognosceret HD.  
filia] familia codd.
- Sestius] sestimus HD.
- Albinio] albanio MD; abbanio H.
2. Albinus] H; albanus MD.
3. Albinio] albanio codd.  
Laberiana ne attingas] M; laberiana ne tangas HD.  
quodam modo] HD; quoddam modo M.  
per] HD; pro M.  
ut . . . debeo] Ern.; ut . . . debeam codd.; cum . . . debeam vett.

## EP. 676 (FAM. V. 11).

1. Grata] ut grata M.  
in] add. Martyni-Laguna.  
rebus] om. G.
2. ei] R; et MG.
3. Delmatis] M; Dalmatis G (in marg. Dalmatis est quae civitas); De Dalmatis R; cf. 639. 2.  
di] om. GR.

## EP. 677 (FAM. VII. 29).

1. b.] b. e. Wes.  
comptionalis] MG, de qua forma vide Comm.; comparationalis R; coemptionalis vulg.  
venale] om. G.  
proscripserit] priscipserit M; perscripserit GR.  
commenda] M; commoda GR.  
possimus] del. Lamb.  
refigere] Lamb.; defigere codd. Vide Comm.
2. sine] GR; si M.  
duo] MG; duos R: cf. Neue-Wagener ii<sup>3</sup> 282.  
Tironemque . . . verbis] Tironemque nostrum saluta meis verbis coni. Boot.

## EP. 678 (FAM. V. 10a).

- oppugnando] pugnando Cobet.  
tunum] Vide Comm.  
Narona] narbona G: cf. 639 fin.

## EP. 679 (ATT. XIII. 52).

1. gravem tamen] coni. Boot; tam gravem codd.  
a] del. vulg.



ac] at Ern. Wes. fort. recte. Vide Comm.

tertiis] ERM<sup>2</sup>; certis M<sup>1</sup>.

tum] dum Wes. ex Zl, v. c. L (marg.).

vultum] Z v. c. L (marg.) Crat.; om.

ΣΔ.

mutavit] *mutivit* Hirschfeld (om. *vultum*).

cocto et] del et Man., neque habent codices ad Fin. ii. 25.

2. accepi] codd. v. c.; *accepti* Ascensius.

quoi] *qui* codd.

ἐπισταθμείαν] ἐπισταθμίαν vulg.

EP. 680 (FAM. IX. 12).

1. ades] *abes* codd.

2. volui] om. M.

levidense] *levi dense* H; *leve dense* D; *levi densae* M.

EP. 681 (ATT. XIII. 42).

1. quidem] *quidem habeo* v. c. Crat.

3. nil] *velle* coni. Tyrrell; *vult* coni. Boot; *nullos* coni. Wes. Pro *nil habere* Orelli coni. *id avere*.

effandum] Beroaldus; *afflandum* M.

Eatur.] *Eatur?* (cum nota interrogativa) Gurlitt.

μη σκορόδου] Tyrrell; vide Comm.; ΜΙΑΚΟΡΔΟΥ M; δρυὰ σκορόδου Turnebus; μίασμα δρύος Gronovius; μίασμα Κόδρου Schmidt; ἀδιασκεπτόν Gurlitt.

EP. 682 (FAM. XIII. 30).

1. Sosis] *susis* HD.

sua] *tua* Schütz.

et omnia] HD; om. et M.

praeditum] codd. cf. Cael. 24; *dedi-*  
*tum* vett.

2. ut eum . . . itaque tractes] *ut quem*  
*. . . esse ita tractes* Boot; *ut eum . . .*  
*<cum> in meis . . . ita tractes* Kleyn.

aderit] *aberit* M; *abierit* HD.

non] *nox* coni. Pluygers.

EP. 683 (FAM. XIII. 31).

1. observant] M; *observat* HD.

2. adductus] *ductus* H.

te] M; om. HD.

EP. 684 (FAM. XIII. 32).

1. Halesina] codd.; *Halaesina* Mendelssohn. Vide Comm.

M. et C. Clodius] *m. et gaium clodius* M; *et gaium clodium* D; *et gradium clodium* H.

2. ut iis omnibus in rebus] *in his omnibus in rebus* M; *in his omnibus rebus* HD.

EP. 685 (FAM. XIII. 33).

Nasone] *Nasone e. R* (= equite Romano) Kleyn.

Demonstratus] D; *demonstratus* MH.

mea] D; *meae* MH.

EP. 686 (FAM. XIII. 34).

Lilybitano] *Lilybitoni* MD; *Lilibitoni* H. Vide Comm.

apud te] om. H.

EP. 687 (FAM. XIII. 35).

C. Avianius] cf. Fam. xiii. 21. 2 (516); *c. avianus* M; *T. avianus* D; *avianus* (om. C) H.

Novocomensis] *novo comesis* codd.

Avianii] M; *aviani hic* HD.

Avanio] MD; *aviano* H.

rebus] *<in>rebus* Kleyn.

commodes] HD; *commendes* M.

EP. 688 (FAM. XIII. 36).

Huius et trium sequentium epistularum inscriptiones om. MH, dat D.

1. Cum . . . interfui] om. H; *d* (= deest) add. ante itaque H<sup>2</sup>.

iussisset] *iussissent* codd.

de Mega vereretur] M; *demetrio gravaretur* HD.

2. civium] HD; *civi* M.

sibi] HD; om. M.

EP. 689 (FAM. XIII. 37).

eum . . . erit] om. H. Post *causa* addit H<sup>2</sup> *d* (= deest).

commodes] HD; *commendes* M.

EP. 690 (FAM. XIII. 38).

est] add. vett.

Bruttius] M; *brutius* D; *B* (in fine versus) H.

## EP. 691 (FAM. XIII. 39).

ex qua] M; in qua H.  
 Titurnius] *tyburnius* H.  
 id] add. vett.

## EP. 692 (FAM. XVI. 18).

saepe] MHF; *semper* D.  
 boni] D; *bonei* M; *lionei* HF.  
 in modum] codd.; <*incredibilem*> in  
*modum* Wes.; sed vide Comm.  
 utut] Crat.; ut codd.  
 tu] MD; om. HF.  
 τῶν] HDF; τῶν M; τέρψιν alii.  
 nostrum] *nostrum ut* Or.  
 2. excita ut] M; *excitavi* HFD.  
 holitorem] HFD; *holitorum* M; *olito-*  
*rem* vett. Verbi forma vetusta *utitur*  
 Cic. ut Plaut. Trin. 408.  
 Helico] *salaco* vett.  
 aprico horto] *apiario*, *nulla cohorte*  
*vel nulla avium cohorte* Schütz; *aprica-*  
*torio* Or.  
 tanta] om. HF.  
 abutor] *abundo* Boot, Reid. Vide  
 Comm.  
 opus] *opus ut* HF.  
 A. Ligurius] D; *aliguribus* MHF.

## EP. 693 (FAM. XVI. 20).

TIRONI] TIRONI SUO F.  
 holitore] codd.; *olitore* vett.: ep. ad  
 Ep. 692. 2.

## EP. 694 (FAM. VII. 30).

1. hinc] *hic* M; *huc* GR<sup>2</sup>; *nunc* R.<sup>1</sup>  
 Ne] M: *nec* GR.  
 quaestoriis] edd.; *quaestoris* codd.  
 sella Q.] M: *sellaque* GR.  
 posita esset] codd.: *posita est* Wes.  
 2. Quid] *qui* codd.  
 cetera] M; *certa* R; *cera* G.  
 meum] *meo* codd.  
 isto sum] *istorum* codd.  
 3. meo beneficio est] codd.: de qua  
 constructione cf. Comm.; addit *adfectus*  
 Crat., *usus* Wes.  
 epistula] *secluserunt* vett.  
 quo modo acceperit et quid] codd.:  
*quom acceperit, ecquid* Man.  
 tibi] *sibi* H.

## EP. 695 (FAM. XIII. 50).

ACILI] Lallemand; AUCTO libri;  
 AUCIO Index M; AVIO Index H.

1. si quae] M; *si qua* HD.  
 M'] M libri hic et infra, § 2.  
 coniunctus] D; *coniunctus* H; *con-*  
*iunctio* M. Vide Comm.  
 quodque] HD: *quoque* M.

## EP. 696 (FAM. V. 10).

1. Catilio] M; *caltilio* R; *catilino* G.  
 Apage te] M; *ea peragite* GR.  
 matresfamilias] MR: *patresfamilias*  
 G.  
 regiones] <*tot*> *regiones* Lamb.  
 Simius] M; *seminus* R; *seminis* G.  
 2. sua bona] <*ob*> *sua bona* Krause.  
 actione] vett.; *actiones* codd.; a  
*Catilio* Or.  
 mehercules] I; *mehercule* GR; *mer-*  
*cules* M. Vide Comm.  
 Appi os] *appios* M; *appium* GR.  
 suffectus] *effectus* codd.  
 Faciam omnia] M; *facta omnia* G;  
 om. P.  
 3. gestis] *gesticis* M.

## EP. 697 (FAM. VII. 31).

1. animo] corr. ex *animus* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 meas dari] M; *dare meas* R; *meas*  
 (om. *dare*) G.  
 2. opus] *tibi opus* GR.  
 gloriam] om. R.  
 tamen] *tantum* vett.; *etiam* Kleyn.  
 re p.] M; *rebus* GR.

## EP. 698 (FAM. XII. 21).

Alterum huius epistolae exemplum  
 (mh) exhibent MH post XIII. 77 (638)  
 ubi in F quoque invenitur.  
 CORNIFICIO] CARNIFICIO H et infra.  
 legatione] FD<sup>2</sup> mh; *legione* MD<sup>1</sup>;  
*legiones* H.  
 libera] *liberare* H.  
 adiuves] HD; *adiues* M.  
 id] M et Fragmentum Heilbronnense;  
 om. ceteri.  
 factitatum] *factitatem* h<sup>1</sup>; *factitantem*  
 Fh<sup>2</sup>.  
 consules] m et Fragmentum Heil-  
 bronnense; *consulis* MHD; *consuleris*  
 Fh.  
 id] F mh; om. *id* MHD.

## EP. 699 (FAM. VI. 15).

BASILO] BASILIO codd.

## EP. 700 (FAM. XI. 1).

1. iis] vett.; *illis* vel *ipsis* Wes.; *his* M; om. HD; *sibi* Lamb.; *suis* Kahnt; Vide Comm.
2. Haec] codd.; *hoc* vett.; *hanc* Baier.
3. descendemus] *discendemus* M; *descendamus* H; *descendam* D.
4. Caecilium] *caelum* codd.
6. invidiam] M marg.; *unquam* codd.

## EP. 701 (FAM. VI. 16).

- iis] *his* codd.
- ipsi] *ipsis* M.
- contentus] *contemptus* GR.
- nostra] *nostram* M.

## EP. 702 (FAM. XV. 20).

1. a Curibus] MD; *a curatoribus* HF.
2. mi Treboni] MD; *mittere boni* HF.
- meum] MD; *nostrum* HF.
- aliquantum olei] Koch et Krauss;
- aliquantum olim* codd.; om. *olim* Wes.;
- aliquantulum* Manutius.
- tu nobis] MD; *tunc his* HF.
- alia] *alias* M.
3. primo] M; *prima* HDF, fort. recte.
- ubi] *utrum* H.

## EP. 703 (ATT. XIV. 1).

1. Deverti] *Diverti* C; *reverti* alii.
- adfirmatque] M; *adfirmabatque* v.c.
- L (marg.) Zb; *adfirmabat* Crat.
- Lepido] Faerni codex, Man.; *Lepidi* M.
- istaec] vett.; *ista et* M<sup>1</sup>; *ista* M<sup>2</sup>.
- prudentem] *prudenter* Ern.
2. Sexto] *Sestio* Rom.
- magni] <non> *magni* edd. nonnulli.
- Vide Comm.
- sed] *scilicet* Schmidt.
- vult . . . vult] *volet . . .* M<sup>1</sup>Zt
- (= Z, teste Turnebo, cf. A. C. Clark in
- 'Philologus' (1901), pp. 201 ff.) v.c.
- Nicaeae dixerit] vett.; *nicae edixerit*
- M; *Nicaeae diceret* Ern.
- Sesti] cf. 704. 3; *Sexti* M.
- quom] *cum* M<sup>2</sup>; *quod vel que* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 704 (ATT. XIV. 2).

2. φαλάκωμα] *φαλάκρωμα* Vict. cf. § 3,
- i.e. levitas (sc. calvities) unde, ut videtur

tranquillitas (cf. Sophron (?) ap. Demetrium De elocutione 127 φαλακρότερος εὐδίας) serenitas: tumebat enim Matius (706. 1) qui ipse fuit homo calvus (φαλακρός), tranquillitatem posse negabat (705. 1), erat inimicissimus otii (§ 3): σαλακωνισμα Gronovius: σαλάκωνα Lamb.; λακωνισμόν Reid [fort. nullum <fac> λακωνισμόν]; nullus φαλαρισμός Shuckburgh. Fort. σολοικισμόν.

Processit] *Processi* Man. Lamb.  
minus. Diutius sermone [enim]  
Orelli: *minus diu: eius sermone enim*  
Man.: *minui. Diutius sermone enim* (vel  
forte *enim* secludendum) Reid. Vide  
Comm.

3. obscure] C; *obsecro* M.
- rogatu] *roga* M<sup>1</sup>.
- Lanuvi] *lanui* M<sup>1</sup> idemque saepe: cf.
663. 1; 667. 1.

## EP. 705 (ATT. XIV. 3).

1. Matius] *maius* M<sup>2</sup>.
- est mihi] Wes.: *et mihi* M.
2. habes, scribes] I Wes.: *habere scri-*
- bises* M<sup>1</sup>; *habere scribe* M<sup>2</sup>; *habebis*
- scribes* conj. Wes., Müller; *habes re-*
- scribe* Rom. et Zt.

## EP. 706 (ATT. XIV. 4).

1. Num quid] Lamb.; *nunc quid* codd.
- Lanuvi] *lanui* M<sup>1</sup>, cf. 704. 4.
2. per ipsos] M<sup>1</sup>Z, v.c. et Lamb.;
- per se ipsos* EO<sup>2</sup>RM<sup>2</sup>S.
- tu] Klotz; *ut* M.
- equidem] CM<sup>2</sup>; *siquidem* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 707 (ATT. XIV. 5).

1. cum] Corradus; *quem* M.
- suspectum se esse] Rom. Wes.; *se*
- suspectum esse* Asc.; *suspectum esse se*
- Klotz. Om. *se* codd.
- e] om. codd.
- quas Annii] vulg.; *qua sanius* M;
- quas Asinius Stroth Wes.
- C. Asinium] coni. Boot; *Caninium*
- codd. Stroth Wes.
- Ab aleatore] s Crat. vulg.; *a baleatore*
- M; *ab alneatore* (sed n puncto notatum) O;
- a balneatore* CZt v.c. L (marg.) P. Vide
- Comm.
- recte] Reid; *recta* codd. Vide Comm.
- Antonius] secl. Ern. praeter necessi-
- tatem.

2. Meam] <O> meam C et Müller:  
cf. Comm. ad 616. 1.

mederi, desse] Vict.: *me deridisse* M;  
*mederi ipse* M<sup>2</sup>.

magni esse debebant] codices Ballio-  
lensis et Helmstadiensis (teste Wesen-  
bergio) Rom.; *magni sedebant* M<sup>1</sup>; *magisse*  
*debeant* Zb; *vagi e.d.* Man.; *muniti e.d.*  
Reid; *ἄγιοι e.d.* Or.; *tecti e.d.* Müller;  
*metu vacui e.d.* con. Boot. Vide Comm.

Atque] *atqui* Bos.; sed cf. ad 607. 3.

3. quid] codd.; *qui* Wes. Müller.  
Sed vide Comm.

#### EP. 708 (ATT. XIV. 6).

susque deque] C; *scis que de q* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*scis quid de eo* M<sup>2</sup>.

quid] *si quid* Otto; *aliquid* con. Wes.  
discrucior Sextili] Man.; *discrutior*  
*Sestilii* C; *destructo res est ulli* M.

2. quam tyrannoctonos] CM<sup>2</sup>; *cum*  
*tyrannoctonos* M<sup>1</sup>. Fort. *quam τυραννοκ-*  
*τόνους*.

Exsultant] *exsultat* M.

de re p.] M<sup>2</sup>; *de re* M<sup>1</sup>.

#### EP. 709 (ATT. XIV. 7).

1. in Caieta] Zb; *in* (sed id deletum)  
*Caietae* M; *in Caietano v. c.* Vide Comm.  
*de re p. aliqua, quaedam* MZt; *de*  
*re publica quaedam* Or.; *de re publica alia*  
*quaedam* Asc. Wes.

aveo omnia] *aveo nunc omnia* A.

2. πῖνος] nos; πῖνος vulg.: πεινος M.  
videri. Omnino, si ego, ut volo] Wes.;  
*videri omnino. Si ergo est volo* M.

Haec] *hoc* Wes.

#### EP. 710 (ATT. XIV. 8).

1. et] *at* Crat.; sed con. Wes.  
probe] *probes* M<sup>1</sup>. Fort. *probest* i.e.  
probe est.

Crassi nepotem] *crasso nepotem* M<sup>2</sup>;  
*crassine putem* M<sup>1</sup>.

iam] Moser; *tam* M<sup>1</sup>.

quod Iuniam] Man.; *quo divinam*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *quod divinam* M<sup>2</sup>.

dedit] codd. ut videtur, I: *dicit* Wes.  
Btr.

molesta est. Clodia] Wes.; *molesta.*  
*sed clodia* M; *molesta est. sed clodia* M<sup>2</sup>.

arcesses] Z v. c. L (marg.) Rom.;  
*arces* M.

Baiana] *baniana* M.

2. tuam] Schütz: *tum in* M.

videbare] *Σs* Rom. I; *videbar* M.

#### EP. 711 (FAM. VI. 17).

accedere, id etiam] *accedere etiam, id*  
Wes., idemque Schütz nisi quod *etiam*  
delevit.

quo magis expetam] *delere vult*  
Streicher.

ut valeant] codd.; *aut valent* vett.  
Graevius; <aut> *valuerunt aut valent*  
Wes.

coniunctiores tecum] *coniunctior iste*  
*cum* M.

grata] *gratam* M.

#### EP. 712 (ATT. XIV. 9).

1. Socrate] Zt.: cf. Neue-Wagener  
i<sup>3</sup> 447-449; *Socrates* M.

numquam] *nunc quam* Schiche, in-  
geniose; sed vide Lehmann 'Quaest.'  
135, qui confert Brut. 217.

2. tyrannus] M<sup>2</sup>; *tyrannos* M<sup>1</sup>; fort.  
*τύραννος*.

Eius . . . defendimus] *Cuius* (del.  
*interfecti*) *morte laetamur, eius facta*  
*defendimus* con. Boot.

cuius] CMZ *cum* alii.

Curtius] *cutius* MZt; *Curius* L v. c.

3. Et] *nonne* delendum?

Caecilius] C; *catilius* M.

Pacorum] *paucorum* M.

Volcatium] *vullatium* M; *Vulcatium*  
Rom. I; L. *Statium* Corr. Vide Comm.

mihi] *nichil* M.

ad] *om.* M<sup>1</sup>.

dixerat] *dixerit* M.

#### EP. 713 (ATT. XIV. 10).

1. me] *add.* Lamb.

debere] *add.* post *die* Reid, ante *Di*  
Müller; *oportere* ante vel post *vocari* *add.*  
Schütz.

talia] *ΣZt*; *alia* Δ.

ὑπηνέμιος] Fort. *ὑπηνέμος*.

2. coniectanti] C et cod. Laurishei-  
mensis; *contactanti* ORP; *cum letanti* M.  
Fangones] *frangones* vel *francones*  
codd. Vide Comm.

Sextilianoque] Man.; *sestulitanoque*  
M.

nunquam] *utinam* Gronovius; <uti-  
nam> *nunquam* con. Schmidt.

3. βιξόθεμιν] vel βιξόθεμιν codd.;  
*βηξίθεμιν* Bosius; *βήξει θέμιν* con. Boot.  
Vide Comm.

scilicet] Wes.; sed codd.

4. Roma es] I; *rome es* ORP; *rome* Δ.  
*delector* PM<sup>2</sup>s; *delecto* ORM<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 714 (ATT. XIV. 11).

1. Quom] *quin* M.  
equidem] secl. Wes.  
sine invidia, ne] Ztb L (marg.) v. c.;  
om.  $\Sigma\Delta$ ; cf. Lehmann 'Att.' 90, 98.  
ratio non]  $\Sigma$ ; *ratione*  $\Delta$ .  
2. curae] Vict. Turnebus; *vere* M Zt;  
*vero curae* Rom.  
atque etiam] add. Or.  
Ruina] Vict.; *una* MZ.  
etiam] Lamb.; *iam* M.  
deditus] *deditus* <est> Or.  
me] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 715 (ATT. XIV. 12).

1. odi] *taedi* con. Wölflin, sed vox  
est vix Ciceroniana.  
poenam] *penam* MZ; *plenam* v. c.  
refero] <me> *refero* Wes.; *referor* Zb  
*redeo* Müller; *revertor* Reid; sed vide  
Comm.  
iste] Vict.; *ista* M.  
2. peramice]  $\Sigma$ Zt; *amice*  $\Delta$ .  
non] *non* <item> Moser.  
esse] add. Lamb. Vide Comm.  
negant] Zbt v. c. L (marg.); *negat* M.  
ferri] M; *feri* Zt v. c.  
tuti] *tuto* Klotz.  
Qui] add. vett.  
inquit] nonnullis suspectum; sed vide  
Comm.  
haud amo] *aut hamo* M.  
3. Quam] *Quamquam* Gronovius.  
delectem] *te delectem* L (marg.); sed  
vide Comm.  
his] *meis* Man.

## EP. 716 (ATT. XIV. 13a).

2. Clodium] *Celium* M; *Cloelium* Zt,  
cf. 718. 6.  
liceat] add. vett.  
praebe] *praebebis* Orelli; *praebeas*  
Kayser.  
in optima spe] *optima in spe* v. c.  
L (marg.).  
non contempsisse] con. Baiter; *non*  
*contempseris* codd.: *non quo contempseris*  
Wes.; *non quod contempseris* Müller.  
Vide Comm.  
contumaciae] *contumeliae* C. F. Her-  
mann.

## EP. 717 (ATT. XIV. 13b).

2. nolles] *noles* M<sup>1</sup>.
3. his] codd.; *iis* Wes.

4. concertationes] CM; *contentiones*  
Rom. I.
5. mihi]  $\Sigma$ ; om.  $\Delta$ .

## EP. 718 (ATT. XIV. 13).

2. certo] E et Lamb.; *certe* M.  
tulimus] *prae nobis tulimus* Orelli, sed  
vide Comm.  
et aliena] Fort. *ut aliena*.  
aetatibus et] *aetatibus est* Kl.  
incerto exitu] *incertus exitus* con.  
Müller.  
belli] secludere vult Reid. Vide Comm.  
et] *ut (cum possim)* con. Müller.  
possum] Graevius; *possim* codd.  
4. Proficiscor] <Si> *proficiscor* Reid.  
Graeciam] *Graeciam*? edd. plerique.  
caedis] Man.; *credis* M.  
fore me quidem] Z Crat. v. c. L (marg.);  
*equidem*  $\Sigma\Delta$ .  
5. utique] M<sup>1</sup> (sed deletum) OR; om.  
E. Vide Comm.  
6. Clodi] *Cellii* M<sup>1</sup>; *Cloelii* Zt, cf.  
716. 2.  
ita] del. edd. nonnulli.  
neque fecisset neque passus esset] C;  
*neque fecisset* M<sup>1</sup>; *neque fecit neque fecis-*  
*set* M<sup>2</sup>.  
falsis] del. Cobet, iniuria.

## EP. 719 (ATT. XIV. 14).

1. Iteradum] Zt; *iterandum* M.  
Parilibus] om. Zt v. c. RPs Ant.  
Solusne?] *Solusne?* <Solut> Lamb.  
Vestoriana] *vestorina* MZt.  
†Pherionum more] *pharionum iure*  
con. Boot; *rhetorum more* Gurlitt;  
*φυσικῶν more* Reid; *de fenoris rumore*  
*Puteolano* con. Turnebus. Locus valde  
obscurus.  
2. etiam] secl. Beier.  
Rufio] Man.; *rufo* codd.  
quis potuit] *qui potui* con. Boot.  
3. praecipis] CEOs<sup>2</sup>; *petis* M<sup>1</sup> Crat.  
5. et liberati] om. et v. c.  
6. vicinis] Fort. *amicis*.  
[xv. 1] *iam nunc*] *transponendum*  
*ante providendum* con. Wes.; *iam [nunc]*  
Boot.

## EP. 720 (ATT. XIV. 15).

1. Heroica] 'Ἡρωικά Orelli, fort. recte.
2. serpebat] *serpat* M<sup>1</sup>.
- verebat] *videbatur verebar* Rom.
3. res . . . putaram] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 721 (ATT. XIV. 16).

1. vi] Ruete; v. vulg. Vide Comm. episcopum] CM v. c. L (marg.): *episcopium* I.

eo die] *eodem die* coni. Müller. renavigaro. O] Bosius. 'ex Scidis' vulg.; *renavigareo* M<sup>1</sup>; *renavigare* O M<sup>2</sup>; *renavigare* (sine O) EO; *renavigaturus* Lamb. Vide Comm.

2. laedere] Or.; *laudare* M<sup>1</sup>; *violare* M<sup>2</sup>.

infirmorum] *infirmorum* M.

3. Cupio, cum] vett.; *cupioque* in M<sup>1</sup>. Fort. *Cupio, quom.*

cognossem] I; *cognoscem* M; *cognoscerem* Rom.

4. sero cum damno] Orelli; *spero quodam modo* M; *sero Montano* Fr. Schmidt. curasti ante scirem] *curasti ut ante scirem* Zb, v. c. L (marg.); sed cf. Fam. ii. 8. 1 (201) et Reid ap. Acad. ii. 71.

## EP. 722 (ATT. XIV. 17a = FAM. IX. 14).

Exemplum huius epistolae (f) inter epp. ad Fam. paullo melius est.

codd. = codices epp. ad Att.

qui] f; om. codd.

haec loca] f; *his locis* codd. C v. c.

veniant] f (sed H *convenient*); *conveniunt* codd. C. v. c.; *veniant, conveniunt* Lehmann.

quin] HD; *qui* M (49. 9) codd.

agant] f; *agunt* codd.

2. te] f (praeter D); om. codd. et D. habere] fO; additum post *Nestorem* ERsM<sup>2</sup>; om. M<sup>1</sup>.

3. possumus] f; *possum* codd. v. c. L (marg.).

Deinde] fE; *dein* O<sup>2</sup>RM<sup>s</sup>.

tua] Wes.; *tum* codd et f (praeter D); cum D.

transfuderim] f: *trans* M<sup>1</sup>; *transtulerim* EORsM<sup>2</sup>; *transferam* Zl.

5. etiam] *esse* Aldus.

6. te imitere] om. te M.

imitere] f (praeter HD) O; *imitari* MERs et HD.

7. quom] cum f (sed H<sup>1</sup> omittit) EORM<sup>2</sup>; *quam* M<sup>1</sup>; *quadam* s M<sup>3</sup>; *quadam* cum codices nonnulli deteriores, Lehmann.

et gradatim] f; om. codd.

concessu] f codd.; *consensu* I.

## EP. 723 (FAM. XII. 1).

1. manabat] Vide Comm.

seditio] add. nos.

compressa] codd.; *compressum*; *compressa res* Ern.; <*concitatio*> *compressa est* Lehmann.

discribuntur] M; *describuntur* HD.

deferuntur] Orelli; *referuntur* codd. Vide Comm.

2. magna] *maiore* coni. Boot.

desiderat. Adhuc ulta] *desiderat adhuc*. *Uta* Btr.

ulta] HD; *ultra* M.

## EP. 724 (ATT. XIV. 17).

2. sed hactenus] *sed <haec> hactenus* Orelli.

3. esse laturum] *esse <se> laturum* Btr.

4. reddundaene] *reddunde ne* M<sup>1</sup>; *reddendaene* vulg. Mirum est *reddendas* (non *reddundas*) tam prope sequi.

essent . . . non] *essent (plane enim iudico esse reddendas) <sed> quod non vulg.* At *sed* om. M. In textu melius *fecissemus* si *reddendas, quod non reddendas—quod* interpunxissemus: nam *quod* pronomen relativum cum *idem* coniungendum est.

6. ut] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

contexti vis] C; *convexius* M.

credas] vett.; *predas* M<sup>1</sup>; *prodas* M<sup>2</sup>.

cogitata revocamur] M<sup>2</sup>; *cogitare vocamur* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 725 (ATT. XIV. 19).

1. ex] v. c. L (marg.) Crat.; om.  $\Sigma$ Δ.

aritia] codd.; *avaritia* vulg.; *malitia* Meyer; *ἀριολα* Bosius; *ἀπιστία* Fr. Schmidt; *ἀπρία* Muecke. Vide Comm.

Adsentiris] vett.; *assentires* M.

2. Clodio] *cleliore* M et mox *clelio*.

de Deiotaro] *de Iotario* M.

belle] M<sup>2</sup>; *velle* M<sup>1</sup>.

4. Publilius] *Publius* M.

legata] *allegata* coni. Lamb.

5. potuisse] *potuisset* Iunius; *potuisset esse* Wes.; *potuit esse* Or. Vide Comm.

πρᾶξιν] *praxin* M<sup>1</sup>; *praxim* M<sup>2</sup>.

debuit] vett.; *debui* MZl; *debet* Malaspina.

## EP. 726 (ATT. XIV. 18).

1. se a te] *te a se* Ern. Wes.

ea de causa] *eadem causa* Btr.

impudentem]  $\Sigma$  v. c. L (marg.) Zb; *puidentem* Δ. Vide Corrigenda.

Ope] Cobet; *eo* codd.; *Opis opem* Schütz. Vide Comm.

2. suppetiatus es] Montagnanus; *suspendiatus* est codd.; *suppeditatus* es M<sup>2</sup>; *suppeditatum* est Lamb.; *suppeditavisti* con. Wes.; *succenturiatus* es Müller.

Erotem] C; errorem M.

3. scripsi, erit] *scripserit* M.

4. Graecia] *gratia* M<sup>1</sup>.

scribit] Corradus; *scribis* M.

#### EP. 727 (ATT. XIV. 20).

1. in Puteolanum . . . Nonis alteram] C; om. M.

2. in Samnium: a quo] Wes.; *a quo in Samnium* codd.; *Aequum Samnitium* con. Schmidt (Rh. Mus. 1898, p. 234); *a quo insanienti* Koch.

horribilis] *horribilius* M.

contio] Vict.; *contentio* M.

Tertullae] *Tercylle* M<sup>1</sup>.

Caesare] *Caesarione* con. Lamb.

illo] *filio* Müller.

3. Buthroto] *de Buthroto* Boot.

e] add. vulg.; *in v. c.*; om. codd.

istisve] *istiusve* M.

quoique] *quoque* M<sup>1</sup> (bis); *cuique* vulg.

4. se bene] Vict.; *se ne* M.

Quod vis] *Madvig*; *quaeris* codd.;

*quod hortaris* con. Lamb.

videtur] *videbatur* Orelli Wes. praeter necessitatem.

5. dicere] *dicere* <*decere*> vel <*debere*> Reid.

filii] *filius* <*illius*>. (omisso *Antoni*) Orelli.

Antoni] v. c. L (marg.) Zb Crat.; om.  $\Sigma\Delta$ .

scripsi] addunt *raptim* vel *summam* vel *festinans* vel simile edd. plerique, vix necessario.

tabellarius. Eram] *tabellarius eram* M<sup>1</sup>; *tabellario daturus eram* M<sup>2</sup>.

plurimam] *plura* M<sup>1</sup>; *piliae* M<sup>2</sup>.

#### EP. 728 (ATT. XIV. 21).

1. simile sine] *similes in* M.

Lanuvi] *Lanui* M.

litterae] *litteras* M.

quarum] *que in* M.

2. virum] *utrum* M<sup>1</sup>.

ut arma] Lamb. *Madv.*; *utram* M<sup>1</sup>;

*ut iam* M<sup>2</sup>; *ut tam v. c.*; *ut rata* Vict.;

*ut castra* Otto, bene.

duumviri] *dum viri* M<sup>1</sup>.

4.  $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ] Vide Comm.

videamus] MZ v. c.; *induamus alii*.

tinniat an] *tinniatam* M.

#### EP. 729 (ATT. XIV. 22).

1. odorari] *orari* M<sup>1</sup>.

a] add. Crat. Wes.; om. codd. ut videtur.

Et si quaeris] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

virum] add. Orelli cp. 752. 2; ante *clarissimum* add. Rom. I.

desisteremus] Faernus; *desistemus* M.

potuisse] M<sup>1</sup>; *potuisset* M<sup>2</sup>.

2. Neque enim iam] Vict.; *ne geniam* M.

quod tibi] *quod ibi* M.

tum licuit] *tum liquit* M<sup>1</sup>.

nisi illi] C. F. Hermann; *et Sulli* M<sup>1</sup>;

*etsi illi* M<sup>2</sup> vulg. Vide Comm.

comparari] Corradus; *comparati* M.

#### EP. 730 (ATT. XV. 1a).

1. medico] *cum medico* Wes.; *medico opus est* Otto; *a medico* Reid; sed vide Comm.: cf. 557. 5.

summum medicum] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

2. a me] om. a M<sup>1</sup>.

egi] *relegi* Peerlkamp; *cum eo egi* Wes.

Primum . . . concedebat] Fort. *Primum, quod attinet nihil, nihil concedebat.* Sed vide Comm.

3. Seduxi enim] *sed vix enim* M.

4. [et] bellae] om. *et* Baiter, bene.

$\tau\omicron\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon;$ ] nos, dubitanter;  $\tau\omicron \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon \omicron\upsilon$  Zl;  $\tau\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon;$  Kayser,

Reid, fort. recte;  $\tau\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron,$  Lamb.

quid est hoc?] iure Lambino suspectum.

5. illi] M<sup>2</sup>; *illa* M<sup>1</sup>.

exstinguetur] M; *exstinguitur* Wes. Müller.

#### EP. 731 (ATT. XV. 1b).

1. Here] C; *hercle* M; *heri* Ern.

bene] Ascensius; *pene* M.

paulo post] Lamb.; om. *post* M;

*paullum* Iunius.

Cumis] Zb; *clam iis* M.

efferebat] *efferrat* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. noster] con. Turnebi; *non* M<sup>1</sup>.

*ne ambitiose* nec *ambitiose* Bosius; *sine ambitione* Koch.

et] add. Orelli.

id ita] M (marg.) Zt; *edita* M<sup>1</sup>; *et ita* M<sup>2</sup>.

Sed ego] secl. *sed* Wes., Boot.

secutus] Pius; *solus* M.

eam] Zt Rom.; *tum* M; *item* Bücheler; om. Baiter. Fort. *totam*.

iam] M<sup>2</sup>; eam M<sup>1</sup>.

ἀττικώτατα] Vict.; attico tota M.

et] add. Lamb.

EP. 732 (ATT. xv. 2).

1. acutius] omitta esse *ad* et nomen proprium velut *Acilium* vel *Vettium* videntur; a *Cumis* Rom.; a *Cutiliis* coni. Turnebi.

Vescino] Zt v. c.; Vesciano M; in Vescinum Wes.

2. L. Antonium] L. Antonius M v. c. scripti] M<sup>1</sup>; scripsti M<sup>2</sup>; scripsisti Rom. I.

probe: Quintus] probeque M.

te] se M.

postularis] postularas Madvig.

probabis] probis M<sup>1</sup>.

tibi] sibi M<sup>1</sup>.

qui de] v. c.; quid de M.

quod, puto (tantum enim video)] Ita dispunxit Reid; *haud puto: quantum enim video* Gronovius; *quod dubito. Tantum enim video* coni. Boot.

non] nos coni. Lamb.

victuri] victori MZ.

ut iam] Klotz; etiam M; si etiam Rom.; ut etiam Orelli.

3. apparatus et Matius] apparatu sed Matius Zt.

4. de qua causa] de qua Pansa cod. Ursini; de qua Casca coni. Boot: de qua tam laboras cod. Helmstadtiensis; de qua tam laborat Rom. cod. Balliolensis.

laborat] laboras Man.

hos tamen...] defendam vel simile (fortasse Graecum quoddam) omissum esse videtur; noscam tamen Reid.

tam] M<sup>2</sup>; ira M<sup>1</sup>; ita Vict.

velim] Orelli; vellem M.

EP. 733 (ATT. xv. 3).

1. Arpinati] Lamb.; nati (nacti) SZ; om. Δ; in Atinati Bosius.

acta] acta me (sed me deletum) M; acta a me Zt et coni. Müller; acta sine me F, haud male, vide Comm.

coram odorandum] C; cura moderandum M.

tutone] tutine Zt v. c. Wes. fort. recte.

habitatores sane] Vict.; habitatoris an ne M et ita Z (sed is me).

Sed sunt] Rom.; sed si M; etsi Peerlkamp.

etiam] Btr.; et M; vel Müller.

Tabula] De tabula Man.

†malo] Manlio Shuckburgh, bene; vide Comm.; Mario Man.; Matio Berdaldus; Montano Schmidt.

2. quam] Pius; quoniam M; quam iam Or.; quoniam male Alanus.

de Q. filio ut] De que fui M.

†A.M.C.] ἄλῃς Turnebus, Gronovius; ἰλῆς Bosius ex 'Crusellino' suo quem ἰλῆς dedisse dicit.

habitam orationem] Gronovius; habita... oratione codd.

praeclaros] praeclare Jordan.

EP. 734 (ATT. xv. 4. 1-4).

1. ix] Ruete; x M; xi Zt.

H. x] Bücheler (= hora decima); iix codd.; hora octava alii.

fere a Q.] fere ea que M<sup>1</sup>: fere ea que a M<sup>2</sup>.

solet] solum M<sup>1</sup>.

quem] codd. quos optime defendit Sjögren, vide Comm.; quae Bosius; quom Reid. Ante omnia addit ab eo Wes.

Scripsi] Rescripsi Wes.

Mihi] Idem mihi Zt.

x] x datam Wes.

et plenior] Orelli; et lenior codd.; de Lenio Lamb.; de legione M (= Martia) coni. Boot post Schützium (de legione probe); et levior Reid, sed vide Comm.

\* \* laudo] <Egnatuleium> laudo Reid, docte. Vide Comm.

populum] polutum M<sup>1</sup>.

quod] M<sup>2</sup> vulg.; cui M<sup>1</sup>CZt.

cavetur] Vict.; caretur MZt.

Rides? Aps condoleo] MZ (sed Z abs) Rides? Ast condoleo Vict.; Rides? at ego doleo Lamb.; Rides? ab isto tamen doleo Reid; Rides Ἀττικόν (vel Ἀστικόν); doleo Madvig. Fort. At seo (= senatus consulto ut 737. 2) doleo. Vide Comm.

2. stulta] iste luta M, cf. 748. 2.

fruticetur] Nonius, p. 479. 18; fruticetur M.

de te] Popma; pete M; Tite Zt; peto Corradus; puto Reid; de re Lamb.

te a Bruto] de Bruto Graevius. Sed vide Comm. Post Bruto add. rogatum Wes., rogari alii.

Tusculano] Baiter, Reid; Tusculanum codd.

futurus] M; venturus Ant. F et fort. Z, vulg. Wes.

3. manant] M; manent alii; maneat Rom.

numquam] <aut> nunquam Schütz.

Saufei] add. αἰψεῖν vel simile Bosius. Pro Saufei eam dant codices Saufeleam.



relinquamque] Bosius; *reliquam que* M.  
perdunt] CZt v. c.; *Tu* M<sup>1</sup>: *perdant* *Tu* M<sup>2</sup>.  
solveret] vett.; *solverit* M.  
dedita] codd.; *dedita <opera>* vulg.;  
sed vide Comm.

## EP. 735 (ATT. XV. 4, § 5).

Novam epistolam iam agnovit Mon-  
galtius.

5. potuisses] Rom.; *potuisse* M<sup>2</sup>Zt;  
*potius se* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 736 (FAM. XII. 16).

1. tuis etiam] HD; *tuis et tam* M.  
adulescente] M; *adulescenti* HD.  
2. officium] om. H.  
Cratippus] *gratippus* codd.  
3. pari] Lamb. *par* codd.  
4. mihi pollicitus es] M; *pollicitus es*  
*mihi* HD.

## EP. 737 (ATT. XV. 5).

1. Cassio] *a Cassio* Ant.; vide Comm.  
Post Cassio add. *litteras* M<sup>2</sup>.  
ὅτε ναὺς ἄνθρακες] ὁ θεσσαυρὸς ἄνθρα-  
κες Vict. Shuckburgh, bene; ὁ γραφεὺς  
ἄνθρακός Bosius, parum apte.  
2. senatus consultum, ita] Vict.; *scita*  
*M* v. c.; *cita* Zt.  
et Hirtius, qui] Bosius "auctore  
Crusellino": om. *qui* codd.; *et <Oppius>*.  
*Hirtius* (om. *qui*) coni. Müller.  
afuturum] Orelli; *acturum* M; *actu-*  
*tum* Bosius; sed vox non est Tulliana.  
auctor est] vulg.; *auctor et* M; *auctor*  
*est et* L (marg.) v. c. Wes. fort. recte.  
nunc] Bosius; *non* M; om. Lamb.  
causa ea sit] Wes.; *causa esset* M.  
cur] I vett.; *ut* M.  
Romam] *rome* M.  
3. Quis porro] *Qui porro* Malaspina.  
scribis] Pius; *scribit* M.  
in D.] *inde cum in d.* M.  
pacto] Vict.; *facto* CM<sup>1</sup>; *fato* M<sup>2</sup>.

## EP. 738 (ATT. XV. 6).

1. qui . . . Antonio] Locum difficilli-  
mum nunc damus sicut Reid qui codices  
secutus meliore interpunctione utitur,  
leve anacoluthon agnoscit. Olim nos M<sup>2</sup>  
nimis amplexantes dedimus *qui adhuc*

*bonus fuisset*—*<fuisset>* [add. M<sup>2</sup>] *sciebam*  
[*sciebant* M<sup>2</sup>] *neque eum confidebam* [*con-*  
*fidebant* M<sup>2</sup>] *fore*—*mea auctoritate meli-*  
*orem <facere>* [add. M<sup>2</sup>]—*Antonio*.  
Madvig (A.C. ii. 240) *laetunam magnam*  
*suspiscatur qui adhuc bonus fuisset <con-*  
*firmarem et excitarem, etsi alieno a causa*  
*animo fuisse>* *sciebam, neque eum confi-*  
*debam fore mea auctoritate meliorem*—  
*Antonio*.

istos] *isto* M<sup>1</sup>.  
habeant] om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
2. Rurene] Wes.; *rure* codd.  
Etiam ex] *Etiam*; *ex* Reid. Vide  
Comm.  
Utilius enim statui] *ut illius enim*  
*status* M<sup>1</sup>.  
calidius] Lamb. (ex Z): *calidius* v. c.;  
*callidius* M; itemque § 4.  
3. medius] om. MZ.  
4. iam] *iam <epistula>* vett.; cf. 737  
init.

## EP. 739 (ATT. XV. 7).

nostri] *N* M.  
tum] *cura* Rom.; *genus* Fr. Schmidt,  
Müller; *consilium* Reid; *τόνος* coni. Boot;  
*causa* alii.  
videtur] M Zt; *videtur* vulg. Vide  
Comm.  
manum] Lamb.; *manu* M.  
tuque] *tuque ei* Kayser.

## EP. 740 (FAM. XI. 2).

1. non scripsissemus] HD; *conscrip-*  
*sissemus* M; *non conscripsissemus* vett.  
dissimiles] HD; *dissimus* M.  
nostros] M; *nostris* HD.  
2. putesne] M; *putasne* HD.  
3. aliis] M<sup>1</sup> HD; *alio* M<sup>2</sup>, male.  
laturus esses] H; *laturus esse* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*laturum esse* D.

## EP. 741 (ATT. XV. 8).

1. Martiis] secl. edd.  
quidque] Z Malaspina; *quisque* M.  
2. possis] om. Wes.  
Id] *<Ementitum>* id Madvig.  
mihi vix fore] Wes.; om. *vix fore*  
codd.; *mihi vix* Klotz; *mihi non* Pius;  
*mihi haud* Or.; *mihi mentiri* Fr. Schmidt;  
*mihi mirum* Meyer; *mihi nihili* Reid.  
villaeque] Bosius, Wes.; *ut illeque* M;  
*tutelaque* Madvig; *vigiliaeque* Klotz;  
*litteraeque* Reid.

videndae] *visendaeque* Wes.; vide Comm.; *vident de se* coni. Turneb.

Sed] *Debet* Madvig. Quodammodo haec lectio in editione Graeviana apparet (p. 627) fort. ex Stephaniana desumpta. dare] *de ea re* Bosius; *dabit* Rom.; *adferet* coni. Wes.; *dare pollicetur* I.

## EP. 742 (ATT. XV. 9).

1. III Non] Rom.; *Mimon* M. ullam] M<sup>1</sup>; *nullam* M<sup>2</sup>. legatoriam] *locatoriam* Bos.; *relegatoriam* alii; fort. *delegatoriam*. quam] *delere* vult Lamb. decernantur] *decernentur* M<sup>1</sup>. Περσική] *persice* M. longinquo . . . existimavit] *longinquo* *rem quam Lanuvium existimari* coni. Schmidt, Müller, Reid.

2. tua] *de tua* Schütz, Wes., haud bene ut putamus; vide Comm. consiliandum] *conciliandum* Boot, haud male, sed vix necessario.

## EP. 743 (ATT. XV. 10).

audent] Crat.; *audient* M. de Decimo gravius, quae] Corradus; *de D. gracisque* M<sup>1</sup>; *de D. graccisque* M<sup>2</sup>. qui ingrediar] *quin ingrediar* Zt. consilio] Man.; *consilium* codd. nam silere] C; om. M.

## EP. 744 (ATT. XV. 11).

1. a. d.] *ante* codd. Idus] Stroth: *Kal* vel *K.* codd. Asiatica] ERM<sup>2</sup>s; *hac attica* M<sup>1</sup>Zt; *achaica* O<sup>2</sup>.

salvus esset] Corradus; *salvos esse* codd.

spirare] Vict.; *sperare* codd. accepissem contumeliam] codd.; *accepisse in contumeliam* Zb; *accepissem in contumeliam* Zl<sup>1</sup> v. c.

At] ERM<sup>2</sup>s; *ut* OM<sup>1</sup>. placeretne] *placere* *ne*. <Placeret> Wes. 2. occasiones] *occisiones* codd. accusabant] Z v. c. L (marg.) Rom.; *accusabat* codd.

Ego] Vict.; *ca* codd. Quomque] Corradus, Turnebus; *quam* codd.

dicere] ERs; *dicerem* OM. attingerem] Gronovius; *attingere* codd. incitari] codd.; *incitare* Z v. c. L (marg.).

suscipi] Or.; *suscipere* codd. noster] M<sup>1</sup>; *noster Brutus* Zt sM<sup>2</sup>s. quo Romae] nos; *se Romae* Boot; *vel solum* (aut *vel cum mortis periculo*) *se Romae* Lehmann.

velle esse] *velle se* Baiter. 3. conventus] codd. praeter M<sup>1</sup> (con-

tus). νῦν] *del.* Cobet, haud necessario.

4. Et] codd.; *Sed* vulg.

legavit] I; *legabit* codd.

III] v. c. L (marg.) ORP; *ivi* M; III M<sup>2</sup>.

Nonas] Corradus et Malaspina; *Nonas Apriles* M.

republica, vovissem, ea me eversa] Vict.; *res. p. bovis* (vel *bonis*) *si meam et versa* RPMs.

dissolvere] *disolvere* Pius.

liberae] *liberare* M.

Aveo] Iac. Gronovius; *adeo* codd.; *obeo* Reid.

legationis] sM<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>; *legationes* RPM<sup>1</sup>O<sup>1</sup>.

licentia] Ps; *licentiam* ORM.

quid de] vett.; om. codd.

## EP. 745 (ATT. XV. 12).

dubitares] vett.; *dubitaris* codd.

quin essent] Lamb.; *essent quin* M. σμενῶς] C; CMNOC M; ἄσμενος Ur-

sinus. autem] codd., recte ut putamus; *ait* Moser.

tradidisset] *tradidissent* codd.

2. si] add. Ascensius.

Τὰν δ'] Wes.; TANΔE M; τῶνδε Boot.

nostro nostri] *nostro nostra* Kayser; *ut nostro nostra* Reid; *νόστον nostri* coni. Boot; *ignoscere nostris* Fr. Schmidt; *salutaria nostris* Koch; hunc sensum melius daret *σῶστροι nostris*.

## EP. 746 (ATT. XV. 16a).

a Cicerone] *a Ciceronem* M<sup>1</sup>; *ad Ciceronem* M<sup>2</sup>.

et] Vict.; *sed* M.

quod ipsum] *quod id ipsum* M; *id quod ipsum* coni. Btr.

significat] Schütz; *significaret* M.

Quid quaeris] *quidque res* M<sup>1</sup>.

est a Statio] M<sup>2</sup>; *es Statius* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 747 (ATT. XV. 16b).

libera. Sed] M<sup>2</sup>; *liberasse* M. ὀλκος] OIKOCOC M.

ripulae videtur] *ripule videntur* M.  
 habitura] *habituram* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 Tu] *tuque* M.  
 possim] *possem* M.

## EP. 748 (ATT. XV. 15).

1. obsignabitur. Nummos] L (marg.)  
 v. c.; *obsignavi*. Turnum nos M.  
 Arpinatum] *Arpinatum* M, sed cf.  
 Neue-Wagener ii<sup>3</sup> 132.  
 de] add. vulg.  
 Statio] a *Statio* Boot; *Fadio* Graeter.  
 2. odi. Id me] Zt Orelli; *odit me* M.  
 scit] vett.; *sit* M; *testis sit* vel *testis*  
*est* Wes. cf. 749. 2.

Hammonius] cf. Fam. i. 1. 1 (95);  
*Ammonius* codd.

quid opus] *quid ei opus* Lamb.  
 quam stomachum] M<sup>2</sup>; *quam vix*  
*stomachum* Bosius L (marg.) v. c.; *quam*  
*iuste stomachum* Zt; *quanvis homachum*  
 M<sup>1</sup>; sed vide Adn. Crit. ad Att. x. 5. 3  
 (384) [cf. 579. 2] ubi invenies *istomachos-*  
*sius, istomachere cum i προσθετικῶ*; cf.  
 734. 2 *iste luta* M<sup>1</sup> pro *stulta*.

3. abundare] *vel abundare* Crat. cod.  
 Balliolensis.

4. scio] add. Baiter; post *existimasse*  
 add. *scio* Boot; post *pertinere* add. *per-*  
*spicio* (vel *perspexi*). Fort. ante *pro*  
*addendum est puto*.

perliberaliter] Zt M<sup>2</sup>; *peraliter* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 Mox M<sup>1</sup> *orte* pro *ornate*.

ei. Scilicet] Crat.; *et scilicet* M; om.  
 Klotz; *Tibi scilicet* Schütz; *Scilicet* (om.  
 ei) Kayser.

## EP. 749 (ATT. XV. 17).

1. Bruto] <D> *Bruto* Schmidt.  
 Siregio] *Sara regio* (748. 2) Gronovius;  
 Circeio Schmidt; *Asiae regio* coni. Turn.;  
 Fort. a *Syria*. *Regio*: vide Comm.  
 ne] Nipperdey; *nec* M.  
 deesse] *desere* MZ; *de residuis* Tur-  
 nebuis: *deberi* coni. Lamb.

Sittio] Z; *Sitio* M.

Δ] M quod Gronovius per *λοιπῶ* ex-  
 plicat: fort. recte, vide Comm.; Δ  
 (= annuo) Rom.

2. facis] *facies* M.

dees, id est] Vict.; *desit est* M; *id*  
*est* C.

testem] Lamb.; *teste* M.

vocavi] M; *vocabo* Z, fort. recte.

ἐμπινῶς] Klotz; ΠΙΝΩΟC M; πεπιν-  
 ωμένως Corradus.

acroasi] Vict.; *agro si* M.  
 illi] *ille* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 non] *Nam* M.

## EP. 750 (ATT. XV. 18).

1. esset et] Ern.; *sit* M.  
 in lacu navigarem] Beroaldus; *in*  
*lacuna vigilarem* M Zt.

ab eo de mulis] *ab eodem mulos* coni.  
 Boot.

vecturae] *vecturae causa* Reid. Vide  
 Comm.

itineris] M; om. ZWORP. Videtur  
*esse ut in his repetitum*.

2. Ut] Gronovius; *et* codd.

suorum] om. L (marg.); *scenicorum*  
 L. (marg.) al.; *sumptuosorum* Lehmann.  
 et] Wes.; *etiam* M; *etiam administra-*  
*tionem* secl. Btr.

pertinere] *vertere* Zb v. c.  
 spectare] *exspectare* M.

## EP. 751 (ATT. XV. 19).

1. audendum] *agendum* Schütz, Mül-  
 ler.

sit? Egisse.] Wes.; *stetisse* M; *sti-*  
*tisse* Or; *sit? Sat egisse* Müller. Vide  
 Comm.

se refert] Fort. *de re fert*.

distentum] Lamb.; *detentum* M v. c.

et, ut ais, coram] Baiter et Wes. (sed  
*is sed pro et*); *et ut ais*. Coram Lehmann;

*et, ut ais, curramus* coni. Boot.

temere] *timere* M.

2. nunc discere aveo] vett.; *nec discere*  
*habeo* M.

iratus] *iratus* M v. c.

iam] secl. Wes.

olim] Vict.; *nolim* M.

Menedemo] Vict.; *meo domi* M.

## EP. 752 (ATT. XV. 20).

1. Vettieno] Orelli; *Vecteno* M.

mihi] MZl; *modo* Man.

anteno] *ante nos?* Lamb. Corradus  
 qui *nuntiabit*, Reid qui *passus est* sup-

plet; *λεπτυνεί* Gronovius; *ἀν ἔγνω* Fr.  
 Schmidt. Fort. *ante noscit?* sc. quae  
 futura sint Dolabellae mandata.

2. causurus] M<sup>1</sup>; *casurus* M<sup>2</sup>; *causa*  
*cursus* Zl; *causae cursus* Popma; *Catulus*  
*usus est* Madvig; *causa casura est* Reid;  
 Fort. *Caesar caesus est*.

nassa] *naxa* M v. c.

3. Cartheia] Müller; *Carthela* vel *Cartheia* codd.; *Cartheiam* Wes.; *Cartheiae* Btr.

Utra] *utar* M.

iuva] *tua* M.

Brundisione an] *Brundisio* Nam M.

4. cognitās] *cogitans* M.

cadere nummos qui a Quinto debentur] Man.; *ea de re numos quinque deuentur* M.

si ea te res] v. c.; si *fateres* vel si *faceres* ΣΔ.

videas] *videas*. *Videas enim* M.

hoc ipso] secl. *hoc* Orelli.

laxius] *prolixius* Lamb.; *lautius* Madv.; *largius* alii.

ei] Lamb. Malasp.; et F; id M; *Ciceroni* Klotz.

explicata] codd. Memmii; *excitata* M (et ita, ut vid. Z); *extricata* Bos.; *HS c data* coni Turnebus.

Hanc] M; *Haec* Ern. et Zt, ut videtur, fort. recte.  
manu scribendam] *manus scribenda* MZt.

Rescribas] *rescribis* M.

Ep. 753 (Att. xv. 21).

1. tibi, Q.] *tibique* M.

efficeret] *efficeret et* coni. Boot.

noceret. Itaque] *noceret patris scilicet*.

Itaque M. (et ita Zt sed is patri).

illum] *illud* M.

Eqquem] Zb Zt v. c.: *quem* M.

certiorem] *cerritiorem* coni. Tyrrell.

2. deliberationis] secl. Ern.; *deliberantium* Moser; *quae est deliberationis* Reid. Vide Comm.

de tabulis] Fort. *de <dotalibus> tabulis*.

es enim occupatus] *eos enim occupatos* M.

absolvero] *ad solveret* M.

Quinto] *Quod Quinto* coni. Boot.

3. Hydruntem] *Hydrunte: me* coni. Boot.

Hic] *Hinc* Ern.; sed vide Comm.

aiunt] *audiunt* M.

Ep. 754 (Fam. xvi. 23).

1. possit] codd.; *posset* Wes.

de lege] HDF; *de legem* M; *de legg*.

III Or. Vide Comm.

quod egerit] Lehmann, bene; vide Comm.; *quid egerit* codd.; *quidlibet egerit* Reid; *quid egerit <non curo>* Wes.

2. contemnis] *contemnis*; <at ego contemno>; *etsi* Kayser, Wes.

et n.] *et enim* D; Fort. *et nostrum*, i.e. Quintum filium; vide Comm.

puleio] HDF; *pleio* M.

Ep. 755 (Att. xv. 22).

nobis Q. filium] *nobisque filium* M.

illos videbit] *illi videbitur* (sc. *expe-dire*) Graeter.

Sextum] M<sup>2</sup>; vi M<sup>1</sup>.

utrobi erit] Lamb.; *utro erit* codd.; *cum utro erit* cod. Ursini; *utrorum erit* Kayser; *utro conferet se* Müller. Fort. *utro ierit*?

Ep. 756 (Att. xv. 23).

tuae] Vitrioli; *tue* M; *tibi* Zt; *mi* Wes.; om. M. Fort. *tum*, sc. cum ero ad navem; vel *ante* sc. quam profectus sum.

compositum. Si] *compositumst.* Si Orelli. Post *expectabam* transposuit si *quid novi* Schütz; *compositum*, si Reid. Vide Comm.

Ep. 757 (Att. xv. 24).

Ei] *et* M.

H.I.S.] = *hora prima semisse* Orelli. Vide Comm.; *his* M; *H. nis*, Zb; *hiis* Zt; *III* Lamb.; *HIIS* = *hora semitertia* Boot.; *in Nesidem* Schiche.

dolui] *dolus* M.

Ep. 758 (Att. xv. 14).

2. litteris] *litteras* M.

cuius] Rom.; *ut tum* M<sup>1</sup>; *ut tuam* vel *cuius* M<sup>2</sup>.

erga se] M<sup>2</sup>; *erga me* Zt et M<sup>2</sup> (aliter); *erga e* M<sup>1</sup>.

officiis] *officiis tuis* Wes.

tu me] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

3. reliquum] *relictum* M<sup>1</sup>.

atque etiam] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

me] om. M<sup>1</sup>.

4. miniata] CM; *miniatura* Crat.

cerula] *ceruia* M.

Ep. 759 (Att. xv. 25).

sic] Zb, v. c. Rom.; *si* M; *ita* Zt AFL (marg.).

si] om. vett.  
Velim] L (marg.), Shuckburgh; *et ve*  
*tu* Zt ut videtur, unde Turnebus *et vellem*  
*etiam* coniecit; *et tu* M. De toto loco  
vide Comm.

scire] *scite* Bosius.  
Olympia, cum] M; *olim piaculum*  
Bosius.  
mysteria scilicet] secl. Boot, Shuck-  
burgh.

[ut] tu scires] nos, cum *mysteria sci-*  
*licet* construentes: editores plerumque  
cum sequentibus coniungunt; *utut est*  
(*vel erit*) *res Moser*; *utut sit res vulg.*;  
*ut tu scribis Man., Lamb., Shuckburgh.*

Est] ZbL (marg.) v. c.; om. M.  
navigatio] Zb; *navigatio eo* M.  
p[ri]d. Kal.] P. R. K. M.

## EP. 760 (FAM. VII. 21).

SI . . . DEDIT] NI . . . DEDERIT alii.  
POSSESSIONEM Q. CAEPIO] *posses-*  
*sionemq' caepio* M; *possessionemque cupio*  
G; *possessionem quae capio* R.

Ofilium] vett.; cf. Digesta i. 2. 2. 44  
et Wilmann's 'Exempla Inscriptionum'  
285. 12.; 320. 70; *officium* MG; *ofitium*  
R; *Offilium* Crat., cf. Ep. 657. 4; *Ofillium*  
alii, cf. Fam. xvi. 24. 1 (806).

mi Testa] M; *me teste* GR.

## EP. 761 (FAM. VII. 22).

scyphos] *schyphos* M.  
M'] Ern.; *m. codd.*  
Scaevolae et Testae] *scaevulae (scevule*  
GR) *et teste* codd.

## EP. 762 (FAM. XI. 29).

Haec epistula in D deest.  
2. et senserim] om. *et* H.  
totum] *et totum* MH.  
3. etsi more magis] *etsi morem agis*  
M; *etsi amore magis* H.

## EP. 763 (ATT. XV. 26).

1. De Quinti] *deque* M.  
a te] om. *a* M.  
Inaudivi] Bos.; *mandibili* M; *inau-*  
*dibili* Z.  
velle] Bos.; *vellem* M.  
a me] om. *a* M.  
missum] M; *missurum* Zt, fort. recte.  
ad me] vett.; *ad te* M; *ab eo* Lamb.

non] add. Vict.  
deinde] Wes.; *de me* M; *dein* Vict.  
sic ne] Man.; *sic neminem ne* M.  
in dies] L (marg.) v. c. Zbt; om. *in*  
M.

2. est] Ant. RPZb; om. M.  
quidem] CZ  $\Sigma$ ; *namque* M.  
partem] CZ v. c.; om.  $\Sigma\Delta$ .  
tamen] *tam enim* M.  
ad te e] Zb; *ad te* OR v. c.; *a* M.  
4. is] add. Lamb.  
me] *ne* Schiche.

pedes] Turnebus, Madvig; *pe* Zt;  
*specus* Zl; *spe* M.

putasse aliquid] Madvig; *apud tale*  
*quid* M; *putat aliquid* vulg.; *putet aliquid*  
Schiche. Vide Comm.

quicquam] Vict.; *quam* MZt; *aquam*  
Turnebus.

capite libere] Bosius; *cupide libero* M.  
loquere] Orelli; *loquare* M.

bene] *vere* v. c.  
agebatur] *agebantur* M v. c.  
utut] Ant. FZtL (marg.) v. c.; *ut*  
M.

tulii . . . videris] De hoc loco quantu-  
lum possumus in Commentario scripsimus.  
Nullam emendationem meliorem scimus  
quam Shuckburghianam *Octavam partem*  
*Tullianarum Aedum ad Streniae* (ita iam  
verba edenda curavit Lambinus; sed  
*Strenae pro Streniae*) *memineris deberi*  
*Caerelliae*; *videris mancipio dare*. Fort.  
*caveri pro deberi*.

ad strane] M; *ad streniae* Zt; *ad*  
*Strenae* Lamb.

dare] *dari* Gronovius.  
5. excusare] *ex causa re* M.  
iste cum M. Ennio] Wes.; *istum* M.  
Enius M.

curiosus sum enim] nos; om. *sum* M;  
*curiosus enim sum* Wes.

## EP. 764 (ATT. XV. 27).

1. persequitur] codd. praeter M; *pro-*  
*sequitur* M; *sequitur* Reid.

dum] Wes.; *cum* codd.

2. totius] M<sup>2</sup>; *tutius* M<sup>1</sup>.

3. memini. Attica] *in emineatica* M.  
Bacchide, de statuarum] Graevius;  
*de bachide statuarum* M; *de Bacchi, de*  
*statuarum* vulg.

Et] *sed* M.  
Herode] CM; *Erote* alii.

suspicator] L (marg.) v. c. Zb  $\Sigma$ ;  
*suspicio*  $\Delta$ .

O] add. Bosius; om. M.  
*αὐτῇ*] Boot; *autem* M.

## EP. 765 (ATT. xv. 28).

1. Puteolanum] Mongaltius, cf. 763.  
 3; Tusculanum M.  
 Ibi] CZt; ibo M.  
 confirmes] Vict.: *confirmem* MZt.  
 immutatum amorem meum mecum abstulisse] Wes.; *minuo tutam amore meo mecum attulisse* M; *minime totum amorem ab ea mecum abstulisse* I; *me intimo totam amore eam mecum abstulisse* Gronovius.

## EP. 766 (ATT. xvi. 16).

1. sir] sis Corradus.  
 2. relaxaris] relaxares M.

## EP. 767 (ATT. xvi. 16a).

- CN] Man.; L M; [L] Orelli.  
 3. mei] mi M<sup>1</sup>.  
 4. de ea re tecum] codices Bosii; *de ea tecum* v. c. L (marg.); om. ΣΔ.  
 5. equidem] Lamb.; *quidem* M.  
 autem] M; om. nonnulli.  
 transissent] Pius; *transisset* M.  
 6. causas] codd.; *causam* Corradus Man.  
 facias] M<sup>2</sup>; *factas* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 768 (ATT. xv. 29).

1. nullus] *nulus* M; *ne ieris* Schmidt.  
 M. Axianum] Man.; *Maxianam* CM;  
*maximam* Zt.  
 Cosano] Schütz; *Coziano* M; *Cosiano* vulg.; *Cusano* Zt.  
 eadem] nos; *me* M; *causa me* Btr.;  
*re me* Koch; *mi* Orelli.  
 di faxint] *diffuse sint* M.  
 nolebam] CZb v. c.; om. ΣΔ.  
 2. tua] FZb v. c. L (marg.); om. M.  
 Favonium] vulg.; *Favonius* M;  
*Favoni* Reid; *modo Favonium* Schmidt.  
 Asinium] *alterum* Ern.; *simium* Reid;  
*modo Asinium* Schmidt. Fort. *Favoniissimum* vel *Favonianissimum*. Vide Comm.  
 et ut sit mecum] nos; *et ut σπ mecum* M; om. σπ vulg. Locum ita contraxit Lamb. *et mecum σπείσασθαι vult et cum Bruto et Cassio*; et ita refinxit Schmidt est (= versatur) *quidem duas ob causas, et vult σπείσασθαι mecum et σπείσασθαι vult cum Bruto et Cassio.*  
 et] om. M.  
 Othonum] *otonum* M.  
 Iuliam] *Tutiam* L (marg.): cf. 772. 5.  
 Sed nomen *Tutia* inusitatum. De interpretatione loci Gurlittiana, nimis quidem

subtili et audaci, vide 'Philologum,' 1900, pp. 96 ff.

esse discidium] v. c. L (marg.) Man.; *esses sed excidium* M.

et patre] *putri* Schütz; *et paedore* coni. Müller; *et patore* (sc. *narium*) Schmidt.

quorsus] v. c. Man.; *cursus* M.

putare me illa] Zb v. c.; *putam illa* Zt; *pubabulla* M; *probabilia* Ellis, ingeniose: *putari* illa Gurlitt.

hoc] secluserunt Gurlitt, Müller, utpote ex dittographia ΣΚΟΠΟC ΗΟC; fort. recte; *hic* Corradus.

παρά τοῦτο] ΠΑΚΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ M; παρά τοῦτον codices Bosii; παρά τούτῳ Gronovius. Vide Comm.

alucinari] *allucinari* M.

3. se aiebant] Vict.; *sinebant* M.

vidisse] v. c. et L (marg.) Beroaldus; *vidi esse* M.

phaleris] *faleris* M.

electos] *ellectos* M.

## EP. 769 (ATT. xvi. 1).

1. Postridie] CZb v. c. L (marg.); om. ΣΔ.

iens] Ascensius; *flens* MZt; *Maliemus exiens*, vide Comm.

in Nesidem] *ines idem* M<sup>1</sup>.

eo die quo] *ego de quo* M.

Nonis] Vict.; *nobis* M.

Di] Bosius; *de* M.

Nihil vidi] Haec verba in M post ετ' ἐώμεν sequuntur; transposuit Boot.

ετ' ἐώμεν;] Ἰτ' ἰώμεν Reid; ἐλθώμεν M (marg.); θέώμεν Zl.

2. inaudiebam] Lamb.; *mediabam* M; *audiebam* L (marg.) v. c.

3. videndum... laudetur] In M post *mirum*; transposuit Ern.

4. ad arma] *haud ad arma* coni. Orelli; *abidere arma* coni. Klotz; *abiecurum arma* Reid. Fort. *ad larem*; cf. 771. 2, Phil. ii. 75; *dare manus* Shuckburgh.

An *dearmari*? cf. 768. 1 (*scutum abicere*).  
 ad] v. c. L (marg.) Zt; om. M.

somno] *sumpno* M.

5. Ovius enim recens: is] Turnebus; Lamb. ex v. c.; *obius enim recessis* M; *obvius enim recessis* Z.

si habunde] M; *sit abunde* codices Malaspinæ et Zb; *sat abunde* Man.: in *mandatis sat abunde* del. Lamb. Vide Comm.

id est minutatim] Explicatio, ut videtur, verbi γλίσχρως, ideoque ab editoribus seclusa.

Quod] Ern.; *que quo* M.

Hine] Man.; *hic* M.  
 6. cognosses] *cognosces* M.  
 Eae te] Ascensius; *ea et te* M.  
 faxint] *fas sint* M.  
 vii] M; vi Rom.

## EP. 770 (ATT. XVI. 5).

1. non] del. Corradus.  
 quod] v. c. L (marg.); *que* M.  
 2. Quintus] Fort. *Quintus filius* i.e. *Quintus f.* (ante *fuit*).  
 quantum] M; *quamdiu* Lamb.; *quot* Reid; *quantum quantum* Moser.  
 ut sponderem] *responderem* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 3. tergiversantem] *tergit versantem* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 revertar] *Hic* M habet iterum Ep. 468 (Att. xii. 3) qua intrusa multa esse extrusa putat Reid.  
 circumspices] M; *circumspice* C.  
 quam] CΣ; om. M. Locum ita emendandum censet Reid (*Hermathena*, xii. 267); *circumspice* (cf. Q. Rosc. 5); *sed ante erubescere*. Vide Comm.  
 4. lepide] L (marg.) Malasp.; om. M.  
 descriptos] *discriptos* Reid.  
 in] add. Orelli.  
 5. legenda] *alegenda* M; *omnino legenda* Schmidt.  
 instar] *inistar* M. Nimis audacter Bardt (*Hermes* (1897), p. 271) *instar ἐπτα <τεύχου>*; *hae sunt igitur au>gendae, et quidem, &c.*  
 Et quidem] *equidem* M.

## EP. 771 (ATT. XVI. 4).

1. eam] Ern.: *etiam* codd.  
 in] add. Wes.  
 Libo intervenit. Is] EORM<sup>2</sup>s; *libenter venit* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 ceteroqui] *ceteroque* OM<sup>1</sup>; *ceteraque* ERM<sup>2</sup>.  
 ipsos] M<sup>1</sup>; *se ipsos* EORM<sup>2</sup>s.  
 2. Baream] Boot; *Boream* codd.; *Eboram* con. Turnebus.  
 Ad ipsum] EORM<sup>2</sup>s; *ab ipsum* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 3. ni] O<sup>2</sup>s; *ne* O<sup>1</sup>RPM.  
 4. Brandisium] *Brondisium* M ut saepe; *Brundisium* Pius.  
 enim] ORP Crat.; om. M.  
 et] addere vult Hofmann.  
 Etesiis] Corradus Zl; *et estis* v. c. codices Bosii; *et testis* O<sup>2</sup>Ms.

## EP. 772 (ATT. XVI. 2).

1. a] ante *Bruti* add. Lamb.

Hortensio] *Hordeonio* Schütz, coll. 663. 3.

quia e] *et coheredibus* Iunius, coll. 775. 3, vide Comm. Nomen proprium desiderat Müller; *Publio* con. Orelli; *Oviae* Gurlitt, coll. 635. 4; *Leptae* Schmidt.

Hortensius] *Hordeonius* Schütz.  
 qui de residuis] Man.: *quid eres* MZt.  
 loqui cum eo] Vict.; *loci qua meo* M.  
 2. fit] *sic* M.  
 venditione] Ascensius; *venditionis* M.  
 3. quo] add. vulg.  
 plaudendo] CZI v. c.; *laudando* ΣΔ.  
 4. furcilla] Z; *furo illa* M.  
 v Id.] Corradus; v K M.  
 Aeculanum] E Crat. Ant.; *Aculanum* M.

5. Iulia] con. Corradus, coll. 768. 2; *Tutia* M; *de tuta via* Schmidt.  
 ita putaram] *dubitaram* Schmidt.  
 Aebutio] Zb; *ebutio* OR; *enictio* M;  
 Emetio I: *Ventidio* Schmidt; C. Metio alii.

amicissimum] Vict.; *amplissimum* M.  
 si de] Ant. Zb; *sed de* M.  
 maius] *malus* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 domo mittito] Σs; *dum omittito* M;  
*domo mitto*.

Custodies] *custodes* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 notentur] *vocentur* con. Turnebus.  
 eclogarii] *eglogari* M; *ἐκλογαί* Reid.  
 quos] M; *quas* Zt Reid; *quaeso* con. Clark.

nactus] *nactis* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 legat] *legant* M.

## EP. 773 (ATT. XVI. 3).

1. ocus] *otius* M; *potius* Vict.  
 et magis] add. Bosius; *cotidie* Müller.  
 delectare] con. Baiter; *delectari* codd.  
 si quid] *si quid ego* Man.  
 auges] Lamb.; *ages* M Zt; *addis* Man.  
 te dicis] Σ Crat. Zt; om. *te* Δ. Vide Corrigenda.  
 Hunc] *Hoc* Reid coll. Att. xii. 5c (467).  
 lege] *legi* M.  
 arcano] *in Arcano* nonnulli, inepte; cf. Charisium 192. 25 : 199. 26 (Keil).  
 3. mihi spero] *in yspero* M.  
 accedet] M; *accedit* vett.  
 4. etsi] *et sed* M.  
 tu iam] *viam* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 5. in] add. Ern.; *ex* add. Boot.  
 attributione] *attributionis* Orelli.  
 mandasse ut] *mandasse fui* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 eo] om. M.  
 si] *sed* M.

6. tribus] C; tribui M.  
 decemscalmis] C Vict.; *decemscalmi* M.  
 Neapoli] *Neapolim* M.  
 Ecquid] *et quid* M.  
 Hieram] Vict.; *Eram* M.  
 ei] *et* M, idemque mox.  
 absentem] v. c. L (marg.) Zb, Zt,  
 Crat.; om.  $\Sigma\Delta$ .  
 Referes] *re se res* M<sup>1</sup>.

## EP. 774 (FAM. VII. 20).

1. tamen] om. G.  
 Haletem] M; *Heletem* codd. epp. ad  
 Att. xvi. 7. 5 (783) fort. recte; *aletem* R;  
*athletem* G.

Papirianam] *paternam* Haackh.  
 domum] om. GR.  
 lotum] M; *lutum* GR; *lucum* vett.  
 3. Fadio] *fabio* G.  
 Bassus] *balbus* G.  
 Velia] *vilia* M.

## EP. 775 (ATT. XVI. 6).

1. ad] Crat.; *et* M.  
 oporteret] Crat.; *oportet et* M.  
 aequis] *Salmasius*; *equis* M.  
 Veliae] *vellem* M.  
 Talnam] Rom., Btr., Müller, cf. Att. i.  
 16. 6 (22). *Talanam* M; *Thalnam* vulg.,  
 fort. recte. Fasti enim Capitolini ad  
 annum 591 (163) dant *Thalna*. non *Talna*  
 (C.I.L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 25); *Tullianam*, Zt; *Testam*  
 alii; cf. Comm. ad 774. 1.

Leucopetram] Btr. coll. 783. 1; *Leu-*  
*copetras* M.

atque] Lamb.; *ast* M.  
 2. satis] add. Asc.  
 superque] *super* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 Quid] Z; om. M.  
 enim] *autem* Schütz.  
 quod quidem] *quodque idem* M.  
 prospice] vulg.; *perspice* M.  
 3. exsolve] C; *exsolvi* M.  
 reliqua] CZ v. c. L (marg.); om. M.  
 persolutum] *perso tum* M.  
 plane volo] *plavolo* M.  
 4. id] *idem* con. Wes.  
 qui] *cum* Siesbye.  
 salutem dices] *S.D. M.*

## EP. 776 (FAM. VII. 19).

Vide] M; *videne* GR; *viden* Men-  
 delssohn, fort. recte; *Tu vide* Streicher.

subnegaram, non tribueram] Crat.;  
*subnegarem, non tribuerem* (-ere R) codd.  
 absent] cod. Amstelodani; *absentem*  
 codd.

Velia] M; *vel iam* GR.  
 Topica] M; *topia* R; *copia* G.  
 misi] *amisio* (o deletum) M; *amisi* G;  
*anasi* R.  
 planissime] Vict.; *plenissime* (-a R)  
 codd.

Non longe] bis in M scripta.  
 usumque] *Egnatius*; *unumque* MR;  
*unumquem* G; *nonnunquam* Lamb.  
 per te] M; *perite* GR.

## EP. 777 (ATT. XVI. 16b).

8. ut] M<sup>2</sup>; *et* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 consulum] *consules* M.  
 sunt] Vict.; *sint* M.  
 magnam] Hic deficit M ut nunc est,  
 sed periisse videtur folium ultimum.

9. et etiam] *et etiam atque etiam*  
 Müller.

oro] *rogo* cod. Berolinensis-Hamilton  
 (cf. O. E. Schmidt *Die handschriftliche*  
*Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros*, p. 358  
 [86] et Sjögren *Commentationes Tullianae*,  
 pp. 18 ff.) Rom., qui duo in hac extrema  
 parte epistolarum ad Att. plerumque con-  
 sentiunt.

te] add. Lamb.

## EP. 778 (ATT. XVI. 16c).

10. omitte] *omitto* con. Boot.  
 da] Zb. v. c. L (marg.); om. vulg.  
 11. Accessit . . . lata est] om. Rom.,  
 cod. Berolinensis-Hamilton.

Non. Iun.] del. *Iun.* Wes. Vide  
 Comm.

Plancum] *litteras ad Plancum* Man.  
 coll. 767. 6; *cognitorem Plancum* Or.;  
*Plancum arbitrum* Müller.

12. mihi videtur] Rom. et cod. Ber-  
 Ham. (Errore *mihi* omisimus in textu);  
*mea videtur* I; *videtur* (om. *mihi*) Klotz.  
 esse] vulg.: om. Rom. et cod. Ber-  
 Hamilton.

confirmari] *Faernus*; *confirmare* vett.

## EP. 779 (ATT. XVI. 16d).

14. plurimi] *plurimum* I.  
 Ego] om. I.  
 comprobet] C v. c. L (marg.); *probet*  
 Rom. I.



## EP. 780 (ATT. XVI. 16e).

15. scripserim] Man.; *scripseram* alii.  
 quo] *quod* Rom. cod. Ber.-Ham.  
 Caesar, nobis] *cos. nobis* Rom. cod.  
 Ber.-Ham.; *con. a nobis* I.  
 16. magna] om. I.  
 tam] om. cod. Ber.-Ham.

## EP. 781 (ATT. XVI. 16f).

17. Attici] secl. Boot.  
 18. ita est] Pius Zb; *ista est* Rom. I.  
 officii sui] Man.; *offici tui* Rom. I.

## EP. 782 (FAM. XI. 3).

1. lacessimus] vett.; *lacessimus* codd.  
 credidimus] M; *credimus* HD.  
 a consule] om. H.  
 2. obiceres] M; *obiceris* HD.  
 3. sit] om. HD.  
 fortassis] codd.; *fortasse* Wes. Vide  
 Comm.  
 4. tamen] MD; *etiam* H.  
 non diu] M; *diu* HD. Utrumque  
 bonum.  
 quaesumus] D; *quaesimus* M; *qs* H.

## EP. 783 (ATT. XVI. 7).

1. erat] *suberat* con. Müller. Fort.  
*erat enim villa illac.*  
 recentes, in iis] *regente sinus* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 et] M<sup>2</sup>; om. M<sup>1</sup>.  
 rogare] del. Reid.  
 2. fuisti] M<sup>2</sup>; *fuisse* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 acta sunt] *accasum* M<sup>1</sup>; *occasum* M<sup>2</sup>.  
 3. Bene . . . bene] *veni . . . veni* Vict.  
 relinque] *relinques* Lamb. Locum ita  
 legendum con. Housman *Tene igitur qui*  
*εἰθ' ἀναστὰς, tene relinquere patriam?* coll.  
 Att. ix. 7. 5 (362).  
 prohibebas] M<sup>2</sup> vulg.; *iubebas* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*inhibeabas* alii; *vetabas* Or. Fort. impro-  
 babas.  
 4. esses] Zt Boot; *esse* M; *esset* Rom.;  
*esset exprobratum* Lehmann; *esset factum*  
 con. Wes.  
 possim] *possem* Ern. fort. recte.  
 5. ex] vett.; *et* M; om. Lamb.  
 Haletem] cf. ad 774. 1; *Heletem* MZ.  
 fluvium] Vict.; *fructum* M.  
 milia passus] M, vide Comm.; *milia*  
*passuum* vulg.; *milibus passuum* Wes.  
 intellegebam] *intellegebant* Turnebus.  
 relictionis] Beroaldus; *relegionis* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*reiectionis* Vict.

- flentes] *euntes* v. c. Vict.  
 quod . . . effugissem] del. Malaspina.  
 6. speciosas] *praecipuas* Lehmann;  
 om. Ern. Wes.  
 sed nulla] *se in (vel sin) ulla* codd.  
 quid] Zt; *quod* M.  
 nisi ut] ZORP v. c.; *nisi quod* M  
 Reid.  
 defenderem] *defendere vellem* Reid.  
 7. ab utro] M; *a Bruto* vulg. Fort.  
*a Bruto <et Cassio missum>* vel simile.  
 rediit] *redit* M.  
 longe a] *longa* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 8. et ei] Btr.; *et* M; *ei* Wes.  
 ad] *add. nos*; om. codd.; *in* Corradus,  
 Wes., Reid; *prope* Müller.

## EP. 784 (FAM. XI. 27).

2. deinde] M; *denique* HD.  
 communicata sunt] H Crat.; *com-  
 municata sint* MD.  
 3. Et] codd.; *Etenim* Or.; om. Wes.  
 quanti] M; *quantis* HD.  
 4. advolaris] *avolaris* MH; *advola-  
 veris* D.  
 communium] MD; *communi* H.  
 5. officio] Madv.; *officiis* codd.  
 praeter me] M; *propter me* D; *prae-  
 ter* H.  
 6. commemoravi] HD; *commeravi* M.  
 multa] HD; *multo* M.  
 maxime maxima] del. *maxima* Ern.  
 7. liquido] *aliquido* M; *aliquando* II;  
 de D incertum est.  
 de curatione] HD; *decuriatione* M.  
 8. expertem] *exper* M; *expers* HD.  
 nec te alienius] MH: *nec a te alienius*  
 D Wes.

## EP. 785 (FAM. XI. 28).

1. quam] *cum* MH; *tamquam* D.  
 maximi] HD; *maxime* H.  
 aestimabam] M; *existimabam* D; *ex-  
 timebam* H.  
 ut par erat tua] MH; *ut par erat*  
*pro tua* D Lamb.  
 2. patriam amicitiae] D; *patriae*  
*amicitiam* MH.  
 vicerint] HD (marg.); *vicerit* M;  
*vixerit* D.  
 quamquam re offendebar] M; *re quam-  
 quam offendebar* H; *quamquam te offende-  
 bam* D.  
 extingui] MD; *extinguere* H.  
 3. gloriari] MH; *singulari* D.  
 impunitè] MH; *impune* D.

ut] add. Baiter; post *ut* add. *sperarent* Lehmann. Vide Comm.

arbitrio] MH; in *commoda* D.  
quae nunc . . . auctores] quae nunc isti, ut se quidem dictitant, 'libertatis auctores' coni. Boot.

4. oppetendam] M; appetendam HD.  
6. Caesare petenti] caesari petenti H; caesare repetenti M; caesari repente D.  
7. amantem] D; famantem MH.  
8. ne aut] HD; ne ad M.  
contingent] MH; contigerint D.

EP. 786 (FAM. XVI. 21).

1. et sextum] del. *et* Baiter.  
exoptatissimus] HDF; adoptatissimus M; optatissimus vett.  
me iam] M; etiam HDF.  
2. Gratos] MD; grates HF.  
qui de me] MD; quidam HF.  
polliceris te] MD; pollicetur iste HF.  
bucinatorem] M; buccinatorem D; buninatorem H; bunninatorem F.  
successa] codd.; successe (= successisse) Schwabe. Vide Comm.

3. duplicetur] HDF; dupliciter M.  
Cratippo] MD; gratis HF.  
cum audio] Lamb.; cum et audio MD; cum et (et cum H) gaudio HF.  
suavitatem vehementer] MD (sed M vehementer): vanitatem HF.

4. Bruttio] M; brutio D; bruto F; butio H cf. infra, § 5.  
convictio] M; coniunctio HDF.  
iocus] locus codd.  
5. Bruttium] M; brutium HD; brucium F.

Mitylenis] M; mutilenis D; mitilenes HF: cf. ad iv. 7. 4 (486).

mea nimia σπουδή] me animi ἀσπουδή codd.

patris] D; patres MHF.  
7. Habes] <Rem> habes Reid.  
Romanus] germanus Ribbeck.  
enim] mihi Wes. Vide Comm.  
ementem te] M; mente te HDF.  
vilico] M; villico HDF.  
8. De mandatis] D; demandastis MHF.  
mihi enim] M; enim mihi HDF fort. recte.

possimus] M; possumus HDF.  
Antherum] H; antherum MDF.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS,

ESPECIALLY THOSE USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

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- M = codices Medicei; in Epp. ad Fam. 49, 9; in the other Epistles, 49, 18.  
(See Introduction to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, pp. 94 ff., 101 ff.)
- M<sup>1</sup> = codices M *a prima manu*.
- M<sup>2</sup> = codices M *a secunda manu*.
- marg. = codices M *secundum correctionem marginalem*.
- G = codex Harleianus 2773, formerly belonging to Graevius. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 96.)
- R (in Fam.) = codex Parisinus 17812. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 96.)
- H (in Fam.) = codex Harleianus 2682. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 97.)
- F = codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 98.)
- D = codex Palatinus Sextus. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 99.)
- C = codices Cratandrini. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, pp. 100 and 113.)
- Crat. = Cratander's edition 1528.
- E = codex Ambrosianus, E 14.
- N = codex Florentinus, n. 49.
- H (in Att.) = codex Landianus, n. 8.
- O = codex Taurinensis, i. v. 34.
- P = codex Parisinus 8536.
- R (in Att.) = codex Parisinus 8538.
- Rav. = codex Ravennas. (See Boot, ed. 2, pp. xiv-xxiii.)
- s = codex Urbinas 322, bibl. Vatic.
- Σ = agreement of ENHOP or of EOR or ORP. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, pp. 107-112.)
- Δ = agreement of M and s.
- v. c. = codex (perhaps the Tornesianus) referred to in the margin of the second ed. of Lambinus.
- Z = codex Tornesianus. (See Introd. to Vol. I<sup>3</sup>, p. 114.)
- Zl = codex Tornesianus teste Lambino.
- Zb = codex Tornesianus teste Bosio.

Zt	= codex Tornesianus teste Turnebo (See A. C. Clark, 'Anecdota Parisiensia' in 'Philologus,' 1901, pp. 195-211.
Zbt	= codex Tornesianus testibus et Bosio et Turnebo.
Ber. Ham.	= codex Berolinensis ex bibliotheca Hamilton 166.
Ant.	= codex Antonianus.
F	= codex Faërninus.
codd.	= agreement of either all or most of the principal codices.
Asconius KS	= Asconius, ed. A. Kiessling and R. Schoell (Berlin, 1875).
Asconius, Clark	= Asconius, ed. A. C. Clark (Oxford, 1907).
vett.	= the older editors.
vulg.	= the reading adopted in most editions.
Rom.	= editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
I	= editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).
Asc.	= Ascensius (Paris, 1522).
Vict.	= Victorius (Venice, 1534-1537).
Mur.	= Muretus ( <i>Variae Lectiones</i> , Venice and Paris, 1559-86).
Mal.	= Malaspina (Venice, 1563).
Lamb.	= Lambinus (Paris, 1546; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
l. (marg.)	= Readings in the margin of the second edition of Lambinus.
Man.	= Paulus Manutius (Venice, 1563).
Bos.	= Simeo Bosius ( <i>Epp. ad Att.</i> , Limoges, 1580).
Graev.	= Graevius (Amsterdam, 1684).
Gron.	= Gronovius (Leyden, 1692).
Ern.	= Ernesti (Leipzig, 1737).
Sch.	= Schütz (Halle, 1809).
Bill.	= Billerbeck (Hannover, 1836).
Or.	= Orelli (Zürich, 1845).
Boot	= I. C. G. Boot ( <i>Epp. ad Att.</i> , Amsterdam, 1865; ed. 2, 1886).
Btr.	= Baiter and Kayser (Leipsic, 1867).
Wes.	= Wesenberg (Teubner text, 1872, 1873).
Mendelssohn	= Ludovicus Mendelssohn, <i>Epp. ad Fam.</i> (Leipzig, 1893).
Hofm.	= Fr. Hofmann, <i>Ausgewählte Briefe von M. Tullius Cicero</i> (3rd ed. by Georg Andresen, 1895).
Müller	= C. F. W. Müller's Teubner text, 1896-1898.
Boot "Obs. Crit."	= Boot's <i>Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.</i> (Amsterdam, 1880).
Ferrero	= Guglielmo Ferrero, <i>The Greatness and the Decline of Rome</i> , vols. ii and iii (English Translation), 1909.

- Lange = Ludwig Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, vol. iii (ed. 2, Berlin, 1876).
- Lebreton = Jules Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron* (Paris, 1901).
- Lehmann = Karl Lehmann, *Quaestiones Tullianae* (Prague and Leipzig, 1886).
- Lehmann 'Att' = Karl Lehmann, *De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis* (Berlin, 1892).
- Madv. = Madvig, *Adversaria Critica* (Copenhagen, vol. ii, 1873; vol. iii, 1884).
- Marquardt = J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig, ed. 2, 1881).
- Marquardt-Mau = Das Privatleben der Römer von Joachim Marquardt, zweite Auflage besorgt von A. Mau (Leipzig, 1886).
- Reid = J. S. Reid: Notes on Cicero ad Atticum XII (*Hermathena* x (1898), 130-139).
- „ = J. S. Reid: Notes on Cicero ad Atticum XIII (*Hermathena* x (1899), 327-355).
- „ = J. S. Reid: Notes on Cicero ad Atticum XIV (*Hermathena* xi (1901), 243-262).
- „ = J. S. Reid: Notes on Cicero ad Atticum XV (*Hermathena* xii (1902), 136-171).
- „ = J. S. Reid: Notes on Cicero ad Atticum XVI (*Hermathena* xii (1903), 258-279).
- Schiche = Th. Schiche, *Zu Cicero's Briefen an Atticus* (*Hermes* xviii (1883), 588-615).
- Schmidt = O. E. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero* (Leipzig, 1893).
- Sjögren = H. Sjögren, *Commentationes Tullianae* (Uppsala, 1910).
- Stinner = Aug. Stinner, *De eo quo Cicero in epp. usus est sermone* (Oppeln, 1879).
- Wes. (Em.) = A. S. Wesenberg, *Emendationes M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum* (Copenhagen, 1840).
- Wes. (E. A.) = A. S. Wesenberg, *Emendationes alterae ad Ciceronis Epistolarum editionem* (Leipzig, 1873).

# ORDER OF LETTERS.

## I.

### PART VIII.

This Edition	Vulg.	Date.	A. U. C. (B. C.)	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at wh written.
545	Att. XII. 13 . .	March 7 . .	709 (45)	61	Astura
546	„ XII. 14 . .	„ 8 . .	„	„	„
547	„ XII. 15 . .	„ 9 . .	„	„	„
548	„ XII. 16 . .	„ 10 . .	„	„	„
549	„ XII. 18 . .	„ 11 . .	„	„	„
550	„ XII. 17 . .	„ 12 . .	„	„	„
551	„ XII. 18 <sup>a</sup> . .	„ 13 . .	„	„	„
552	„ XII. 19 . .	„ 14 . .	„	„	„
553	„ XII. 20 . .	„ 15 . .	„	„	„
554	„ XIII. 6. 1-3 . .	„ (middle) . .	„	„	„
555	Fam. IV. 5 . . (Servius Sulpicius)	„ „ . .	„	„	Athens
556	Att. XII. 12 . .	„ 16 . .	„	„	Astura
557	„ XII. 21 . .	„ 17 . .	„	„	„
558	„ XII. 22 . .	„ 18 . .	„	„	„
559	„ XII. 23 . .	„ 19 . .	„	„	„
560	„ XII. 24 . .	„ 20 . .	„	„	„
561	„ XII. 25 . .	„ 21 . .	„	„	„
562	„ XII. 26 . .	„ 22 . .	„	„	„
563	„ XII. 27 . .	„ 23 . .	„	„	„
564	„ XII. 28 . .	„ 24 . .	„	„	„
565	„ XII. 29 . .	„ 25 . .	„	„	„
566	„ XII. 33 . .	„ 26 . .	„	„	„
567	„ XII. 30 . .	„ 27 . .	„	„	„
568	„ XII. 31. 3 & 32 . .	„ 28 . .	„	„	„
569	„ XII. 31. 1, 2 . .	„ 29 . .	„	„	„
570	„ XII. 34 & 35. 1 . .	„ 30 . .	„	„	„
571	Fam. XIII. 15 . .	„ (end) . .	„	„	„
572	„ V. 13 . .	„ (day uncertain)	„	„	„
573	„ VI. 21 . .	April „ . .	„	„	Ficulea
574	„ IV. 6 . .	„ (middle) . .	„	„	„
575	„ VI. 2 . .	„ . .	„	„	„
576	„ IX. 11 . .	„ (end) . .	„	„	„
577	Att. XII. 35. 2 . .	May 1 or 2 . .	„	„	Sicca's villa
578	„ XII. 36 . .	„ 3 . .	„	„	Astura

PART VIII—*continued.*

This Edition	Vulg.	Date.	A. U. C. (B. C.)	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
579	Att. XII. 37. 1-3 . . .	May 4 . . .	709 (45)	61	Astura
580	„ XII. 37. 4 . . .	„ 5 . . .	„	„	„
581	„ XII. 38. 1, 2 . . .	„ 6 . . .	„	„	„
582	„ XII. 38. 3, 4 . . .	„ 7 . . .	„	„	„
583	„ XII. 39 . . .	„ 8 . . .	„	„	„
584	„ XII. 40 . . .	„ 9 . . .	„	„	„
585	Fam. v. 14 . . . (L. Lucceius)	„ 9 . . .	„	„	„
586	Att. XII. 42. 1-3 . . .	„ 10 . . .	„	„	„
587	Fam. v. 15 . . .	„ between 10 & 12	„	„	„
588	Att. XII. 41 . . .	„ 11 . . .	„	„	„
589	„ XII. 42. 3 & 43 . . .	„ 12 . . .	„	„	„
590	„ XII. 44 & 45. 1 . . .	„ 13 . . .	„	„	„
591	„ XIII. 26 . . .	„ 14 . . .	„	„	„
592	„ XII. 46 & 47. 1 . . .	„ 15 . . .	„	„	„
593	„ XII. 47. 1, 2 . . .	„ 16 . . .	„	„	Lanuvium
594	„ XII. 47. 3 & 48 <i>init.</i> . . .	„ 17 . . .	„	„	„
595	„ XII. 45. 2, 3 . . .	„ 17 . . .	„	„	Tusculum
596	„ XII. 50 . . .	„ 18 . . .	„	„	„
597	„ XII. 48 <i>fin.</i> & 49 . . .	„ 19 . . .	„	„	„
598	„ XII. 51 . . .	„ 20 . . .	„	„	„
599	„ XII. 52 . . .	„ 21 . . .	„	„	„
600	„ XII. 53 . . .	„ 22 . . .	„	„	„
601	„ XIII. 1 . . .	„ 23 . . .	„	„	„
602	„ XIII. 2. 1 . . .	„ 24 . . .	„	„	„
603	„ XIII. 27 . . .	„ 25 . . .	„	„	„
604	„ XIII. 28 & 29. 1 . . .	„ 26 . . .	„	„	„
605	„ XIII. 29. 2, 3 & 30. 1 . . .	„ 27 . . .	„	„	„
606	„ XIII. 2. 1, 2 . . .	„ 27 . . .	„	„	„
607	„ XIII. 31 . . .	„ 28 . . .	„	„	„
608	„ XIII. 30. 2, 3 . . .	„ 28 . . .	„	„	„
609	„ XIII. 2. 3 & 3. 1 . . .	„ 29 . . .	„	„	„
610	„ XIII. 32 . . .	„ 29 . . .	„	„	„
611	„ XIII. 3. 1, 2 . . .	„ 30 . . .	„	„	„
612	„ XII. 5. 2 . . .	„ 31 . . .	„	„	„
613	Fam. iv. 12 . . . (Servius Sulpicius)	„ 31 . . .	„	„	Athens
614	Att. XIII. 4 . . .	June 1 . . .	„	„	Tusculum
615	„ XIII. 5 . . .	„ 2 . . .	„	„	„
616	„ XIII. 33. 1-3 . . .	„ 3 . . .	„	„	„
617	„ XIII. 6. 4 . . .	„ 4 . . .	„	„	„
618	„ XIII. 8 . . .	„ 8 . . .	„	„	„
619	„ XIII. 7. 1 . . .	„ 9 . . .	„	„	„
620	„ XIII. 7. 2 . . .	„ 10 . . .	„	„	„
621	„ XII. 5. 3 . . .	„ 11 or 12 . . .	„	„	„
622	Fam. vi. 11 . . .	„ (middle) . . .	„	„	„
623	Att. XIII. 9 . . .	„ 17 . . .	„	„	„
624	„ XIII. 10 . . .	„ between 18 & 20	„	„	„
625	„ XIII. 11 . . .	„ 22 . . .	„	„	Arpinum
626	„ XIII. 12 . . .	„ 23 . . .	„	„	„
627	„ XIII. 13 & 14. 1, 2 . . .	„ 25 . . .	„	„	„
628	„ XIII. 14. 3 & 15 . . .	„ 26 . . .	„	„	„

PART VIII—*continued.*

This Edition	Vulg.	Date.	A. U. C. (B. C.)	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
629	Att. XIII. 16 . . .	June 27 . . .	709 (45)	61	Arpinum
630	" XIII. 17 & 18 . . .	" 28 . . .	"	"	"
631	" XIII. 19 . . .	" 29 . . .	"	"	"
632	" XIII. 21. 4-7 . . .	" 30, or July 1 . . .	"	"	"
633	Fam. IX. 22 . . .	July . . .	"	"	Place uncertain probably Arpinum
634	Att. XIII. 20 . . .	" 2 or 3 . . .	"	"	Arpinum
635	" XIII. 22 . . .	" 4 . . .	"	"	"
636	" XIII. 33. 4, 5 . . .	" 9 . . .	"	"	Tusculum
637	" XIII. 23 . . .	" 10 . . .	"	"	"
638†	Fam. XIII. 77 . . .	Autumn . . .	708 (46)	60	Rome
639	" v. 9 . . . (Vatinius)	July 11 . . .	709 (45)	61	Narona
640	Att. XIII. 24 & 25. 1 . . .	" 11 . . .	"	"	Tusculum
641	Fam. IX. 8 . . .	" 11 or 12 . . .	"	"	"
642	Att. XIII. 25. 2-3 . . .	" 12 . . .	"	"	"
643	" XIII. 35 & 36 . . .	" 13 . . .	"	"	"
644	" XIII. 43 . . .	" 14 . . .	"	"	"
645	Fam. VI. 20 . . .	" (middle) . . .	"	"	"
646	Att. XIII. 44 . . .	" 20 or 21 . . .	"	"	"
647	" XIII. 34 . . .	" 26 . . .	"	"	Astura
648	Fam. VI. 19 . . .	" 27 (about) . . .	"	"	"
649	Att. XII. 9 . . .	" 27 . . .	"	"	"
650	Fam. XVI. 22 . . .	" 27 . . .	"	"	"
651	Att. XII. 10 . . .	" 28 . . .	"	"	"
652	" XIII. 21. 1-3 . . .	" 28 . . .	"	"	"
653	Fam. XVI. 17 . . .	" 29 . . .	"	"	"
654	Att. XIII. 47b . . .	" 30 . . .	"	"	"
655	Fam. XVI. 19 . . .	August (beginning) . . .	"	"	Tusculum
656	Att. XIII. 48 . . .	" 2 . . .	"	"	"
657	" XIII. 37 . . .	" 2 . . .	"	"	"
658	" XIII. 38 . . .	" 4 . . .	"	"	"
659	" XIII. 39 . . .	" 5 . . .	"	"	"
660	" XIII. 40 . . .	" 7 or 8 . . .	"	"	"
661	" XIII. 41 . . .	" 8 or 9 . . .	"	"	"
662	" XIII. 45 . . .	" 11 . . .	"	"	"
663	" XIII. 46 . . .	" 12 . . .	"	"	"
664	" XIII. 47a . . .	" 13 . . .	"	"	"
665	Fam. VII. 24 . . .	" 20 (about) . . .	"	"	"
666	Att. XIII. 49 . . .	" 20 . . .	"	"	"
667	" XIII. 50 . . .	" 22 . . .	"	"	"
668	Fam. VII. 25 . . .	" 24 (about) . . .	"	"	"
669	Att. XIII. 51 . . .	" 24 . . .	"	"	"
670†	Fam. XII. 18 . . .	October (?) . . .	708 (46) or 709 (45)	60 or 61	Rome (?)
671†	" XII. 19 . . .	Month uncertain . . .	"	"	"
672	" XIII. 4 . . .	Autumn . . .	709 (45)	61	"

† These letters are left in the places in which they stood in the first edition, in order that the references throughout the other volumes and the Index may not prove untrustworthy.



PART VIII—*continued.*

This edition	Vulg.	Date.	A. U. C. (B. C.)	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
673	Fam. XIII. 5 . .	Autumn . .	709 (45)	61	Rome
674	„ XIII. 7 . .	„ . . . .	„	„	„
675	„ XIII. 8 . .	„ . . . .	„	„	„
676	„ v. 11 . .	October (end) . .	„	„	„
677	„ VII. 29 . .	„ 29 . .	„	„	Patrae
	(Curius)				
678	„ v. 10 <sup>a</sup> . .	December 5 . .	„	„	Narona
	(Vatinius)				
679	Att. XIII. 52 . .	„ 19 . .	„	„	Puteoli
680	Fam. IX. 12 . .	„ (towards end)	„	„	Formiae (?)
681	Att. XIII. 42 . .	„ (end) . .	„	„	Tusculum
682	Fam. XIII. 30 . .	Month uncertain . .	„	„	Rome (?)
683	„ XIII. 31 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
684	„ XIII. 32 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
685	„ XIII. 33 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
686	„ XIII. 34 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
687	„ XIII. 35 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
688	„ XIII. 36 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
689	„ XIII. 37 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
690	„ XIII. 38 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
691	„ XIII. 39 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
692	„ XVI. 18 . .	December (end) . .	„	„	„
693	„ XVI. 20 . .	„ „ . .	„	„	„
694	„ VII. 30 . .	January . .	710 (44)	62	„
695	„ XIII. 50 . .	„ . . . .	„	„	„
696	„ v. 10 . .	„ (end) . .	„	„	Narona
	(Vatinius)				
697	„ VII. 31 . .	February . .	„	„	Rome
698	„ XII. 21 . .	Spring . .	„	„	„

## PART IX.

This Edition	Vulg.	Date.	A. U. C. (B. C.)	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
699	Fam. vi. 15 . . .	March 15 (probably)	710 (44)	62	Rome
700	" xi. 1 . . . (D. Brutus to M. Brutus and Cassius)	" 17 (morning)	"	"	"
701	" vi. 16 . . . (Bithynicus)	" end (possibly)	"	"	Sicily (?)
702†	" xv. 20 . . .	Dec. or January	{ 708, 709 (46, 45)	61 or 62 }	Rome
703	Att. xiv. 1 . . .	April 7 . . .	710 (44)	62	Villa of Matius
704	" xiv. 2 . . .	" 8 . . .	"	"	"
705	" xiv. 3 . . .	" 8 or 9 . . .	"	"	Tusculum
706	" xiv. 4 . . .	" 9 or 10 . . .	"	"	Lanuvium
707	" xiv. 5 . . .	" 11 . . .	"	"	Leaving Astura
708	" xiv. 6 . . .	" 12 . . .	"	"	Fundi
709	" xiv. 7 . . .	" 15 . . .	"	"	Leaving Formia
710	" xiv. 8 . . .	" 15 . . .	"	"	Sinuessa
711†	Fam. vi. 17 . . .	Date uncertain . . .	uncertain		Place uncertain
712	Att. xiv. 9 . . .	April 18 . . .	710 (44)	"	Puteoli
713	" xiv. 10 . . .	" 19 . . .	"	"	Cumae
714	" xiv. 11 . . .	" 21 . . .	"	"	Puteoli
715	" xiv. 12 . . .	" 22 . . .	"	"	"
716	" xiv. 13 <sup>a</sup> . . . (M. Antonius)	" between 20 & 24 . . .	"	"	South Italy
717	" xiv. 13 <sup>b</sup> . . .	" 26 . . .	"	"	Puteoli
718	" xiv. 13 . . .	" 26 . . .	"	"	" or Cuma
719	" xiv. 14 . . .	" 27 or 28 . . .	"	"	Puteoli
720	" xiv. 15 . . .	May 1 . . .	"	"	Cumae
721	" xiv. 16 . . .	" 2 . . .	"	"	Leaving Puteoli
722	" xiv. 17 <sup>a</sup> (= Fam. ix. 14)	" 3 . . .	"	"	Pompeii
723	Fam. xii. 1 . . .	" 3 . . .	"	"	"
724	Att. xiv. 17 . . .	" 3 . . .	"	"	"
725	" xiv. 19 . . .	" 8 . . .	"	"	"
726	" xiv. 18 . . .	" 9 . . .	"	"	"
727	" xiv. 20 . . .	" 11 . . .	"	"	Puteoli
728	" xiv. 21 . . .	" 11 . . .	"	"	"
729	" xiv. 22 . . .	" 14 . . .	"	"	"
730	" xv. 1 <sup>a</sup> . . .	" 17 . . .	"	"	"
731	" xv. 1 <sup>b</sup> . . .	" 18 . . .	"	"	Sinuessa
732	" xv. 2 . . .	" 19 . . .	"	"	Vescianum
733	" xv. 3 . . .	" 22 . . .	"	"	Arpinum
734	" xv. 4. 1-4 . . .	" 24 . . .	"	"	"
735	" xv. 4. 5 . . .	" 24 . . .	"	"	"
736	Fam. xii. 16 . . . (Trebonius)	" 25 . . .	"	"	Athens
737	Att. xv. 5 . . .	" 27 or 28 . . .	"	"	Tusculum
738	" xv. 6 . . .	" 28 or 29 . . .	"	"	"
739	" xv. 7 . . .	" 28 or 29 . . .	"	"	"

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## PART IX—continued.

This edition	Vulg.	Date.	A. U. C. (R. C.)	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
740	Fam. xi. 2 (Brutus and Cassius to Antony)	May (end)	710 (44)	62	Lanuvium
741	Att. xv. 8	" 31	"	"	Tusculum
742	" xv. 9	June 2 or 3	"	"	"
743	" xv. 10	" 5 or 6	"	"	"
744	" xv. 11	" 8	"	"	Antium or Astura
745	" xv. 12	" 10	"	"	Astura
746	" xv. 16 <sup>a</sup>	" 11	"	"	"
747	" xv. 16 <sup>b</sup>	" 12	"	"	"
748	" xv. 15	" 13	"	"	"
749	" xv. 17	" 14	"	"	"
750	" xv. 18	" 15	"	"	On way to Tusculum
751	" xv. 19	" between 16 & 19	"	"	Tusculum
752	" xv. 20	" " 17 & 20	"	"	"
753	" xv. 21	" 21	"	"	"
754	Fam. xvi. 23	" 21 (about)	"	"	"
755	Att. xv. 22	" 22 or 23	"	"	"
756	" xv. 23	" 23 or 24	"	"	"
757	" xv. 24	" 25	"	"	"
758	" xv. 14	" 26 or 27	"	"	"
759	" xv. 25	" 29	"	"	"
760	Fam. vii. 21	" (latter half)	"	"	"
761	" vii. 22	" " (?)	"	"	"
762	" xi. 29	July 1	"	"	Anagnia
763	Att. xv. 26	" 2	"	"	Arpinum
764	" xv. 27	" 3	"	"	"
765	" xv. 28	" 3	"	"	"
766	" xvi. 16	" between 3 & 6	"	"	"
767	" xvi. 16 <sup>a</sup>	" " "	"	"	"
768	" xv. 29	" 6	"	"	Formiae
769	" xvi. 1	" 8	"	"	Puteoli
770	" xvi. 5	" 9	"	"	"
771	" xvi. 4	" 10	"	"	"
772	" xvi. 2	" 11	"	"	"
773	" xvi. 3	" 17	"	"	Pompeii
774	Fam. vii. 20	" 20	"	"	Velia
775	Att. xvi. 6	" 25	"	"	Vibo
776	Fam. vii. 19	" 28	"	"	Regium
777	Att. xvi. 16 <sup>b</sup>	During July	"	"	Probably Puteoli
778	" xvi. 16 <sup>c</sup>	"	"	"	" "
779	" xvi. 16 <sup>d</sup>	"	"	"	" "
780	" xvi. 16 <sup>e</sup>	"	"	"	" "
781	" xvi. 16 <sup>f</sup>	"	"	"	" "
782	Fam. xi. 3 (Brutus and Cassius to Antony)	August 4	"	"	Napies (Nisida)
783	Att. xvi. 7	" 19	"	"	Approaching
784	Fam. xi. 27	" (end)	"	"	Pompeii
785	" xi. 28 (Matus)	" "	"	"	Tusculum
786	" xvi. 21 (Young M. Cicero to Tiro)	August or Sept.	"	"	Near Rome.
					Athens

## II.

## LETTERS AD ATTICUM.

Vulg.		This Edition.	Vulg.		This Edition.
Att. XII.	5. 2 . .	612	Att. XII.	52 . .	599
„ XII.	5. 3 . .	621	„ XII.	53 . .	600
„ XII.	9 . .	649			
„ XII.	10 . .	651	Att. XIII.	1 . .	601
„ XII.	12 . .	556	„ XIII.	2. 1 . .	602
„ XII.	13 . .	545	„ XIII.	2. 1, 2 . .	606
„ XII.	14 . .	546	„ XIII.	2. 3 & 3. 1 . .	609
„ XII.	15 . .	547	„ XIII.	3. 1, 2 . .	611
„ XII.	16 . .	548	„ XIII.	4 . .	614
„ XII.	17 . .	550	„ XIII.	5 . .	615
„ XII.	18 . .	549	„ XIII.	6. 1-3 . .	554
„ XII.	18 <sup>a</sup> . .	551	„ XIII.	6. 4 . .	617
„ XII.	19 . .	552	„ XIII.	7. 1 . .	619
„ XII.	20 . .	553	„ XIII.	7. 2 . .	620
„ XII.	21 . .	557	„ XIII.	8 . .	618
„ XII.	22 . .	558	„ XIII.	9 . .	623
„ XII.	23 . .	559	„ XIII.	10 . .	624
„ XII.	24 . .	560	„ XIII.	11 . .	625
„ XII.	25 . .	561	„ XIII.	12 . .	626
„ XII.	26 . .	562	„ XIII.	13 & 14. 1, 2 . .	627
„ XII.	27 . .	563	„ XIII.	14. 2 & 15 . .	628
„ XII.	28 . .	564	„ XIII.	16 . .	629
„ XII.	29 . .	565	„ XIII.	17 & 18 . .	630
„ XII.	30 . .	567	„ XIII.	19 . .	631
„ XII.	31. 1, 2 . .	569	„ XIII.	20 . .	634
„ XII.	31. 3 & 32 . .	568	„ XIII.	21. 1-3 . .	652
„ XII.	33 . .	566	„ XIII.	21. 4-7 . .	632
„ XII.	34 & 35. 1 . .	570	„ XIII.	22 . .	635
„ XII.	35. 2 . .	577	„ XIII.	23 . .	637
„ XII.	36 . .	578	„ XIII.	24 & 25. 1 . .	640
„ XII.	37. 1-3 . .	579	„ XIII.	25. 2-3 . .	642
„ XII.	37. 4 . .	580	„ XIII.	26 . .	591
„ XII.	38. 1, 2 . .	581	„ XIII.	27 . .	603
„ XII.	38. 3, 4 . .	582	„ XIII.	28 & 29. 1 . .	604
„ XII.	39 . .	583	„ XIII.	29. 2, 3 & 30. 1 . .	605
„ XII.	40 . .	584	„ XIII.	30. 2, 3 . .	608
„ XII.	41 . .	588	„ XIII.	31 . .	607
„ XII.	42. 1-3 . .	586	„ XIII.	32 . .	610
„ XII.	42. 3 & 43 . .	589	„ XIII.	33. 1-3 . .	616
„ XII.	44 & 45. 1 . .	590	„ XIII.	33. 4-5 . .	636
„ XII.	45. 2, 3 . .	595	„ XIII.	34 . .	647
„ XII.	46 & 47. 1 . .	592	„ XIII.	35 & 36 . .	643
„ XII.	47. 1, 2 . .	593	„ XIII.	37 . .	657
„ XII.	47. 3 & 48 <i>init.</i> . .	594	„ XIII.	38 . .	658
„ XII.	48 <i>fin.</i> & 49 . .	597	„ XIII.	39 . .	659
„ XII.	50 . .	596	„ XIII.	40 . .	660
„ XII.	51 . .	598	„ XIII.	41 . .	661

LETTERS AD ATTICUM—*continued.*

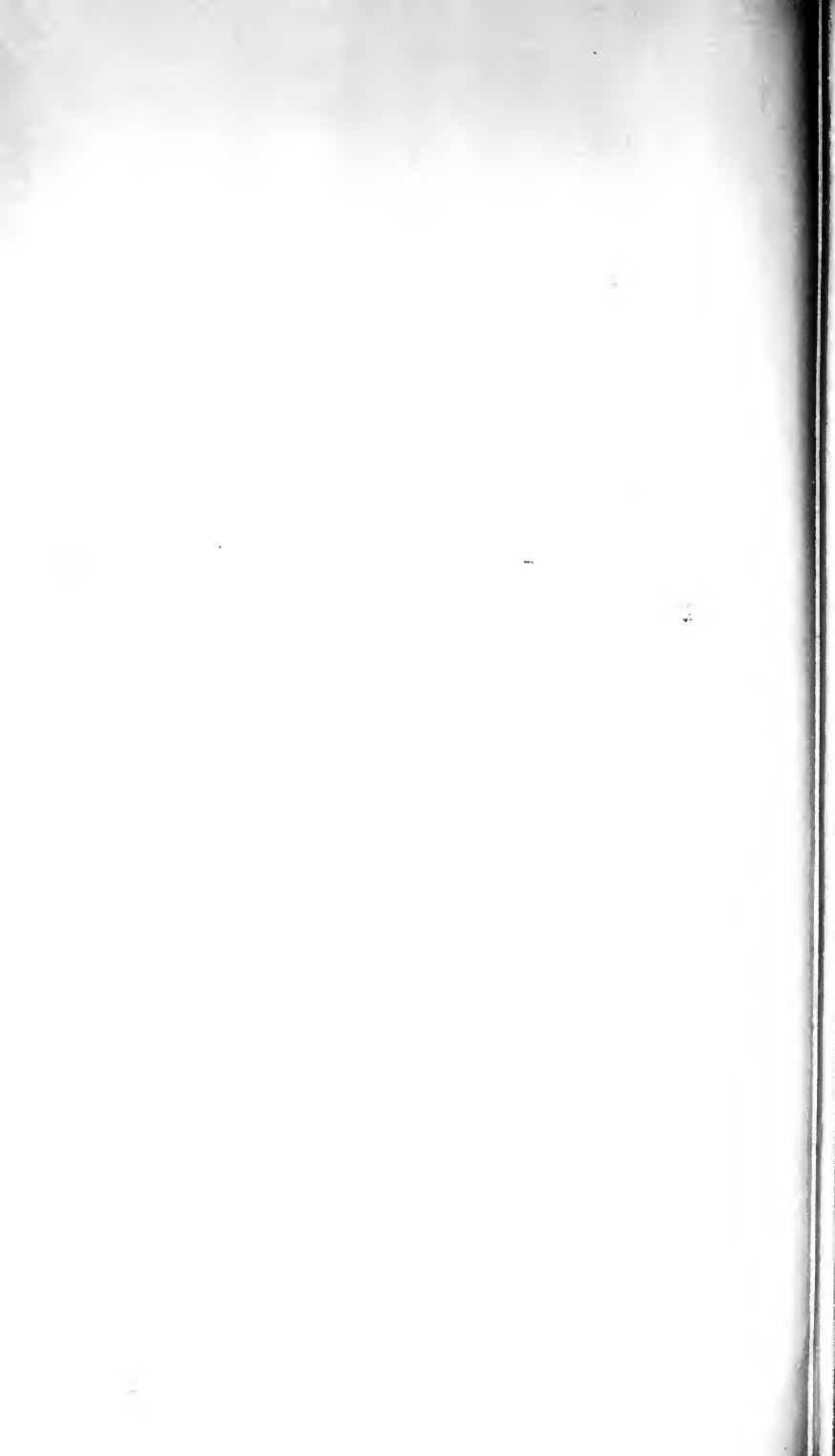
Vulg.		This Edition.	Vulg.		This Edition.
Att. XIII.	42 . .	681	Att. xv.	4. 1-4 . .	734
„ XIII.	43 . .	644	„ xv.	4. 5 . .	735
„ XIII.	44 . .	646	„ xv.	5 . .	737
„ XIII.	45 . .	662	„ xv.	6 . .	738
„ XIII.	46 . .	663	„ xv.	7 . .	739
„ XIII.	47 <sup>a</sup> . .	664	„ xv.	8 . .	741
„ XIII.	47 <sup>b</sup> . .	654	„ xv.	9 . .	742
„ XIII.	48 . .	656	„ xv.	10 . .	743
„ XIII.	49 . .	666	„ xv.	11 . .	744
„ XIII.	50 . .	667	„ xv.	12 . .	745
„ XIII.	51 . .	669	„ xv.	14 . .	768
„ XIII.	52 . .	679	„ xv.	15 . .	748
			„ xv.	16 <sup>a</sup> . .	746
Att. XIV.	1 . .	703	„ xv.	16 <sup>b</sup> . .	747
„ XIV.	2 . .	704	„ xv.	17 . .	749
„ XIV.	3 . .	705	„ xv.	18 . .	750
„ XIV.	4 . .	706	„ xv.	19 . .	751
„ XIV.	5 . .	707	„ xv.	20 . .	752
„ XIV.	6 . .	708	„ xv.	21 . .	753
„ XIV.	7 . .	709	„ xv.	22 . .	755
„ XIV.	8 . .	710	„ xv.	23 . .	756
„ XIV.	9 . .	712	„ xv.	24 . .	757
„ XIV.	10 . .	713	„ xv.	25 . .	759
„ XIV.	11 . .	714	„ xv.	26 . .	763
„ XIV.	12 . .	715	„ xv.	27 . .	764
„ XIV.	13 . .	718	„ xv.	28 . .	765
„ XIV.	13 <sup>a</sup> . .	716	„ xv.	29 . .	768
„ XIV.	13 <sup>b</sup> . .	717			
„ XIV.	14 . .	719	Att. xvi.	1 . .	769
„ XIV.	15 . .	720	„ xvi.	2 . .	772
„ XIV.	16 . .	721	„ xvi.	3 . .	773
„ XIV.	17 . .	724	„ xvi.	4 . .	771
„ XIV.	17 <sup>a</sup> . .	722	„ xvi.	5 . .	770
„ XIV.	18 . .	726	„ xvi.	6 . .	775
„ XIV.	19 . .	725	„ xvi.	7 . .	783
„ XIV.	20 . .	727	„ xvi.	16 . .	766
„ XIV.	21 . .	728	„ xvi.	16 <sup>a</sup> . .	767
„ XIV.	22 . .	729	„ xvi.	16 <sup>b</sup> . .	777
			„ xvi.	16 <sup>c</sup> . .	778
Att. xv.	1 <sup>a</sup> . .	730	„ xvi.	16 <sup>d</sup> . .	779
„ xv.	1 <sup>b</sup> . .	731	„ xvi.	16 <sup>e</sup> . .	780
„ xv.	2 . .	732	„ xvi.	16 <sup>f</sup> . .	781
„ xv.	3 . .	733			

## III.

## LETTERS AD FAMILIARES.

Vulg.					This Edition.					Vulg.					This Edition.				
Fam.	iv.	5	.	.	555	Fam.	xi.	3	.	.	782								
"	"	6	.	.	574	"	"	27	.	.	784								
"	"	12	.	.	613	"	"	28	.	.	785								
						"	"	29	.	.	762								
Fam.	v.	9	.	.	639	Fam.	xii.	1	.	.	723								
"	"	10	.	.	696	"	"	16	.	.	736								
"	"	10 <sup>a</sup>	.	.	678	"	"	18	.	.	670								
"	"	11	.	.	676	"	"	19	.	.	671								
"	"	13	.	.	572	"	"	21	.	.	698								
"	"	14	.	.	585														
"	"	15	.	.	587	Fam.	xiii.	4	.	.	672								
Fam.	vi.	2	.	.	575	"	"	5	.	.	673								
"	"	11	.	.	622	"	"	7	.	.	674								
"	"	15	.	.	699	"	"	8	.	.	675								
"	"	16	.	.	701	"	"	15	.	.	571								
"	"	17	.	.	711	"	"	30	.	.	682								
"	"	19	.	.	648	"	"	31	.	.	683								
"	"	20	.	.	645	"	"	32	.	.	684								
"	"	21	.	.	573	"	"	33	.	.	685								
						"	"	34	.	.	686								
Fam.	vii.	19	.	.	776	"	"	35	.	.	687								
"	"	20	.	.	774	"	"	36	.	.	688								
"	"	21	.	.	760	"	"	37	.	.	689								
"	"	22	.	.	761	"	"	38	.	.	690								
"	"	24	.	.	665	"	"	39	.	.	691								
"	"	25	.	.	668	"	"	50	.	.	695								
"	"	29	.	.	677	"	"	77	.	.	638								
"	"	30	.	.	694														
"	"	31	.	.	697	Fam.	xv.	20	.	.	702								
Fam.	ix.	8	.	.	641	Fam.	xvi.	17	.	.	653								
"	"	11	.	.	576	"	"	18	.	.	692								
"	"	12	.	.	680	"	"	19	.	.	655								
"	"	14	.	.	722	"	"	20	.	.	693								
"	"	22	.	.	633	"	"	21	.	.	786								
						"	"	22	.	.	650								
Fam.	xi.	1	.	.	700	"	"	23	.	.	754								
"	"	2	.	.	740														







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Cicero

Correspondence



